

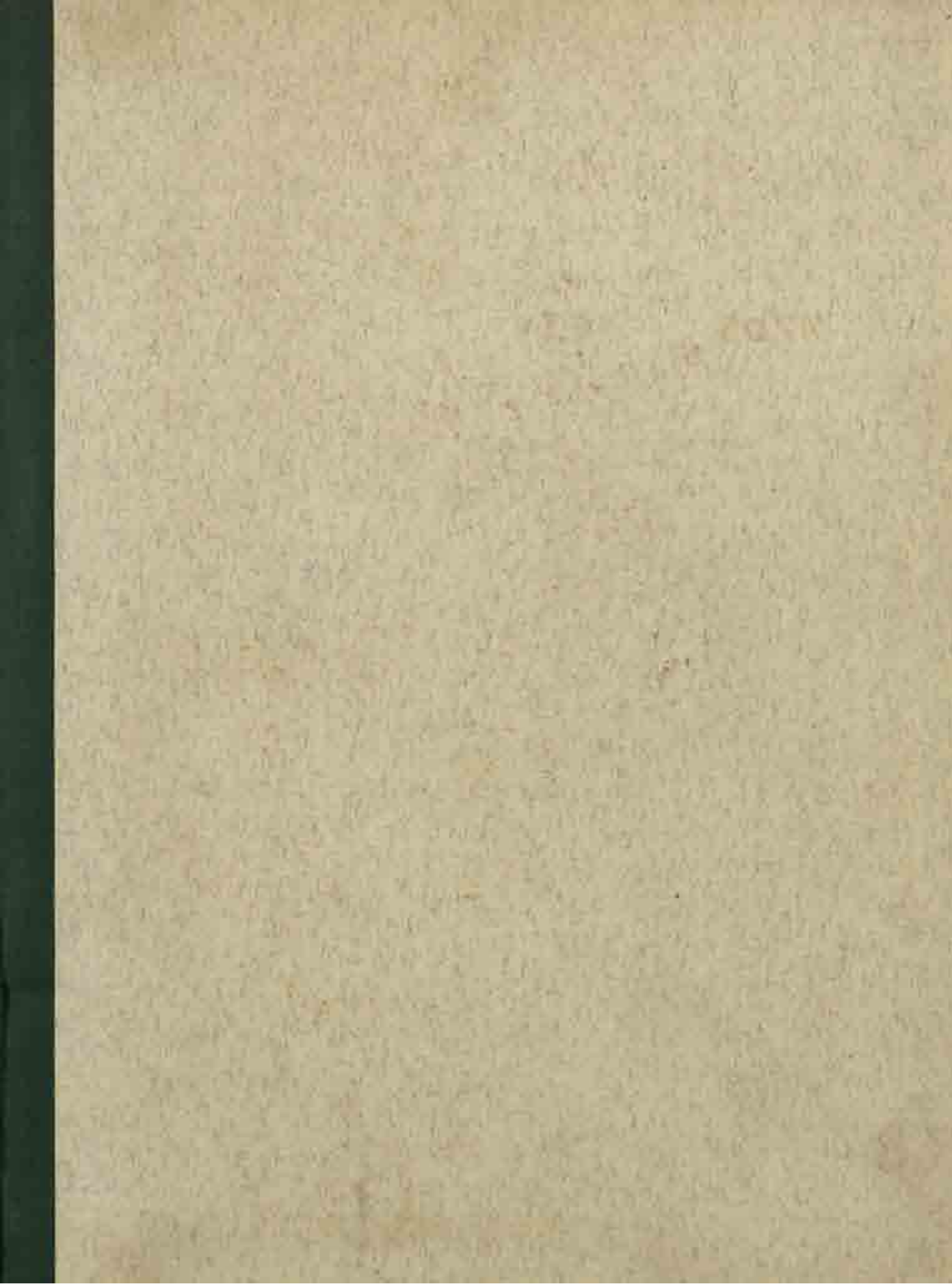
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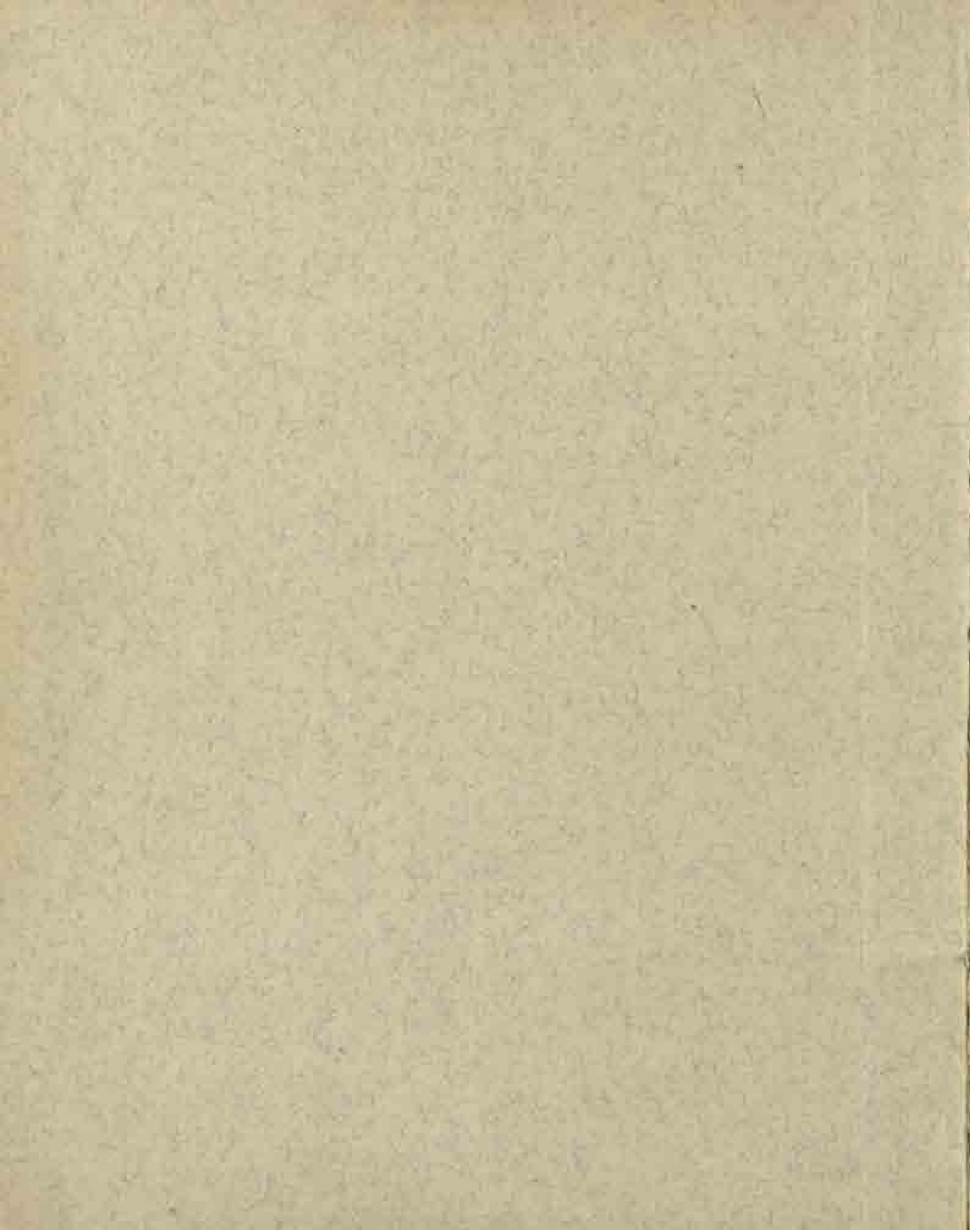
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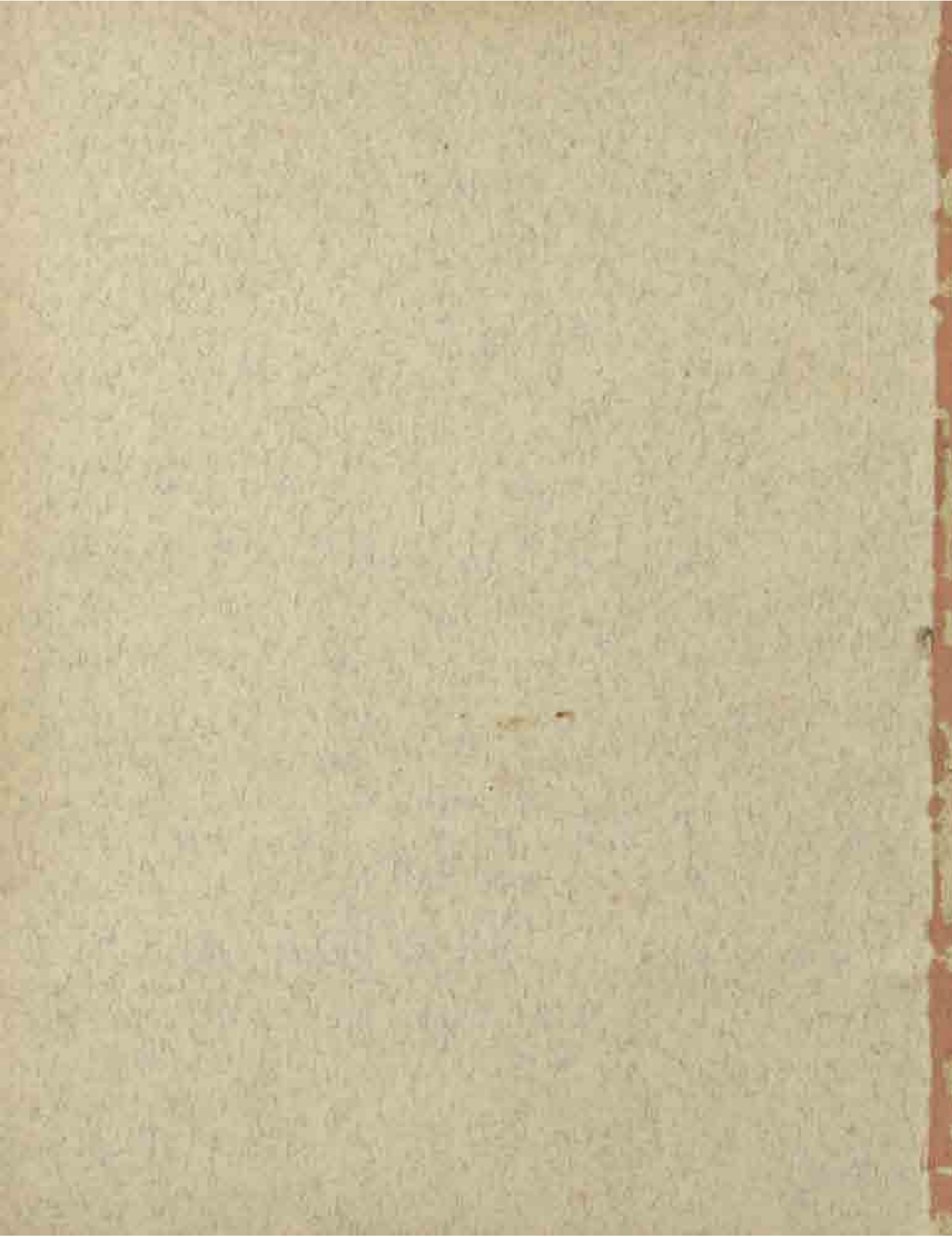
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- Page 93, Ln. 6.—*Add editorial note.*—The word *śrīpātara* means 'a ruler'. Rājāditya was the personal name of the executor.
- „ 95, f. n. 9.—*Add editorial note.*—For the correct meaning of the expressions, see *The Successors of the Śātarūhanas*, p. 196.
- „ 99, line 26.—*For has read have.*
- „ 100, line 9.—*For Gorakhapur read Gorakhpur.*
- „ 100, line 28.—*For for read to.*
- „ 101, f. n. 6.—*For danda read danḍa.*
- „ 112, lines 17 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—The rule of Gōvinda of the Aihole inscription cannot be assigned to 630-55 A.D. since he is known to have come into conflict with Pulakṣin II about the beginning of the latter's career, i.e. about 610 A.D. Pulakṣin II did not meet Gōvinda in the course of his campaign in the region of the Rēvā and the Vindhya, but in the area about the northern bank of the Bhīmaratī (Bhīmā) much nearer his capital.
- „ 113, line 31.—*Add editorial note.*—There is no proof that Padmanagara was a capital city.
- „ 114, text line 8.—*Read Kāntaḥ-kāruṇikaḥ-kala.*
- „ 114, text line 9.—*Read tabitaḥ-ketub-karālā.*
- „ 114, text line 11.—*Read patil-kalpa.*
- „ 115, text line 18.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading is *Varṇamullaka*.
- „ 115, text line 20.—*For karmma[nta](ntā) read kartmā[nta]*
- „ 115, text line 20.—*Read tachchha(ch-cha).*
- „ 115, text line 23.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading seems to be **matō-ekchhivāhalā=ai[bhī]**. The name of the locality was therefore Aochchhivāhalā and not Uochchhī(chhī)vāhalā as assumed by the author (cf. pp. 110, 114).
- „ 115, last line.—*Read Ju(Yu)(ddhā)śuraḥ.*
- „ 120, text line 12.—*For grāmakūṭāyayuktaka read grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka.*
- „ 125, line 16.—*Read stina*
- „ 125, line 32.—*For Meters read Metres.*
- „ 129, f. n. 9, line 2.—*For vijay-avahah read vijay-āvahah.*
- „ 138, lines 3 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—A *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* of this type was discovered in the course of excavations at Kondapur and is now in the Hyderabad Museum. A damaged terracotta female figure from Bhīṭa (near Allahabad) now in the Asutosh Museum (Calcutta) and a bas-relief on the wall of the Vāṅkaṭ-śivara temple on the Vaikunthapuram hill in the Guntur District have the lower part fashioned in the same posture.
- „ 138, f. n. 5, line 1.—*For Ehuvaṣa read Ehuvaḥa.*
- „ 147, line 4.—*Read Kṛishṇa.*

Page, 147 line 36:—*Read Chūdāmani.*

151, line 34.—*Read* Mahāgaūrī.

152, line 21.—*Read* a geographical.

153.—For 135 read 153 in the number of page

154, text line 25.—*For dripta read dripta.*

155, text line 34.—For °bhis=cha read °bhīd=cha.

.. 155, fn.4, lines 4-5.—Read "ōtkampābhi".

„ 157, line 38.—*Read* Viahgu.

., 157, f.n.1.—Read *Pontica*.

158, line 15.—*Read subduer.*

160, line 27.—Read Dravidian r.

160, line 31.—Read ²*bhujdyā mānāḥ*—*ayina*

162, line 36.—For Cuddapah read Guntur.

163, lines 18 ff.—*Rand*—covering a considerable area extending in a north-easterly direction over a tract from Turimella in the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District right upto Kocheelakōṣa in the Darsi Division of the Nellore District.

163, f. n. 11.—*For* was omitted *read* had been omitted.

„ 174, lines 29-30.—*Aid editorial note.*—The palaeography of the record seems to suggest a date in the sixth or seventh century A.D.

176, text line 2.—*Add editorial note.*—Read ²*kīraṃṣa śrīmāṣa*.

a. 177, text line 3.—*Add editorial note.*—Read *Prājñā-sūtrāya*.

177, text line 4.—*Add editorial note.*—The name *Syāmalāṅgi* stands for Sanskrit *Syāmalāṅgi*. She made a gift of 50 golden bars as *dalāhṛā* to the dance of the *agrahāra* granted by *Prabhāvatī*.

* 177, text line 6.—Add editorial note.—Read "hili(ā)naś(naśi).

.. 177, lines 7-8.—Add editorial note.—The intended reading may be *arth-jana-hriday-ānandān*
samabharadhasanyā.

177, text lines 8-9.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading is *vaṣṭāyanta* for *vaṣṭā-āyanta*. *Āryā* Prabhāvatī seems to have granted the *agrahāra* to a Brāhmana whom Śyāmalāngī gave 50 golden bars as *daśahinā* of the said gift. Prabhāvatī may have been Śyāmalāngī's mother-in-law. There is no reason to identify Vihhuraṇja and Māra(na)raṇja.

22. 177, line 11.—Add editorial note.—Read **cjūḥ(ta)-chāru(ta)-bha[ra-a(t)-ā]prācāryō(ṣya)**

177, line 13.—Read *danō(kō)[na*].

.. 177, line 16.—*Add editorial note.*—Read **kūtosya*.

.. 178, line 2.—*For* Harkēli *read* Harakēli.

.. 178, line 17.—*Read* inscription.—Omit bracket before *Mr*.

- Page 178, line 23.—For *nd* read *and*.
- „ 178, line 29.—For *laces* read *places*.
- „ 178, line 30.—For *inscriptin* read *inscription*.
- „ 178, f. n. 3.—Read Vol. III.
- „ 181, text line 11.—Read Hiranyakasi(śi)pō°
- „ 186, line 4.—For *callec* read *called*.
- „ 186, line 6.—Read *pañcha*.
- „ 186, line 16.—Omit redundant *o* before *maṇḍala*.
- „ 186, line 17.—Add full-stop at the end of the line in the place of apostrophe.
- „ 186, line 19.—Read *sattva*.
- „ 186, line 20.—Read *Sandhi*°.
- „ 186, line 22.—For *descriptin* read *description*.
- „ 186, line 22.—For *Brāhmaṇa* read *Brāhmaṇa*.
- „ 186, line 23.—For *epither* read *epithet*.
- „ 186, line 25.—For *śāstra* read *śāstra* (in two places).
- „ 186, line 36.—For *belived* read *believed*.
- „ 186, line 40.—For *Indēdā* read *Indēdā*.
- „ 186, f. n. 3, line 3.—For **smṛti* read **smṛti*.
- „ 188, text line 15.—For *ātumajō* read *ātumajō*.
- „ 188, text line 16.—For *smṛta-saṁ* read *sudhā-saṁ*°.
- „ 188, text line 21.—For *manōhāriṇī* read *manōhāriṇī*.
- „ 188, text line 22.—For *pluṣṭ-ārāṭi* read *pluṣṭ-ārāṭi*.
- „ 188, text line 25.—For *pūtri* read *pūtri*.
- „ 188, text line 27.—Read *Jīhōḍā*.
- „ 188, text line 27.—For *bhaviṣhyāḥ* read *bhaviṣhyāḥ*.
- „ 188, text line 27.—For *°trī(n-rā)-japutrān* read *°trī(n-rā) japutān*.
- „ 188, text line 28.—For *°jivinaḥ* read *°jivinaḥ*.
- „ 188, text line 29.—For *vahaya* read *vishaya*.
- „ 190, line 41.—For *Jaipur* read *Jaipur*.
- „ 191, f. n. 2, line 13.—For *suggests* read *suggest*.
- „ 193, f. n. 4.—Read *Āshādhasya*.
- „ 196, line 8.—For *wich* read *which*.
- „ 196, line 11.—For *callec* read *called*.
- „ 196, line 21.—For *Sārdūla*° read *Sārdūla*°.
- „ 196, line 22.—For *andākrāntā* read *Manākrāntā*.
- „ 196, f. n. 3. For *ust* read *must*.

No. 24. Hingni Berdi Plates of Rashtrakuta Vihhuraaja, Year 3	between pages 176 and 177
„ 25. Ajmer Stone Inscription	to face page 180
„ 26. Two Grants from Dasapalla—Plate I :	
A. Dasapalla Plate of Devananda ; Year 184	between pages 188 and 189
„ 27. „ —Plate II :	
B. Dasapalla. Plates of Satrubhanja Tribhuvanakalasa, Year 198	„ 192 and 193
„ 28. Bilaigarh Plates of Kalachuri Prithvidaya, Year 896	„ 196 and 197
„ 29. Talangere Inscription of Jayasinha	to face page 208
„ 30. Two Plates from Tribhuvanamahadevi from Baud	between pages 216 and 217

APPENDIX

Rajaprasasti Inscription of Udaipur :

I. A View of the Nauchanki Ghat, Rajasamudra	to face page 2
II. A View of one of the Pavilions, Rajasamudra	„ 3
III. Slab III	„ 10
IV. Slab XVI	„ 56

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 6, text line 1.—For Śrīmā⁸ read Śrīmā⁹.

“ 9, text line 57.—For Śrīmā⁸ read Śrīmā⁹.

“ 16, text line 13.—For *jvala read *j[⁹]jvala.

“ 17, text line 33.—For dattam read dattam(ttam).

“ 19, line 31.—For i and ī read i, ī, u and ū.

“ 19, line 44.—For for chandrasārahā read for chandra-sārahā.

“ 23, line 18.—Omit comma after predecessor.

“ 24, line 20.—For re-conquest read conquest.

“ 28, text line 13.—For kṛtām read kṛtām(tā).

“ 35, line 28.—For Srikakulam read Ganjam.

“ 37, text line 35.—Read (kā) |).

“ 41, f.n. 5.—Read yā for yā.

“ 45, line 40.—For churnā read chūrṇi.

“ 45, f. n. 2.—Add note—*Prasāda* is mentioned in an early inscription from Bengal (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 356). It may be the same as *prasekti* mentioned in Sarva-nanda's *Anarakāśa-śikā* (under verse 89 of Vaiśya-varga) as equal to 5 *Khāris*.

“ 47, lines 2-3.—For Srikakulam District of Madras read Ganjam District of Orissa.

“ 47, line 21.—For Tiruchirapalli read Tiruchirappalli.

“ 47, line 50.—Add at the beginning of the last paragraph—Lines 40-42 of the inscription refer to the king's request to the people addressed as well as to the

“ 54, line 1.—For parts read of parts.

“ 55, text line 24.—For iri read īrī.

“ 58, line 8.—For *ākusaṁ read *ākusa[ḥ].

“ 59, f.n.2.—For *Cōla Studies* read *Studies in Cōla History and Administration*.

Page 62, f. n. line 3.—*Read* 10th year (1021 A.C.).

„ 64, line 13.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.

„ 64, line 15.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.

„ 65, text line 5.—*For* Dēvakīḥ *read* Dēvakīḥ.

„ 65, text line 8.—*For* kānanath *read* kānanath(nam).

„ 68, text line 60.—*For* sa-dvīpāḥ *read* sa-dvīpām.

„ 69, text line 65.—*Read* dardjēām-a(śair-a)līhavaḥ¹⁸.

„ 69, text line 66.—*Read* līhavaḥ(nam).

„ 69, text line 87.—*For* vivṛiḥ *read* vivṛiḥ.

„ 69, text line 88.—*For* bhṛitah(tāś-cha)la *read* bhṛitahcha(tāś-cha)la.

„ 69, text line 89.—*For* pi *read* pi¹⁹.

„ 70, text line 95.—*For* Karvāḥ(unā)ṭaka *read* Karvāḥ(runā)ṭaka.

„ 70, text line 95.—*For* *n-aśvikō²⁰ *read* *na(n-ā)śvikō²⁰.

„ 70, text line 96.—*For* hastikēna *read* h[ā*]stikēna.

„ 70, text line 108.—*For* Krovvinḍl[ā]ṭah-bāsi *read* Krovvinḍl[ā]ṭahbāsi.

„ 73, line 10.—*For* impure *read* ill.

„ 73, lines 11 and 12.—*For* purify *read* cure.

„ 73, f.n.1, line 1.—*Omit comma after* Boḥgūlchārya.

„ 73, f.n.1, line 2.—*For* engaging *read* engaging themselves.

„ 73, f. n. 7, line 1.—*Read* born on the occasion.

„ 74, f. n. 3, line 10.—*Omit comma after* Vāḍa.

„ 75, line 38.—*For* Kūpalāru *read* Kīṭpalāru.

„ 75, line 40.—*For* Māḥpalāru *read* Mēḥpalāru.

„ 76, f. n. 4.—*For* after n *read* after ṇ.

„ 81, f. n. 5.—*Read* year 70 or 60.

„ 84, f.n. 7.—*For* 820-25 A.C. *read* 831 A.C.

„ 89, line 24.—*For* importuace *read* importance.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXIX

1951-1952

No. 1—TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTACAMUND

The village of Belwā lies a few miles to the west of the Hili railway station on the East Bengal Railway, in the eastern fringe of the Dinajpur District, not far from the borders of the Bogra and Rangpur Districts. Some time in 1946, a Santal inhabitant of the village, named Khār Sātāl, discovered two inscribed copper plates while digging the compound of his house with a view to enlarging a fire-place. Mr. Manoranjan Gupta of Calcutta soon secured the plates with the help of Muhammad Basir Sarkār who is an official at the Zamindar's Katchery at the village of Kasigāri, not far away from Belwā. Mr. Gupta studied the inscriptions and published both of them in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* (Bengali), Vols. LIV, B. S. 1354; pp. 41-50; LVI, B. S. 1356, pp. 60-65, with plates.¹ The original plates were also presented to the Museum of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta. One of the records belongs to king Mahipāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār, and the other to his grandson Vīrahapāla III (circa 1055-90 A. C.). As, however, the inscriptions appeared to me to have been neither carefully read nor correctly interpreted, I requested, several times, the authorities of the Parishat to lend me the original plates for a few weeks for examination or to supply me with a set of good impressions of each of the inscriptions. Unfortunately neither of these requests was complied with.² At last impressions of both the plates were available to me through the kindness of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle. I edit the inscriptions from these impressions.

A.—Plate of Mahipāla I; Regnal Year 5

The record is incised on a single copper-plate, measuring 15" × 14-6". The weight has not been recorded. The seal, which closely resembles those attached to other charters of the Pāla rulers, is, as usual, soldered to the upper part of the document. It is the celebrated *dharmachakra-mudrā* of the Pālas who were Buddhists. It has in the centre a circle with raised rim and beaded border which is surrounded by arabesque work and is surmounted by a *chaitya* symbol. The upper half of the inner circle of the seal is occupied by the Buddhist 'Wheel of the Law' having an umbrella above it and a deer couchant on either side. Below the central demarcation line, forming a pedestal for the above, is the legend *śrī-Mahipālāditya*, the space beneath being covered by arabesque foliage. There are altogether 58 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, 33 lines on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. The incision is deep and clear, and the

¹ For an English version of these papers, see *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-33.

² In December 1950, when I happened to be in Calcutta, I was allowed to examine the original plates in the Parishat's office. My thanks are due to Mr. Gupta and the authorities of the Parishat for this help.

verses from the introduction of one's predecessor's charter became prevalent in the Pāla house amongst the descendants of Vīrabhāpāla or Śūrabhāpāla I (circa 850-54 A. C.) who was the cousin's son and successor of Dēvapāla (circa 810-50 A. C.). The first six verses of our record describe the exploits of Gōpāla I (circa 750-70 A. C.) who was the first imperial ruler of the Pāla dynasty, his son Dharmapāla (circa 770-810 A. C.), his younger brother and general Vākpāla, his son Jayapāla who was a general of Dēvapāla, his son Vīrabhāpāla I and his son Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908 A. C.). These verses are noticed for the first time in the charter¹ of Nārāyaṇapāla and are found quoted in all the later grants of the family. It is as yet unknown whether the first five of these verses were quoted by Nārāyaṇapāla from a charter of his father, as no copper-plate grant of Vīrabhāpāla I has so far been discovered. We have also as yet no charter of the time of Rājyapāla (circa 908-40 A. C.), son and successor of Nārāyaṇapāla, although the Jājilpāṇi plate of Gōpāla II (circa 940-55 A. C.), son and successor of Rājyapāla, was published some time ago in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* (B. S. 1334, part i, pp. 264 ff.).² It is therefore no wonder that verses 7-9 of our record dealing with Rājyapāla and Gōpāla II are also found in the Jājilpāṇi plate. Verse 10 speaks of Vīrabhāpāla II (circa 985-88 A. C.), son and successor of Gōpāla II, and the following two verses (verses 11-12) of his son and successor, the reigning monarch Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.). Verse 11 says that Mahīpāla I recovered his paternal *rājya*, which had become *anāhi-kṛta-vilupta* (lost owing to the occupation by usurpers), after having killed all the enemies in battle by the prowess of his own arms. Our inscription, dated in the king's fifth regnal year, shows that Mahīpāla attained success against the enemies quite early in his reign. The enemies who dispossessed Mahīpāla I of his paternal kingdom are usually identified with the Kāmbōja rulers of northern and south-western Bengal known from the Bāggarh pillar inscription and the Irda plate, although there is a theory challenging the suggestion of Kāmbōja occupation of parts of Bengal in the second half of the tenth century A. C.³ Whatever be the truth of the suggestion regarding the recovery of northern and south-western Bengal by Mahīpāla I from the Kāmbōjas, we know that the Pāla king very probably reconquered south-east Bengal from the Chandras quite early in his reign. As I have elsewhere shown,⁴ the Chandras originally ruled over Chandradvīpa, otherwise called Vaṅgāladēsa, in the Buckerganj region of southern Bengal; but Śrīchandra, the first imperial ruler of the family, conquered and ruled over wide regions of south-east Bengal in the second half of the tenth century. There was a short eclipse of Chandra power after Śrīchandra apparently owing to the success of Mahīpāla I. This is suggested not only by Mahīpāla's claim referred to above, but also by the Bāghaurā⁵ and Nārāyaṇpur⁶ inscriptions, dated respectively in his 3rd and 4th regnal years, which speak of Mahīpāla's rule over Samatāja, i.e., the present Tippera-Noakhali region, although Chandra suzerainty was re-established in eastern and south-eastern Bengal by Gōvindachandra during the life-time of Mahīpāla I himself. Verse 12 of our record says that the war elephants of Mahīpāla I roamed in the eastern countries, then in the valleys of the Malaya mountain range (the modern Travancore hills), next in the Maru country (i.e., the Marwar region in the Rajputana desert in the ancient Western division of India) and ultimately in the valleys of the Himalayas. This has often been taken to indicate aimless wanderings of the Pāla army owing to a great catastrophe that befell the Pāla kingdom.⁷ But,

¹ *Gaudulāṭhanāṭh*, pp. 55 ff.

² See *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 137-44.

³ *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 133 ff., 190 f.

⁴ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 410 ff. The Chandras originally owed allegiance to a dynasty of Harikēla kings possibly represented by Kāntidēva of the Chittagong plate. See also *J.R.A.S.B.*, L., Vol. XVII, pp. 90-91.

⁵ *Alore*, Vol. XVII, p. 351.

⁶ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

⁷ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 136.

as I have demonstrated elsewhere,¹ it refers to the usual conventional claim of *dig-vijaya* over the *chakravartī-kshētra* covering the whole of India. That the claim has not much history behind it is clear from the fact that the same verse, describing the exploits of Mahīpāla's forces in the present record, has been employed in the Bāngarh plate of the same king to eulogize the achievements of the army of the king's father Vīgrahapāla II. Again, the same verse is also found in the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II as well as the Āngāchhī² and Belwā plates of Vīgrahapāla III (grandson of Mahīpāla I) in the description of the exploits of the armies of the reigning monarchs.

Lines 23-27 of the charter introduce the place of issue which was the *jaya-kundhāvāra* at the city of Sāhasagandā. It is interesting to note that the same description is employed in all the Pāla charters, beginning with those of Dharmapāla, although the *jaya-kundhāvāras* (probably temporary capitals) themselves were different. This stereotyped description suits only a city on the Bhāgrathī (i.e., the Ganges) and it suggests that the various *jaya-kundhāvāras*, some of which cannot be satisfactorily identified, were all situated on the Ganges.³ This is supported by the fact that most of the grants were made by the Pāla kings after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges. Lines 27-28 introduce the reigning monarch, who was in good health while making the grant, as the *Paramasūgata* (devout Buddhist) *Paramēśvara Paramahattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Mahīpālādēva* who meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vīgrahapālādēva.

Lines 28-31 give details regarding the gift land which consisted of three localities all situated in the Pundravardhana *bhukti*. The first of the three was Ōsinna-Kaivarittavpittī which measured 210 and was attached to the territorial unit called Amalakshuddinga within the Phāpita *vithi*. The expression *eva-sumbaddh-āvichchhinnatālpāpita* (i.e., 'land that pertains to the king's own self and has its ground not yet alienated'), found in the description of the piece of land, is also known from other Pāla charters. The standard land measure, according to which the area of Ōsinna-Kaivarittavpittī was calculated to have been 210, has not been specified. The Belwā plate of Vīgrahapāla III, edited below, speaks of the land measures *udamāsa*, *āḥarāpa*, *drōṇa* (i.e., *drōṇarāpa*) and *kulya* (i.e., *kulyarāpa*) as prevalent in the same locality. Of these, 4 *āḥarāpas* made 1 *drōṇa*, 8 of which were equal to 1 *kulya*. As I have shown elsewhere,⁴ about 45 *udamāsas* (otherwise called *udāna* or *unmīna*) probably made an *āḥarāpa* (originally from 4 to 5 modern Bengal *Bighās* of land). It is difficult to determine as to which of the four land measures has been regarded as the standard one in the record under discussion, especially in view of the fact that all the four are known to have been the standard land measure in different localities, although the area of each may not have been the same in all places. The high number in the specification of the area suggests that the reference is possibly not to the *kulya* or *kulyarāpa*.

The second piece of the gift land comprised the locality called Nandivāminī which measured 490 of the standard land measure and was situated in Shatāpāyishattra which incorporated Pāñchakāṇḍaka and lay in the Pāṇḍarikā *maṇḍala*. The third plot of the gift land was the locality called Gaṇēśvara to which some village tanks were attached. The area of this plot was 151 of the standard land measure and it was situated in the Pāñchanagari *vishaya*.

¹ *J. B. A. S. B., L.*, Vol. V, pp. 407-15, especially p. 410.

² Above, Vol. XV, 295 ff.

³ The following *jaya-kundhāvāras* are known to have been places of issue of the Pāla charters: Pātāliputra (near modern Patna), Mudragiri (modern Mingburi), Rāmavati (near modern Gangā in the Malda District), Vāṇa-parvatāka (modern Vāṇāvar-parvat near Pātharghatā in the Bhāgalpur District), Vilāsapura and Sāhasagandā. The name of the place, whence the Āngāchhī plate of Vīgrahapāla III was issued, is doubtful; but to me it appears to be Vilāsapura.

⁴ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 300-13.

The list of officials and others associated with the above three pieces of the gift land is quoted in lines 31-40. This is practically the same in all Pāla records.¹ In this list is included servants like *chāṭas* and *bhāṭas* (regular and irregular soldiers, or policemen and peons) of various nationalities such as Gauda, Mālava, etc. These are for the first time noticed in the Nālandā plate² of Dharmapāla. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee specified in lines 41-44 are also common with other records of the Pāla kings.³ As in so many other records of the Pālas, the above three villages are said to have been granted in the name of (*uddītya*) the lord Buddha-bhattāraka for the increase of merit and fame of the king and his parents. The specified land was made a permanent rent-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jivadharadēvaśarma, who belonged to the Hastidāsā *gōtra* having the Āngirasa, Āmarīśa and Yauvanāśva *pravara*s and was the son of Dhīrśvara-dēvaśarma and grandson of Vishṇudēvaśarma. The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the area for the protection of his grant and his order to the cultivators to offer in due time to the donee all dues including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara* and *hiranya* are couched in the same language as in the other Pāla charters. After giving the date (*Saṃvat 5 Śālvana-dinī* 28) in line 49, the imprecatory verses, found not only in the Bāngarh plate of the same king but also in other grants of the Pāla kings, are quoted in lines 50-56. The last two verses of the record mention the *dūtaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that Mahipālādēva made the *mantrīn* (minister) Lakshmidhara the executor of the charter. The plates are said to have been engraved by the artisan Pushyāditya who was the son of Chandraditya hailing from the village of Pōshali. The artisans of Pōshali are also known to have engraved some other records of the Pāla kings such as the Bāngarh plate of Mahipāla I and the Āmgāchhi plate of Vigrahapāla III.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the *jaya-skandhārā* called Sāhasagandhānagara, which was apparently situated on the Ganges, cannot be satisfactorily indentified. The gift villages, viz., Ōsinna-Kaivarttavpittī (i.e., Ōsinna which had been once allotted to the Kaivarttas for their service), Nandisvāminī and Gaṇēśvara cannot also be identified. These three villages

¹ These are: *rājā* (subordinate king); *rājagubhā* (feudatory chief); *rājaputra* (possibly, noble man); *rājamantriya* (minister or executive officer); *madantadhipatyakṣa* (minister for war and peace); *madantashayajalīn* (accompanyant); *madantashayajalīn* (feudatory); *madantadhipati* (general); *madantadhipati* (officer in charge of the palace-gate); *madantadhipati* (not mentioned in our record); *madantadhipati* (judge); *madantadhipati* (minister of the rank of a prince of the royal blood); *rājasthān-āpātrika* (viceroys); *dūtāparidhāna* (minor judge); *chāṭavādākarasābi* (prefect of the police); *dāndika*; *dāndapātrika* (police officer); *śūlaka* (customs officer); *gaulmika* (officer in charge of a police station); *kāśikāpā* (officer in charge of the royal land); *prāntapāla* (ruler of the marches); *kṣītrpāla* (governor of a fort); *śāyadārakā* or *śāyatrakā*; those appointed or commissioned by the above-mentioned; those in charge of elephants, horses, camels, navy and army; those in charge of foals, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats and sheep; *dāntprādhāna*; *paṇḍapātrika*; *abādāramāṇa*; head of a district; head of a village; ferry-man; *chāṭa*, *bhāṭa* and other servants of such nationalities as Gauda, Mālava, Khassa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karmāṇa and Lāta; other unnamed subjects and servants of the king.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 294 ff.

³ These were: 'up to its boundaries, grass and pasture land' (*su-samā-irīṣyāti-gōchāra-paryanta*); 'with its ground' (*sa-tūli*); 'with the space (above the ground)' (*śāddīṣa*); 'with its mango and *maṇḍaka* trees'; 'with its water and dry land'; 'with its pits and saline spots' (*sa-guṇṭha-dhara*); 'with the tax from temporary tenants' (*śāpātrika*), although this is omitted in our record; 'with *śāpātrika* (dānt-āpātrika of other records which refers to the fine realised for ten minor offences)'; 'with things recovered from thieves' (*sa-chāur-śāddhāra*); 'with exemption from all oppressions'; 'not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhāṭas* (usually interpreted as regular and irregular troops, but may be policemen and peons)'; 'nothing to be taken (by way of tax, etc.)'; 'together with all revenues such as *bhāga* (royal share of the produce), *bhōga* (periodical supply of fruits, etc.), *śānta* (taxes), *śānta* (tax to be paid in coin), etc.'; 'according to the maxim of *bhāṇi-cakṣhāra*'; 'to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure'. *Bhāṇi-cakṣhāra-nyaya* refers to the custom of allowing a person who brings a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation to enjoy it without paying rent.

were situated respectively in Amalakshuddunga within the Phāṇita vīṭhī (subdivision),¹ in Shatṭā-pāṇāyichatra incorporating Pañchakāṇḍaka within the Puṇḍarikā maṇḍala (smaller district or its part), and in the Pañchanagari viśaya (district). Of these, the Pañchanagari viśaya no doubt had its headquarters at the city of the same name whence the Baigram plate² was issued. We have elsewhere³ suggested that this city is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and is no other than modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. The bhukti (province) of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, originally comprised northern Bengal, although in later times its jurisdiction is known sometimes to have extended over certain parts of south-eastern and southern Bengal. The village of Pōchali, whence the family of the engraver hailed, seems to be the same as the Pōchali pāṇi of the Rājhiya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. The village has been identified with modern Pōchālā about 5 miles to the south-east of Maṅgaikōṭ in the Burdwan District of West Bengal,⁴ although little can be said in favour of the identification.

TEXT⁵

[Metres : Verses 1, 8 *Stagdhārā* ; verses 2, 3, 6 *Sāndālavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 5 *Ārgā* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā* ; verse 11 *Mālinī* ; verse 12 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 13-17, 20, 21 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 18 *Sālinī* ; verse 19 *Pushpatāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Ni[⁶][⁷] [Siddham⁸] | Svasti [⁹] Maitrīa-kāruṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ prēyaśi[m] ni¹⁰
- 2 sandadhānaḥ samyak-samvō[mō]dhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-ja-
- 3 la-kahālīt-ājōṣaṇa-paṅkaḥ | jivā yaḥ [kāma¹¹]kāri-prabha-
- 4 vam-abhihavanā sāsavatīm-prāpa sānti[m] sa śrīmā-
- 5 l-Lō(l-Lō)kanāthō jayati dāsa-va(ba)lō-¹²nyas-cha Gōpā-
- 6 ladēvaḥ || [¹³] Lakṣmī-janma-nikētanam sama[ka¹⁴]rō vōdhum kaha-
- 7 mah kāmā-bharam [¹⁵] pakṣa-chohōda-bhayōd-upasthitavatām-ēk-āśrayō bhūbhṛitām |
- maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ śaury-āla-
- 8 yō-smād-abhūd-dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmmapālō nṛpaḥ || [¹⁶] Rā-
- masy-ōva grihita-satya-tapasa-tasy-ānurūpō
- 9 gunaiḥ Saumitrār-udapādi tulya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām-ānujaḥ [¹⁷] yaḥ śrīmān-naya-vikram-
- aika-vasatir-bhṛatuh sthitaḥ āśa-
- 10 nō bhūyāḥ śatru-patākinibhir-akarōd-ēk-ātapatrā dīśaḥ || [¹⁸] Tasmād-Upendra-charitai[r]-
- jagatīm punānaḥ putrō va(ba)bhūva vijayī
- 11 Jayapāla-nāmā | dharma-dvishām ān(śa)mayi(tā) yudhi Dēvapālō yaḥ pūrvajō bhuvana-
- rājya-sukhāny-a[n]śahit || [¹⁹] Śrīmān-Vigrahapāla-
- 12 a-ta[r]-sūnur-Ajātasatru-iva jātah [²⁰] āu(śa)tru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilōpi-vimal-āsi-jala-
- dhārāḥ || [²¹] Dikpālāḥ kahiti-pālanāya da-
- 13 dhataḥ dōhō vibhaktā(n-gu)ḥ[ā²²]n śrījantaḥ-janayāmva(mba)bhūva tanayam Nātāyaṇaḥ
- sa prabhuh | yaḥ kah[ō]papatibhiḥ śrō-maṇi-ruch-āśahat-ā[m²³]ghri-pā-

¹ Mr. Gupta is inclined to identify Phāṇita with Panitāl or Punitāl on the Karatoya and Amalakshuddunga with Amalgari not far from Belur. He also equates gōṇḍa in Sūhasa-gōṇḍa with the pūrī-ending of modern names.

² *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

⁴ N. N. Vani, *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*, Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa (Bengal), Vol. I, p. 122.

⁵ From an impression.

⁶ Ni is a contraction of the word *nibodhā*, "registered," "endorsed."

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ The *danda* is superfluous.

A.—PLATE OF MAHIPALA I; REGNAL YEAR 5

२ यत्तु वीर्यं यन्मात्रं स्यात्
 ४ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 ६ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 ८ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 १० तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 १२ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 १४ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 १६ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 १८ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 २० तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 २२ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 २४ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 २६ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 २८ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 ३० तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु
 ३२ तन्मात्रं तन्मात्रं न यत्तु

34 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
36 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
38 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
40 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
42 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
44 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
46 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
48 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
50 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
52 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
54 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
56 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः
58 गार्ग्योऽपि ब्रह्मविद्यायां श्रीगणेशाय नमः

- 14 th-ōpalam nyāy-ōpāttam-alañchakāra charitāḥ svair-ēva dharmm-āsanam(nam) || [6*]
Tōyāśayair-jāledhi-mūla-gabbhira-garbhair[r]-da(r-dō)vālayais-cha
- 15 kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kakshaiḥ | vikhyāta-ki[r]ttir-abhavat-tanayaś-cha tasya śri-Rājyapāla
iti madhyama-lōka-pālah || [7*] Tasmāt-pū[r]va-kahiti-
- 16 dhārā-nidhir-iva mahasām Rāshtrakūt-ānvay-āndōs-Tuṅgasy-ōttuṅga-manibō[r]-dūhitari
tanayō Bhāgyadēvyāḥ prasūtaḥ || [*] Ārimān-Gōpāladēvaś-chi-
- 17 rataram-avanēr-ēka-patayā iv-aikō bhatrā(rit-ā)bhūn-naika-ratna-dyuti-khachita-chatuh-
sindhu-chitr-āhśukāyāḥ || [8*] Yath svāminah rāja-guṇair-anūna-
- 18 [m-ā]śēvatē [chā]rutay-ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-prabhuśakti-lakṣmīḥ pṛithivī aspatum-
iva śilayanti || [9*] Tasmād-va(d-ba)bhūva savitur-vasu-
- 19 kōṭi-varaḥi |¹ kālēna chandra iva Vighrahpāladēvaḥ | nētra-priyēṇa vimalēṇa kalāmayēna
yēn-ōditēna dalitō bhūva-
- 20 nasya tāpaḥ || [10*] Hata-sakala-vipakṣah saṅgarē vā(bā)hu-da[r]pa(rpā)d-anadhikṛita-
viluptaḥ rājyam-āśēdya² pitryasi(tryam) | sūhita-charaṇa-padme bhū-
- 21 bhujārā mūrdhni tasmād-abhavad-avanipālah śri-Mahipāladēvaḥ || [11*] Dēśē prāchi
prachura-payasi svachchham-āpiya tōyāḥ svairam bhrāntvā ta-
- 22 d-ann Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu | kṛitvā sūndarair-Marushu jadatām śkarair-abhva-tulyāḥ
Prālēyādrēḥ kaṭakam-abhujan yasya sēnā-
- 23 gaḥ-āndrāḥ || [12*] Sa khalu Bhāgirathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-ucc-vājaka-sam-
pādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-(mihita-śaila)-śikhara-śrēṇi-vibhva-
- 24 māt |¹ m[ra]tīśaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghatā-tyāmāyāmāna-vīśara-lakṣmi-samāravdha-
(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāt |² ulichī-
- 25 n-ānēka-narapati-prā[bh]ṛit-āpramēya-baya-vāhinī³-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsarita-
digantarālāt |⁴ paramēśvara-sēvā-sa-
- 26 māyāt-āśēha-Jamvu(mbū)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pō[dā]ta-bhara-namad-avanōḥ śri-Sāhasaga-
ḍa-nagara-samāvāsi(tā*)⁵ Ārimaj-jayaskandhāvārā-
- 27 [t]¹ paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja-śri-Vighrahpāladēva-pād-ānūdyātāḥ paramēśvara-
paramabhat[ṭ]āraka-mahārājādhi-
- 28 rājāḥ Āriman-Mahipāladēvaḥ kuśalī |¹ śri-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau |² Phāgita-vithi-samva-
(mba)ddha-³Amala[kahuddu]jōg-āntahpātī-sva-samvā-⁴
- 29 vicchhinnā-tal-ōpēta-[da]ś-ōttara-sata-divaya-pramāḡ-Ausi[unna]-Kaivartta-vṛitti- |¹ Puṇḍa-
rikā-maṇjal-āntahpā(pā)ti-Pañchakāṇḍak-ādihika-
- 30 Shat[ṭ]pāpāyichatrē⁵ navaty-uttara-chatuh-sata-pramāḡ-Nandivāmini- |¹ Pañchanagari-
vishay-āntahpātī-² Akapañchāsad-uttara-śa-
- 31 ta-pramāḡ-Gaḡēśvara-samēta-grāma-pushki(śhka)ripīshu |¹ samupagarā(t-ā)śēha-rājapu-
rushūn |² rāja-rājanyaka- |³ rājaputra- |⁴ rājāmā-
- 32 tya- |¹ mahāsāndhivighrahika- |² mahākshapaṭalika- |³ mahāsāmanta- |⁴ mahāsēnāpati- |⁵ mahā-
[pra]tibhāra- |⁶ dāh[ṣ]ādhasādhanī-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.² Originally *śi* was engraved.³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.⁴ Read *amāhudda-ś*.⁵ Better read *chakra*. *Chakra* may be the same as *chaturaka* (cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94).

- 33 [ka]-¹ mahādaṇḍanāyaka-¹ mahākumārāmātya-¹ rājasthān-ōparika-¹ dāśāparādāhika-¹ chaurōddharagika-¹ dāṇḍika-¹ dāṇḍa-

Reverse

- 34 pāsī(śi)ka-¹ śaulkika-¹ gaulmika-kshōtrapa-¹ prāntapāla-¹ kōṭṭapā-
 35 la-¹ āṅgaraksha-¹ tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka-¹ hasty-śv-ōshtra-
 36 nan-va(ha)la-vyāpṛitaka-¹ ki[śō]ra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-ā-
 37 vik-ādhyakaha-¹ dūtaprēshaṇika-gamāgamika-¹ abhiv[ra*]-
 38 māṇa-¹ viśhayapati-¹ grāmapati-¹ tarika-¹ Gauḍa-¹ Mālava-¹
 39 Khasa-¹ Hūṇa-¹ Kulika-¹ Karṇāṭa-¹ Lāṭa-¹ chāṭa-¹ bhāṭa-¹ sēvak-ādīn¹ anyānś-cha-
 ākirtitān¹ rāja-pād-ōpajīvinah¹ prativā-
 40 śiśō Vrahma-attarān¹ mahattam-ōttama-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-Mōd-Āndhra-Chaṇḍāla-pary-
 antān¹ yath-ārham mānayaṭi¹ vō(hō)dhayaṭi sa-
 41 mādisati cha¹ viditam-asu bhavatām¹ yath-ōparilikhitā, tri-grāmā¹ eva-simā-tripayūti-
 gōchura-paryantā¹ sa-tala-
 42 s-ōddēśā¹ s-āmra-madhukā¹ sa-jala-sthālā¹ sa-grutt-ōsharā¹ sa-dā-āpachācā¹ sa-
 chaur-ōddharagā¹ parihṛita-sarva-piḍā¹ a-
 43 chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēśā¹ a-kiñchit-pragrāhā(hyā)¹ samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-
 pratyāya-samētā¹ bhūmi-chchhīdra-nyāyā-
 44 na ā-chandr-ārka-kāhiti-sama-kālam¹ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yasō-bhividdhayā¹
 bhagavantā¹ Vu(Bu)ddha-bhāṭārakam-uddiśya ā-
 45 āgiras-āmva(mba)riśha-Yā(Yau)mo(va)nāśva-pravarāya¹ Hastidāsa-sagōtrāya Viśṇudēva-
 sarmanah¹ putrāya¹ Dhīśvaradēvaśarmānah¹
 46 putrāya¹ ācī-Jivadhara-dēvaśarmānah¹ viśu(śu)vat-saōkrāntau vidhivat¹ Gaṅgāyān¹
 sūtvā āsanikṛitya pradattō-smābhī¹ a-
 47 tō bhavadbhīsa-as|vair-ēv-ānumantavyah¹ bhāvibhī-cha bhūpatibhī¹ bhūmēr-dāna-phala-
 gauravā¹ apaharaṇā cha mahā-naraka-
 48 pāta-bhaya(yā)¹ dānam-idam-anumōdy-ānupālaniya¹ prativāsibhī-cha kshōtrakara¹
 ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kālā[di]
 49 samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanaya¹ k[ā]rya iti || Samva(sachva)¹ [5]
 Śāvaṇa-dinē 26 [1*] Bhavanti ch-ātra dha-
 50 ruma(rmm-ā)nūśarmānah¹ ālōkā¹ [1*] Va(Ba)huhir-vasadhā bhuktā rājābhī Sagar-ādibhī¹
 yaśya yaśya yadā bhūmis-tasya [tasya*] tadā phalam(lam) || [13*] Bhū-
 51 miṇ ya¹ pratigrihā(hnā)ti yaś-cha bhūmiṇ prayachchhati | ubhal(bhan) tau puṇya-karmma-
 (rmmā)ṇau niyataṇ avarga-gāminau || [14*] Gām-ekā[di] svarṇam-ā-
 52 kām-cha bhūmēr-apy-arddham aḡulam(lam) | haran-narakam-a(m-ā)yāti ya(yā)va[d-ā*]-
 hūta-samplavah(vam) || [15*] Shashṭim-va(śhṭim va)riśha-sakākrā(śś)¹ svarggē mōdati
 bhūmīla-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

² The designation *rājasthān-ōparika* is found as *rājasthān-ōparika* in most of the Pala records.

³ *Sundhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *Brahma-attarān*.

⁵ Originally *paripatā* was engraved.

⁶ *Lūhito*-*gum* *grāmā* was originally engraved. All the epithets of *grāmā* in the singular in lines 41-43 were later made plural to suit *tri-grāmā* by the addition of an *ā* suffix. But *pradattō-smābhī* in line 46 escaped the engraver's notice and was left uncorrected.

⁷ Read *pradattō smābhī*.

- 53 h | ākahāptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-śva sarakā vasaḥ || [16*] Śva-dattāni para-dattāni (vā*)
yā hare[ta*] vasundharāni(tām) | sa viśphāyāni kṛmī-śhūtvā pi-
- 54 tṛbhūḥ saha paśhyatē || [17*] Sarvān-ātān-bhāvināḥ pārtīv-āmrān-bhūyō bhūyāḥ prārthayatē-
(ty-ē)cha Rāmāḥ | sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētur-ni-
- 55 pāpān kālē kālē pālaniyāḥ kramēṇa || [18*] Iti kimāla-dal-amvā-(l-āmbu)-vindu-lālāḥ
śriyam-anuvichintya¹ ma[na*]śhya-jivita-
- 56 ā-cha | sakalam-idam-udāhṛitān-cha vu(bu)ddhā na hi puruṣaḥ pata-kiritayō vilōpyā iti ||²
Śri-Mahipālādēvēna dvija-śrē-
- 57 śhṭh-ōpapādītē ||*|| [śri]māl-La(-La)kṣmidharē mantri śāsanē dūtakaḥ kṛtāḥ || [20*] Pōhali-
grāma-niryāta-Cha[ndrā]dityasya śū(sū)nnā | i-
- 58 dām śāsanam-utkīrṇādi śri³-Pushyādityēna śilpiṇā || [21*]

B.—Plate of Vighrahapāla III ; Regnal Year 11

The inscription is written on a single plate which is of the same size as the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, edited above. The seal, which is broken at the top, very closely resembles that of Mahipāla's plate. The legend on the seal, attached to the charter under discussion, reads *Śri-Vighrahapālādēvāḥ*. There are 54 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, the obverse containing 29 lines and the reverse 25. The preservation of the writing on the plate is not quite satisfactory. Some of the letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion. Five lines at the top on the obverse of the plate and four lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

Little calls for special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription as they very closely resemble those of the Āṅgādhī plate,⁴ the only other copper-plate charter of king Vighrahapāla III so far published. In most cases in our inscription, the left curve of the letter *g* does not start from its top but from the middle of its central vertical. The letter *i* usually resembles in form the conjunct *ihā* or *ehā* as found in some inscriptions of the Gupta age.

The charter is dated on the 19th day of Bhādra in the year 11 of the king's reign (line 46). Like the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I and several other records of the family, the grant under discussion was made by king Vighrahapāla III after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *vishuvāt-sankṛānti*. It appears therefore, as in the case of Mahipāla's record discussed above, that the grant had been made on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later.

As in the grant of Mahipāla I edited above, both at the beginning and at the end of the first line of our charter occurs the letter *ai* which is a contraction of the expression *aiśadāha* meaning 'registered.' The actual record begins with the *siddham* symbol and the word *śasti* which are followed by fourteen verses (lines 1-23). These verses are also found in the Āṅgādhī plate of the same king. Of these, twelve verses are common with Mahipāla's plate edited above. But, as already pointed out, the verse referring to the exploits of the king's elephant force in all the four corners of the *chakravartī-kṣētra* (verse 14) is employed in the description of Vighrahapāla III himself instead of that of Mahipāla I. Verse 12 of our record speaks of king Nayapāla (circa 1038-53 A. C.), son and successor of Mahipāla I, and verse 13 of Nayapāla's son and successor Vighrahapāla III (circa 1055-80 A. C.) who issued the charter under discussion. These verses are not only found

¹ Read *-anuvichintya*.

² Read *vilōpyāḥ* || [19*] *iti*.

³ Omit *śri* for the sake of the metre.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 295 ff.

in the Āṅgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III, but also in the Manahali plate¹ of Madanapāla (1144-62 A.C.),² great-great-grandson of Vīgrahapāla III. As no other copper-plate charter of the successors of Vīgrahapāla III, in which the verses are expected to have been quoted, has as yet been discovered and as the text of verse 13 of our record could not be satisfactorily read either in the Āṅgāchhi or in the Manahali plate, the charter under discussion offers the correct reading of the verse in question for the first time.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* of Vilāsapura which was also the place of issue of the Bāngarh plate of Mahipāla I and possibly of the Āṅgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III. Its description (lines 22-26) is the same as in other Pāla charters including the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, edited above. Lines 26-27 introduces the *Paramasaukata Paramāvara Paramabhattachāraka Māharājādhirāja śrīmad-Vīgrahapālādēva* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Māharājādhirāja śrī-Nayapālādēva* and as enjoying good health at the time of making the grant. The land granted comprised parts (*ardha*) of the village called Lōvanikāma which was then recently cultivated and was attached to the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (subdivision) within the Phāṇitavithi *vishaya* (district) of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. Phāṇita was originally the name of a *vithi* (subdivision); but later Phāṇita-vithi came to be the name of a *vishaya* or district.³ It is said that Lōvanikāma was partitioned (*riju-khapfikṛita*) and that one part measuring 1 *kulya* (i.e., *kulyasūpa*) 2 *drōgas* (i.e., *drōnavāpas*) 3½ *āḥavāpas* and 3½ *udamānas* was left out, while the other measuring 3 *kulyas* 7½ *drōgas* and 11 *udamānas* was made the subject of the grant.

The list of officials and others associated with the gift land (lines 29-37) and that of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee (lines 38-49) are the same as in other Pāla charters including the one edited above. The grant was made in the name of the lord Buddha-bhattachāraka for the increase of the merit and fame of the king and his parents in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jayānandadēva-śarmaṇ who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gṛha* having the Bhāradvāja, Āṅgīrasa and Bārhaspatya *pravaras* and was the son of Śrīpatidēva, grandson of Hrishikēśadēva and great-grandson of Mitrakaradēva. The words *śrī* prefixed and *śarmaṇ* suffixed only to the name of Jayānandadēva appear to suggest that he was living while his ancestors were all dead and that *śarmaṇ* was already regarded as a distinctive Brahmanical name-suffix, although it was not an integral part of the family's cognomen. The donee is said to have been a student of the Pippalāda *śākhā* and to have been reputed for his scholarship in *mīmāṃsā*, grammar and logic. He was an inhabitant of Vellāvāgrāma, but his family hailed from Vahāḍāgrāma. His epithet *śrī-Ananta-subrahmaṇyachārīn* literally means that he was a co-student of a Brāhmaṇa named Ananta. It however seems to me that the reference is here not to a co-student of the donee but to his preceptor.*

The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the locality and his order to the cultivators to offer the dues payable to the donee in due time come next in lines 44-46. The date (*Samvat II Bhādra-dinā 19*) is also given in line 46. The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 47-53. The two concluding stanzas in lines 53-54 speak of the *dātaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that one Trilōchana was made the executor of the charter by king Vīgrahapāla. The plates were engraved by the artisan Prithvidēva who was a son of Haradēva hailing from the village of Tinnidī.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Vilāsapura, whence the grant was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it was apparently situated on the Ganges. The

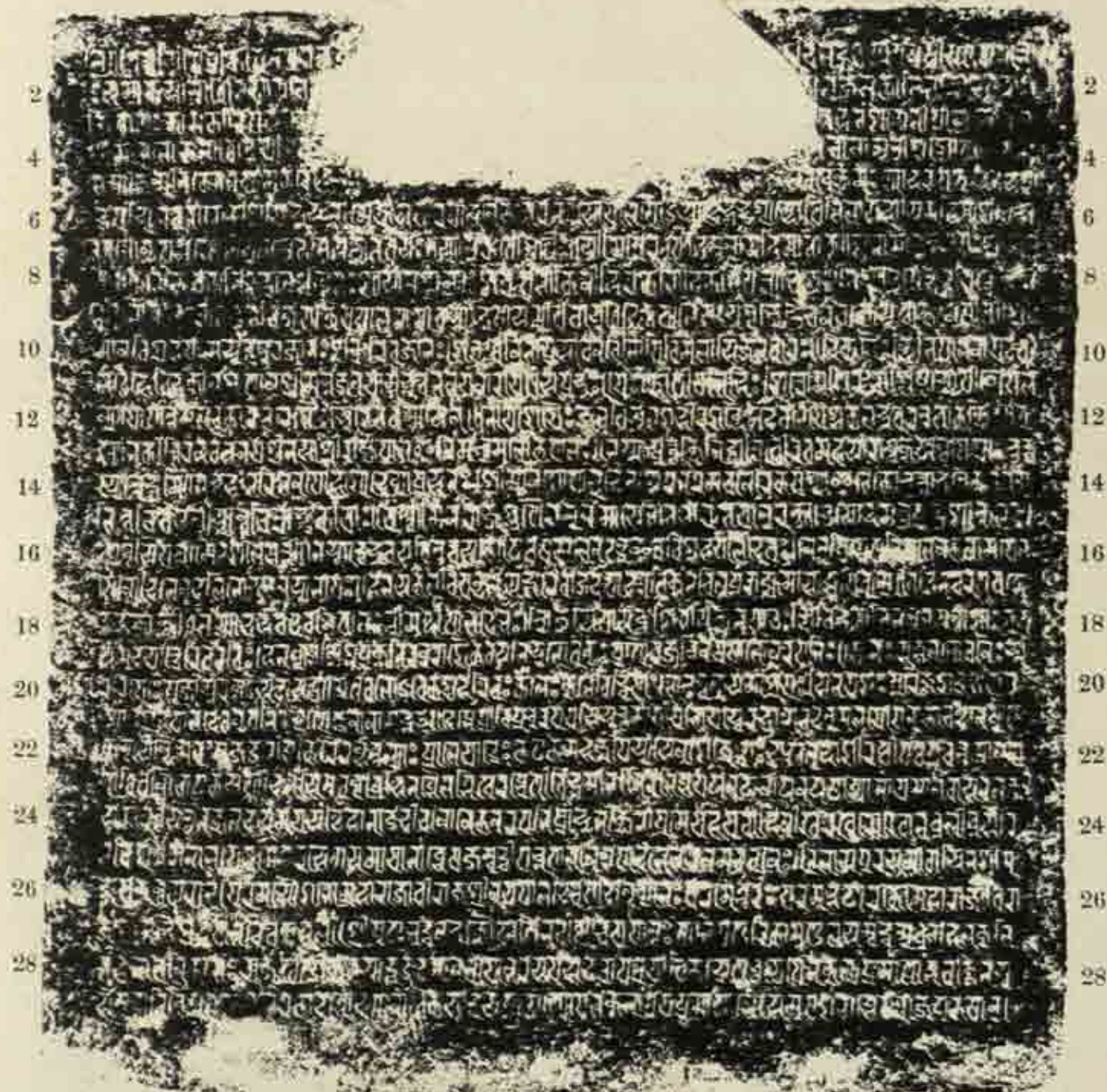
¹ *Chandrikā-mālā*, pp. 147-8.

² *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 27-31. For the date of Vīgrahapāla III, see our paper on the Bargaon plate to be published in this journal.

³ Cf. Khajak-ādhra and Khajakādhra-*śākhā*; Kudrī-ādhra and Kudrīādhra-*śākhā* in *Successors of the Śāmaśāna*, p. 42.

* See our paper on the Bargaon plate to be published in this journal.

Obverse



Puṇḍravardhana śhukti and the Puṇḍarikā maṇḍala are also mentioned in the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, discussed above. The Phāṇita-vithi viśaya of our inscription is mentioned in that record as the Phāṇita vithi only. The village of Lōvanikāma and that of Timṇi which was the original home of the engraver's family cannot be identified with any amount of precision. The village of Vellāvā, where the donee lived, is no doubt the same as the present Belwā, the findspot of the charter; but the village of Vahēḍā, whence the donee's family hailed, cannot be identified.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verse 11 Mālinī; verse 12 Śiṣhariṇī; verse 13 Śārdūlavikrīḍita; verse 14 Manda-krīṇṭā; verses 15-19, 22, 23 Anuṣṭubh; verse 20 Śalini; verse 21 Pushpāgrā.]

Obverse

Lines 1—17²

- 18 bhābhujān-mūrdhni taṁśād-abhavad-avanipālāḥ śrī-Mahipālādēvaḥ || [11*] Tyaṇan-dōshā-
saṅgam śraśi kṛita-pādāḥ kṣitibhṛitāḥ vitanvan sarv-āśāḥ prasa-
19 bham=Uday-ādrōḥ-iva raviḥ | hata-dhyānta[h*] smigdhā-prakṛitir-anurāg-aika-vasatī[h*] autō
va(dha)nyāḥ puṇyair-ajani Nayapālō narapatih || [12*] Pitaḥ sajjana-lōchanaiḥ śma-
20 ranipōḥ pūjāsu raktāḥ sadā saṅgrāmā dhavalō-dhikāś-cha Haritaḥ kōḣaḥ kulō vidviśhāt-
(shām) | chāturvārṇya-samāśrayaḥ sita-yaśaḥ-pūrar=jagad-raḍjaya[n*]s-ta-
21 amād-Vigrahapālādēva-nripatih puṇyāḥ-janānām-abhūt || [13*] Dāsō prāchi prachura-payani
svachchham-āpiya tōyam svairam bhāntvā tad-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēṣu |
22 kṛitvā sāndrair-Marushu jaḍatām ākarair-arvha(bha)-tulyā | Prālēyādrēḥ kapakam-
abhajayi(n=ya)ya sēnā-gajendrāḥ || [14*] Śa khala Bhāgrathī-patha-pravarattamāna-nā-
23 nāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-sampādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-saṁśa-śikhara-śrēṇi-vibhramā[h*] |³ nirāti-
śaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghatā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsata-lakṣmī-
24 samāravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhātā(hāt) |³ udichin-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛit-
kṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khor-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsari-
25 ta-digantarālāt |³ paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-Jamvū(mbū)-dvipa-bhūpāl-ānanta-
pādāta-bhara-namad-avanōḥ |³ Vilāsapura-samāvāita-śrīma-
26 j-jaya-akandhāvārāt |³ paramasaugatō mahārājādhi(dhi)rāja-śrī-Nayapālādēva-pād-ānandhyā-
taḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhatṭārakō mahārājādhitā-
27 ja-śrīmad-Vigrahapālādēva[h*] kuṣaḥ |³ śrī-Puṇḍravardhana-bhuktiau Phā[ni]tavithi-viśhay-
āntahpāti-Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ldha⁴-adhunā-hala-kulī-
28 [t-ārdha-Lō]vanikāmah(ma)⁵-piju-khaṇḍikṛita-sārdha⁶-udamāna-tray-ōttara-sapad-ādḥav ipa-
tray-ādika-drōṇa-dvay-ōpēta-kulya-pramāṇ-āmsa-varjjita-sva-
29 samva(mba)ddh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta⁷-ēkādāś-ōdamān-ādika-sārdha-sapta-drōṇ-ōpēta-ku-
lya-traya-pramāṇ-āmsō |³ samupāgat-āsēsha-rājapurnashū |³

Reverse

- 30 rāja-rājanyaka-|³ rājaputra- |³ rājāmātya- |³ mahāsāndhivigrahika-|³ mahā-

¹ From an impression.

² The reading of these lines is practically the same as that of lines 1-20 of the plate of Mahipāla I, edited above.

³ The *śaṅka* is unnecessary.

⁴ The *visarga* was at first omitted and later made on 2.

⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 31 kshopatalika-¹ mahāsāmanta-¹ mahāsēnāpati-¹ mahāprsthāra-¹ dau-
 32 hśādhāsādhani[ka*]-¹ mahādandanāvaka-¹ mahākumārāmātya-¹ rājasthā-
 33 n-ōparika-¹ dāsāparādhika-¹ chandrōddhamapika-¹ dāoḍika-¹ dāyda-
 34 pāsika-¹ sau(sau)lkika-¹ gaulmika-¹ kahōtrapa-¹ prāntapāla-¹ kōṣa(tta)pāla-¹ aṅgarakaha-¹
 tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka-¹ hasty-akṣ-śakti-¹ nau-va(ha)la-vyāpṛitaka-¹
 35 kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-a-āvik-ādhyaksha-¹ dūtaprēshapika-¹ gamāgamika-¹ abhūta-
 ramāna-¹ viśhayapati-¹ grāmapati-¹ tarika-¹ Gauḍa-¹
 36 Mālava-¹ Khasa-¹ Hūya-¹ Kulika-¹ Karmāṣṭa-¹ Lāta-¹ chāṭa-¹ bhāṭa-¹ sēvak-ādīn-¹
 anyāmā-cha-ākirtitān-¹ rāja-pād-ōpajīvmaḥ-¹ prativā-
 37 aino Vra(Brā)hmaṣ-ōttarā[n]-¹ mahattam-ōttama-koṭamvi(mbi)-[parōga]-Mēd-Āndhra-Chag-
 ḍala-paryantān-¹ yath-ārham mānayati-¹ vō(bō)dhayati-¹ samādisati
 38 cha-¹ viditam-astu bhavatān-¹ yath-ōparilikhitō-¹ yam grāmaḥ sva-simā-¹ trijoayūti-
 gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-talaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ s-āmra-madhukah-¹
 39 sa-jala-sthalah-¹ sa-das-ōpachārah-¹ sa-c-mur-ōddhamapah-¹ paribrita-sarva-piḍah-¹ a-chāṭa-
 bhāṭa-pravēśah-¹ a-kiñchit-pragrāya(hya)h-¹ samasta-bhāga-
 40 bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāya-samētah-¹ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna-¹ ā-[cha*]jodr-ārka-kshiti-
 sama-kālam-¹ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanā-cha puṇya-yasō-
 41 bhivridhayā bhagavantam Vu(Bu)ddha-bhāṭārakam-uddiśya-¹ Bharadvāja-sagōtrāya-¹
 Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-Vā(Bā)haspatya-pravarāya-¹ śrī-¹ Ananta-savra(bra)hmachā-
 42 riṇṣ-¹ Pippalāda-śākh-ādhyāyine mīmāṃsā(māṃsā)-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vidō-¹ Vahōḍā-grāma-
 vinirgga)tāya-¹ Vāllāvā-grāma-vāstavyāya-¹
 43 Mitrakarādēva-prapaurāya-¹ Hrishikōśadēva-paurāya-¹ Śōpatidēva-putrāya-¹ śrī-Jayā-
 namadēvaśatmanagō Vishuvāt-samkrāntau vidhuvāt-¹
 44 Gaṅgāyā[n] anātvā sa(45)sanikṛitya pradattō-¹ smābhīh-¹ atō bhavadbhīh sarvair-¹ ev-ānuman-
 tavyam-¹ bhāvibhir-¹ api bhūpatibhir-¹ bhūmēr-ōddāna-phala-
 45 gauravāt-¹ apaharagō cha mahānaraka-pāta-bhayāt-¹ dānam-ādam-anumōdya pālaniyam-¹
 prativāsibhir-¹ cha kahōtrakaraiḥ ājñā-śrava-
 46 na-vidhāyibhūya yathā-kālā[n] sammūhita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ
 kārya itī || Samva(Samva)t 11 Bhādra-dinō 19 [1*]
 47 Bhavanti ch-ētra dharm-ānusāśināḥ śikāh-¹ Va(Ba)hubhir-¹ evasodhā dattō rājabhis-Sagar-
 ādibhir-¹ yasya yasya yadā bhūmī-tasya tasya tadā phala-
 48 m || [15*] Bhūmīn-¹ yā prastigrihṣāti yā-cha bhūmīm-¹ prayachchhati-¹ ubhan-¹ tau puṇya-kar-
 māṇau niyatān-¹ svarga-gāminau || [16*] Gām-¹ ēkām-¹ svargam-¹ ēka-
 49 ā-cha bhūmēr-¹ apy-urddham-aṅgulam(ham)-¹ haran-narakam-āyāti yāvad-āhūta-samplavam
 || [17*] āhaṣṭīm-¹ va(āṣṭīm-¹ va)raha-sahasrāgi-¹ svargō mōdati bhūmidah-¹ ākshō-
 50 [ptā] ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ōva narakō vasāta(sā)-¹ || [18*] Sva-dattām-¹ para-dattām-vā(ttām
 vā) yō harēta-¹ vaumadhurām-¹ sva(sa) viśthāyām-¹ krimir-bhūtvā pitribhir-¹ saha pa-
 51 chyatō || [19*] Sarvān-¹ ētān-bhāt(nah) pārtivī(eti)v-ēndrō(udrān) bhūyō bhūyāḥ prārthayaty-
 ēsha Rāmāḥ-¹ sāmānyō-¹ yan-dharmā-sōtur-grīpāṇām-¹ kālō kālō pāla-

¹ The danda is unnecessary.

² The danda is unnecessary. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

³ The danda is superfluous.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 52 ni(nī)yaḥ kramēṇa || [20*] Iti kamala-dal-āmya(mbu)-vinda-lalīṣā Ariyam=amchiutya
manushya-jivitaṅ-cha || sakalam-idam-adāḥṣitaṅ-cha vu(bu)dihvā us ti
53 purushaiḥ para-kīrtayā vilōpyā iti¹ || Śrīmad-Vigrahapālēna kāmāpāla-kula-mandīpā ||
[kṛitō*]-tra āsanā dūtāḥ [sumā]tiḥ
54 śrī-Trilōchanā || [22*] Tinnāḍ-grāma-niryāta-Haradēvasya sū[ni]nā || idam āsanam-utkīr-
ṣṣam Prithvīdēvēna ājṣinā || [23*]

No. 2—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SILAHARA BHOJA II; SAKA 1104

MORESHWAR G. DIXHIT, SAUNAR

This inscription, now preserved in the wall of the Hari-Harēśvara shrine in the compound of the famous Mahālakṣmī temple at **Kolhāpur**, was first noticed by me in December 1945, when I visited the place for the excavations on the Brahmapuri mound, near Kolhāpur. The stone bearing this inscription is reported to have been found while digging the foundation wall of Mr. Panditrao's house in close vicinity of the temple several years ago and later built into the outer wall of the above-named shrine for the sake of preserving it. I edited the inscription some years back in Marāṭhī in my book² *Select Inscriptions from Mahārāshṭra*, pp. 73-80. I re-edit it here in English for the sake of a wider circle of scholars. The text of the record presented here is based on the inked estampage³ which I owe to the courtesy of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, has been kind enough to make several useful suggestions in preparing the article.

The inscribed area of the stone slab is about 4½ feet in length and 2½ feet broad. At its top, figures of the sun, the moon, a *maṅgala kalasa*, a milking cow with a calf, and a sword are carved in high relief and are now worshipped daily by the visitors to the shrine. There are 39 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. Some parts of the record, however, are damaged and worn out, probably on account of the constant watering of the stone resorted to by its worshippers. A few letters at the ends of lines have also been damaged while fixing the slab in its present position.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, of which lines 1-17 and 34-39 are in verse. The rest is in prose as also the concluding sentence in line 39. The **characters** are the usual type of the Nāgarī alphabet current in the 12th century A.C. and do not call for any remarks.

As regards **orthography**, the following deserve mention. *Ka* is used for *ḥya* in line 5. *Ṣ* is substituted for *s* occasionally; e.g., *ṣit* in line 2, *yaṣyā* in line 6, etc. The word *Naigirya* is spelt as *Naigirya* in line 23. The rules of *sandhi* are often disregarded. The style of the inscription is in general agreement with another inscription from Kolhāpur published in this journal previously.⁴

The inscription is dated **Saka 1104**, **Śubhakṛit-samvatsara**, **Pushya sūddha 4**, **Uttarāyana-samkrānti**. The date which is expressed in words only in lines 20-21 corresponds regularly to 1st December 1182 A.C.⁵

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Bhoja II**, the **Śilāhara** ruler of Kolhāpur, who is stated to have obtained a boon from the goddess Mahālakṣmī and is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. It was issued from his residence at Valavāḍa. The **object** of it is to record several donations by

¹ Read *vilōpyāḥ* || [21*] *iti*.

² Published by the Bhārata Jñāna Samśādhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, in 1947.

³ *As. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy*, No. 355 of 1945-46.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. III, pp. 213-218.

⁵ Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, p. 367.

the king to the religious establishment (*maṭha*) founded by Lōkapa Nāyaka, a Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇa, in the premises of the Mahālakṣmī temple, for carrying on the worship of the god Umā-Mahēśvara, a form of Aṃṛtēśvara (Śiva), for maintaining the granary of the *maṭha*, for keeping it in good repair, for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, and for similar other purposes.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then comes the genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty which commences with the *Vidyādhara* Jimūtavāhana, its mythical founder, and is brought down to Bhōja II. Most of the verses containing this description are identical with those occurring in the Kāśī plates¹ of the same ruler, dated Śaka 1116, except verses 6, 13 and 14 which are new in the present inscription. Unfortunately these verses are too much damaged to yield any coherent sense. Verse 6, devoted to the praise of Bhōja I, son of Mārasimha, contains the names Gōvinda and Kōṅgaja. As gathered from the Kolhāpur plates² of Gaṇḍarāditya, these persons appear to be some petty chiefs defeated by Bhōja I. Verses 13 and 14 seem to contain the praise of Bhōja II and do not appear to be important historically.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that this is an early dated inscription of the Śilāhāra ruler Bhōja II. An earlier inscription of this ruler, dated Śaka 1101, is said to have been found near Kōjūrthā, a sacred tank in the precincts of Kolhāpur; and Major Graham in his *Statistical Account of the Principality of Kolhapur*, pp. 382 ff., gives a kind of a facsimile of this inscription, but its original cannot be traced now.

The *maṭha* founded by Lōkapa Nāyaka, referred to in the present inscription, is already known from the town-hall inscription of Bhōja II,³ dated Śaka 1112. Its mention here carries the date of its existence further back to Śaka 1104. It is interesting to observe that the residents of the *maṭha* are practically the same as are mentioned in the town-hall inscription, except Janārdana Bhaṭṭa who appears to have succeeded Lakṣmīdhara.

The Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in these and other inscriptions, claim to have arrived in the south from Ahichchhatra and Kāśmīr. They seem to have been a fairly well settled community in the Deccan and Karmātak as can be gathered from the references to them in several mediaeval inscriptions of this period.⁴ Even now Kolhāpur retains a large population of this class of Brāhmaṇas who are engaged mostly in trading and banking activities.

The following geographical names occur in the present inscription: Tagarapura (line 18), Valavāḍa (line 19), Kollāpura (line 21), Paṇaturage-golla (line 26) and Seleyavāḍa (line 26). Of these the first three are often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur. Tagarapura is modern Tār in the Hyderabad State; Valavāḍa which was the seat of the permanent residence (*sthira śibira*) of the Śilāhāras is taken to be identical with the site of modern Rādhānagarī near Kolhāpur; and Kollāpura is undoubtedly modern Kolhāpur. Paṇaturage, which appears to be the name of a tract (*golla*), may be identified with the village Paṇutrā, 14 miles S. W. W. of Kolhāpur, situated on the bank of the river Dhāmpī. Seleyavāḍa is probably modern Shejoshi, about 7½ miles further S. W. of Paṇutrā, on the bank of the same river.⁵ The change from Paṇaturage to Paṇutrā appears to be natural as suggested by the change from Ājirage to Ājra. Paṇaturage would thus have some form like Paṇutare and this is exactly the form in which the name occurs in certain

¹ *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 395 and the *Annual Report of the Dhārwar District Samādhanika* Mangala for Śaka 1835, pp. 222 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 176-82; the plates were earlier edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in his *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

⁴ Cf. for instance *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Haṭṭan 61; *A. S. I. A. S.*, 1927-28, p. 144.

⁵ Both these villages can be traced on the 1 inch=1 mile Survey Sheets, old Nos. 206 and 240 published by the Survey of India in 1932.

old Marāṭhī documents of the 17th-18th century.¹ The expression *golla* can be equated with Kannada *koḷa* which means a valley or low land. The Panaturage *golla* would therefore correspond to the valley formed by the river Dhāmṇi, bounded on the east by the Bhūgāvatī river and on the west by the Kumbhī river, as seen on the maps. There are several mountainous tracts in this region which appear to have been mentioned in the Tālala copper plates² of Śilāhara Gaṇḍarāditya, as forming the boundary of this Panaturage *golla*. This *golla* again seems to have been mentioned in the Bāmaṇi inscription³ of Śilāhara Vijayāditya, where it is read as '...pavū[ka]-gegoḷla' wherein the village of Mada[li]ra was situated. The doubtful nature of the reading can be seen from the dots and the square brackets enclosing it. So it is possible to restore the reading as [Pa]ṇa[ra]ge-golla and Madalūra may be identified with Mandūr, which is about 3 miles west of Paṇṭrā.

My thanks are due also to Sri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for his useful suggestions in connection with this paper.

TEXT⁴

[Metres: Vv. 1-3, 10, 15, 18-20 *Anuṣṭubh*: vv. 4, 5, 9, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*: vv. 7, 8, 14 *Upajātī*: v. 13 *Mālinī*: v. 17 *Śālinī*: vv. 6, 11, 16 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥प्रो॥ स्वस्ति श्री ॥ जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षो]⁵भिताण्वं(वम्) ।
दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्रायविष्णु(श्रा)तभुवनं वपुः ॥[१॥*]
- 2 आशी(सी)द्विधाधरः पूर्वं नाभ्ना जीमूतवाहनः । परार्धं श्री]⁶वितं येन
गरुडाय निवेदितं(तम्) ॥[२॥*] शिलाहाराख्यं-
- 3 शोय ।⁷ तगरेस्वरभूभूतां(ताम्) [। तद्वंशे जतिगो राजाज्जनि भूभू]⁸छि(च्छि)-
खामणिः ॥[३॥*] स्वस्ति श्रीजतिगक्षितोशतनयो ना-
- 4 विमनामा नृपः ।⁹ पुत्रस्तस्य [च चंद्रराट् पृथुपशास्तस्यापि सुनुः]⁶ किल ।
संजातो जतिगो जगज्जननुतः श्रीमां[६च]
- 5 तं(तद्वं)दनो गोकल्लो भूवि [भूमिपालतनयः श्रीमारसिंहो नृपः]⁸ ॥[४॥*]
तत्सुनूनृपमौलिजालितपदः[*] श्रीगुवलाक्षो(स्यो)नृपः[*] । तदभ्राता भुवि
- 6 भोजदेवनृपतिः वैरो[भपंचाननश्चक्रे राज्यमखंडितं पृथु]⁹पशा लंकेशतुल्यः किल ।
[५॥*] यास्या](स्या)त्मजो कृतनिः.....
- 7 मांवर्गो गोविद्रकोंज...यकमुतां...वभूव भुवि विक्रम....[६॥*]

¹ Rājwade, *Marāṭhīśāhitya Itihāsaḥ Śādhane*, Vol. VIII, p. 194.

² J. H. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 ff. In this record the tract is referred to as Panaturage-kholla.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Readings restored from the Kaśī plates.

⁷ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁸ This reading is restored conjecturally though it is not actually found in the Kaśī plates.

- 8 ॥ तस्यानुजातो विदित[प्रतापो बलालदेवक्षि]¹तिपस्सदेव । श्रीकामिनीनां विनताव-
नीणो दिक्प्रांततापः प्रथि[तप्र]-
- 9 तापः ॥[१७॥^{*}] तस्यानुजो धर्म्म[धरो धरिच्यो दधार]¹ धर्म्मानखिलान्स्वधर्म्म ।
धैर्यप्रियुषो धनदो धनानां श्रीगंडरादित्य इति
- 10 प्रसिद्धः ॥[१८॥^{*}] दीनानायदरिद्रदुःखविकलव्याकीर्णनानाविधः(ध)प्राणित्राणपरायण[^{*}]
प्रतिदिनं गुप्ताव्यदानेन यः । यः
- 11 कृष्णाजिनधेनुभूम्युभयतोमृदा(व्या)दिदानप्रदः ॥[१९॥^{*}] स(श)स्वद्धर्म्ममतिप्रवीणहृदयो
भूदेवकल्पद्रुमः ॥[१९॥^{*}] तुलापुरुषदाना[दिषोड-]
- 12 शक्तुकारकः । सो(शौ)चगांगेयकीर्त्ते(त्यै)कनिलयः स्वगुणैर्भूवि ॥[१९०॥^{*}]
तनं(तन्न)दन(नः) प्रबलमंडि(ड)लिकद्विपेद्र[पंचाननो]²जनि जगत्त्रितयैकवीरः ।
- 13 प्रत्यर्थायाधिवज्रलाटतटस्थपादपीठस्फुटोम्बलयशो(शा) विजयाकर्कदेवः ॥[१९१॥^{*}] दानाय
द्विषाज्जैनं जनपरित्राणाय वीरव्रतं [सत्या]-
- 14 य पृ(प्रि)यभाषण हरिपदध्यानाय चेत[^{*}]स्थितिः । सप[त्ति]सु(स्सु)मनोविपदि-
[हतये यस्य प्रकामं]¹ कविः ॥[१९२॥^{*}] कः स(श)क्तः प्रविचिच्य तस्य
विजया[दित्य]-
- 15 स्य वक्तु(क्तु) गुणा-(णान्) ॥[१९२॥^{*}] जगति विजयसूनुर्वैरि[नी]हारभानुनिज
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ बल्लीलवित्र[॥^{*}] विभवविजयसक्रः खंडिता-
राति-
- 16 चक्रो वरनुपकुलसेवो भूपतिर्भोजदेवः ॥[१९३॥^{*}] रामो यथा.....
- 17 था.....देवेन तेनाजनि भोजराज्ये ॥[१९४॥^{*}] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंच-
[महामे(श)व्य] महामंडलेश्वर सिलारकुलवंसो(शो)द्व्व.....³
- 18 मेय परनारीसहोदर शरणागतवज्रपंजर कलियुगयुधिष्ठिर...विद्याधर श्रीमहालक्ष्मि-
(क्ष्मी)देवीलब्धवरप्रसाद [श्रीतगर]-
- 19 पुरवराधीश्वरो(र) इत्यादियमस्ताराजावलीविराजित[^{*}] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वरो(र) श्री-
भोजदेवो बलवाडसिवि(सिवि)[रे मुखस]-

¹ Reading restored from other inscriptions.

² Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.

³ Read वैरिपन्नगर्जनतेयशोचगां- as in other inscriptions.

- 20 कदाविनोदेन राख्यं कुब्जोण(ः) शक[नृपकाला]दारभ्य वर्षेषु चतुरो(रु)त्तरशताधिक-
सहस्रेषु निवृत्तेषु वर्तमानशुभकृत[त्सर्वस्व-]
- 21 [रातर्गंतपुण्य]सु(शु)द्धचतुर्थ्यां भौ[म]... [रु]त्तरायणसंकमणपर्वणि निज[राज्या]भिवृद्धये
श्रीमत्कोलापुरमहालक्ष्मि(रुसी)दे-
- 22 बालयाभ्यन्तरे पश्चिमद्वारोत्तर... सह[वासिलोक]नायकेन समुत्प्रेष्यरमूर्त्युमा-
महेश्वराय वा(वा)ह्याभोजनार्थं च [कारितस्व]
- 23 मठस्य कोष्ठागाराय तदे... मठस्याभ्यन्तरे तै[मि]रित्य(हृत्य)दिशो भागे
द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणं गृहमेकं तन्मठनिविष्टसह-
- 24 वास्यादित्यभट्ट जनार्दनभट्ट [करहट्टकप्रभा]¹करचंसास वासियणचैसासेत्येवं
[प्रमुखां(त्वेभ्यो) ब्राह्मणेभ्यो... पुरवर्गः दक्षिणदि]-
- 25 [शो ग्रामे] धवलगृहचतुष्टयं... पूजार्थं... पूर्व(वस्यां) दिशि पुष्पवाटकमेकं
तस्यैव [देवस्य] पूजार्थं वा(वा)ह्याभोजनार्थं [ना²]-
- 26 यं च पणतुरंगोत्तातर्गंतसेलेयवाडग्रामसीमाभ्यन्तरंनु(रमु)त्तरदिग्भागे... शादधिकं
च चतु[शत]-
- 27 क्षेत्रं तत्प्रतिव(ब)द्धं पंडरंन[स्त]दुग्रामाभ्यन्तरे द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणगृहमेकं एतत्सर्वं
पूर्वो... शासनसहितं [धा]-
- 28 राष्ट्रवर्कं सर्व्वम(न)मस्य(स्य) सर्व्वंवा(वा)धापरिहारं राजकीयानामनंगुलिप्रे-
क्षणीयमाचंद्रावर्कं... [त]स्यैव देवस्य [पंचोप]-
- 29 चारपूजार्थं तन्मठस्यदस्कृतितजीर्णोद्धारार्थं [त]दीयवा(वा)ह्याभोजनार्थं च
एडेनाड...
- 30 [त]द्देशद(द)डेन पंचविंशत्यधिकद्विस(श)तवर्कं क्षेत्रे द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं
निवेशनं च... प्रतिव(ब)द्धं...
- 31 निवर्ततं क्षेत्रं द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं निवेशनं च अखणसहितं श्राद्धयोग[तेजसांस्व]
सहितं काश्यप[सगोत्रस्य] उड[वा]-
- 32 यस्य पौत्राभ्यां महत्तरमाधवार्यस्य पुत्राभ्यां नेम[ण]लक्ष्मणबोद्धंतां तेनैव लोक-
णनायकेन सर्व्वतम-
- 33 स्यसर्व्ववाधापरिहारं सर्व्वविशुद्धं [शासन]सहितं दानकयेन(ण) गृहीतं
आचंद्रावर्कतारं चिरं दत्तं ॥छ॥²

¹ Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.² The letter cAa indicates the end of the topic.

- 34 बहुभिर्बन्धुधा दत्ता राजभिस्तनयाभिभिः । [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फल(तम्) [॥१५॥*] मङ्गलम् [॥१६॥*] ररमहीप-
- 35 त्रिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भवि भूमिपालाः । ये पालयन्ति नम धर्ममिमं
समस्त तेन्यो मया [वि]रचितो जलिलेष भूमिनि ॥ [१६॥*]
- 36 सामान्ये(न्यो)य धर्मसेतुर्गतायां काले काले [पालनीयो भव]द्भिः । तत्त्वान्ये-
(ने)तान्भावितान्(तः)पाथिकेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो भाविते राम-
- 37 चन्द्रः ॥ [१७॥*] दानं वा पालनं वापि दत्ता[त्*] श्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ।
दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादक्युतं पदं(दम्) ॥ [१८॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरे-
- 38 त वसुधरा(राम्) । षष्टिर्वासहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते कृमिः । [१९॥*]
[सयुधेषु]क्षणक्षय(यि)णि जीविते यो द्विजादाहरे....
- 39 तस्यां वीचीक्ष[यो]क्षयः ॥ [२०॥*] अनुष्टिक्द्रव्यसहस्राणि....

No. 3—MASER INSCRIPTION OF A SULKI CHIEF

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, Ootacamund

This inscription was copied in the year 1930-31 by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, at the village of Maser, Basodā Pargana, District Bhilsa.¹ The record is fragmentary and its concluding portion is not traceable. The existing portions of the inscription are contained in two broken pieces of a mutilated stone discovered amidst the ruins of a fallen house of a Brāhmaga in the village of Maser. The only other ancient relics found in the locality were a few broken sculptures and carved stone fragments lying near what looked like the basement of a small shrine. From a perusal of the summary of the contents of the inscription published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior*, for the year 1930-31, I realised the importance of the record for the history of Central India and the Deccan in the 10th century A.D. At my request the Government Epigraphist for India secured two vatampages of the inscription which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph must have been engraved on a large slab which later broke into several pieces. Of them, only two have been found, the rest are not forthcoming. The first of the extant fragments, which forms the beginning of the record, containing, as it does, the opening lines, measures 3' 6" by 11" and bears portions of 10 lines of writing engraved on it. The other piece which is a continuation of the first one and has been put together with the first measures 3' 3" by 1' 1" and contains portions of 12 lines of writing. Both the pieces have suffered considerable damage. Since the ends and beginnings of lines do not follow in sequence, considerable portions of the full inscribed

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior*, 1930-31, Inss. Nos. 1 and 2; pp. 10 and 22.

stone towards the right side of the existing fragments are missing. On their left side, however, there has been only a slight damage and a little mutilation of the stone extending to a space covering one or two *akṣaras* and affecting about five to six lines. In respect of the second fragment which is smaller than the first, still larger portions of the inscribed slab towards its right are missing. Though the impression of the second piece shows some uniform blank space at the end of each line, suggesting thereby that the lines do not continue further, yet it becomes clear from the study of the text of the record, which is metrically composed, that the lines must have continued on to the same extent of space as they do on the first piece of which the second is only a continuation. Evidently the second fragment was touched by some human agency and dressed with a view to its utilisation in some construction. However, it is fortunate that it is possible to judge the extent of the loss on the right sides of the two fragments. The record being in verse, the number of *akṣaras* forming the metrical portions of the missing text can be counted. It would appear that about eight to ten *akṣaras* in each line up to line 10 are found wanting in respect of the first fragment and about thirty-six to thirty-eight letters from line 11 onwards in the case of the second piece. In addition to these losses, some more *akṣaras* are effaced owing to the damage sustained by the extant pieces. Notwithstanding its mutilated condition, the present record embodies much historical information, although its elucidation is rendered difficult owing to the incomplete and disjointed text that is available for study.

Altogether we have portions of twenty-one lines of the inscription.¹ Of these the last three are completely damaged, only a few letters here and there being visible. Except for the obeisance to god Śaṃbhu with which the record opens, the entire inscription to the extent now available is in verse. As many as twenty-five verses composed in different metres can be counted. They are, however, not numbered in the inscription. (The first four of them are introductory, in invocation of the mother divine and her consort, lord Śiva.) Verse 5 traces the origin of the Sulki *vanśa* and introduces one Bhāradvāja, an early ancestor of the family. Verses 6 to 10 speak of king Narasiṃha born of the same family and they embody an elaborate description of his conquests. His son Guṇādhyā, famous as Kēśarīn, is then introduced in verse 11. Verses 12 to 15 evidently contain a description of this chief and his achievements.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. The size of the letters varies from 6 to 7 of an inch in height. Medial diphthongs and medial vowels (except *i* and *ī*) are indicated by both *īrā-mātrās* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. Medial *i* and *ī* are indicated by *prishṭha-mātrās* alone. The consonant *pā* is written in two forms: *phala*, line 1: *phalāni*, line 7, and *phalāya*, line 18. Similarly *ḍ* has two forms; the *ḍ* in *vidānu(bi)ḍā* in line 8 and in *vaḍavānāḍa* in line 19 may be compared with the *ḍ* in *Vīḍa*² in line 5, *maṇḍapā* in line 6, and *puṣhpāḍānvarayā* in line 7.

The language is Sanskrit and except for a few words in the beginning, the rest of the record is in verse. As regards orthography the following points may be noted. The consonant following a *r* is mostly doubled. *B* is indicated throughout by the sign for *v*. *Ṣ* is used in place of *s* in certain cases: e.g., *svaryyaukaṣṭhā*, line 4; *śruch-āva*, line 8; *śiṅghāṣṭam*, line 11. *Ḫ* is used for *h* in *śiṅghāṣṭam*, line 11. The *visarga-sandhi* is not observed in cases like *dharaś trīmān*, line 5; *gaḥ sudhāḥ*, line 13. There is one instance of the use of *jihvāmūliya* in *gutaś-Kṛishṇa*, line 6, where the sign for it resembles *ḍ*. The *anusvāra* has been used mostly for class nasals. The *atagraha* is conspicuous by its absence. There are practically no scribal errors. What may be counted as one such seems to be in respect of the word *chandra-śrēṣṭhā* for *chandraśrēṣṭhā* in line 2. Otherwise the record is composed in faultless Sanskrit.

¹ Line 10 of the text is divided between the two fragments, the first containing only the upper parts of some few letters towards the end.

² This may also be read as *Vīḍa*.

After the obeisance to god Śaṃbhu in the words *namah Śaṃbhuvē*, there follow four *maṅgala-śloka*, the first of which is in praise of Dēvi, the divine mother, who pervades the animate and the inanimate. The second, parts of which are not quite clear, seems to contain a prayer for the destruction of sins by Śiva who is described as the bee around the lotus face of Gaurī. The third stanza is also an invocation of Śiva whose glance, though cool and refreshing for Gaurī, acted as the very blazing fire for cupid. The fourth verse invokes the aid of Śiva's consort, Pārvatī, for the destruction of all evils through her eyebrows which were knit in anger at the sight of Jāhnavī (i.e., Gaṅgā).

Then begins the historical portion of the record. It is stated that a certain hero, adorned by the *granthi-trika*, Bhāradvāja by name, emanating from a drop of water that fell out of the hand of Dhātā (Brahmā) adorned the Śulki-vamśa and was a veritable death to hostile kings. In the family of Śulka of the lunar race there arose king Narasiṃha. He was the lord of Viḍa-dvādasa¹ and had his permanent abode at his Kulagrāma, called Gōlahatti-Chāpakī in the vicinity of Ēlāpura. At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he defeated the enemies in battle, and as if entering a sacrificial *mayajapa*² he entered the arena of battle and performed a sacrifice in the form of a great war; and in the sacrificial fire of his rage he offered as ghee the blood of the elephants, slain by him, out of the ladle of his sword; and in such a sacrifice he initiated into widowhood the (women of his enemy). Then his prowess and generosity are described in the succeeding verses. Then a certain Gupāḍhya described as Kēsarin is introduced as son (of Narasiṃha). At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he conquered the king of Lāṭa (Lāṭa) and a Kach[abha]vāha.

Verse 15 seems to refer to the founding of a city called Arkavana which was purified by Lakṣmi and which was, as it were, the birth-place of piety and noble conduct. Verses 16 to 18 contain important allusions to a number of kings with reference to whom some facts are stated, the nature of which it is impossible to make out. Thus Vākpati is stated to have done some act and the same verse refers to a Tanteādhipa in the nominative case. Muñja and Chachcha are mentioned further on in the genitive case. The hero (Kēsarin ?) is then stated to have met the Hūnas, sent by Lōṭikya, in battle at Pattanaka and to have destroyed a large army consisting of horses, elephants, and infantry. Then follows a description of the plight of enemy women who resolved to put themselves to death. In the battles fought by the hero (Kēsarin ?) even the skulls of the fallen enemies were not traceable. There is some allusion to Kṛishṇa who destroyed the pride of Duśśānna and Śalya (v. 21). The facts stated further on are important. The hero (Kēsarin ?) is eulogised as one who kept women's company only for the sake of progeny and as one spending his life for the sake of his master (v. 22). There is again a reference to a Hūna ruler in verse 24, and in the next verse, which is the last extant, the hero is described as a lion to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and as the foremost of the servants of Hara.

Thus the record embodies the eulogy of a family of Śulki (i.e., Chālukya ?) chiefs starting from Bhāradvāja and mentioning Narasiṃha and his son Kēsarin.

While editing the Bargaon temple inscription of Śahara in this journal³ some years ago, Professor Mirashi assigned to king Kṛishṇarāja of the present record the date c. 950 A.C. and thought that he might be identical with a certain Kṛishṇa-upa whose minister Vāchaspati of

¹ This may also be read as *Viḍa-dvādasa*.

² Possibly there is a pun on the word *mayajapa*, referring to the fort of Māndu which is also called *Mayajapa* or *Mandava* in some records. Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 40-7.

³ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 272-280.

the Kaundinya *gotra* defeated, according to a fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā,¹ the lord of Chōdi, killed a Śabara chief called Sindhā and restored the chiefs of Rālā-maṇḍala and Rōḍapāli to their dominions. Professor Mirashi further assumed that king Kṛishṇa of the above references was identical with the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in the Dudaḥl inscriptions.² It is quite possible that Kṛishṇarāja, the overlord of Narasiṃha and of Kēśarin of the inscription under study, and Kṛishṇanripa of the fragmentary Bhilsā inscription are identical inasmuch as both fought a common foe, viz., the Chōdi king and as both lived about the same period, i.e., the middle of the 10th century A.D. But there is a greater possibility of Kṛishṇarāja of the present inscription being identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.D.). This depends upon the identification of Narasiṃha, the lord of Viḍa-dyādasa, who was the commander of Kṛishṇarāja's troops.

Now as for the identification of the chiefs, Narasiṃha and his son Kēśarin, attention may be drawn to a Chalukya family whose origin is traced likewise from Bhāradvāja and which figures in the Bilhāri Chōdi inscription.³ The account given there is as follows. There was a sage Bhāradvāja (Drōṇa) whose conduct roused the wonder of the three worlds. Now, in the water, of which he had taken up a handful (*chulaka*) in order to curse Drupada for the insult offered by him, there arose a man from whom proceeded the clan of the Chalukyas and in that powerful family was born Avanivarman who had as his father Sadhanvan and grandfather

¹ P. H. A. S. I., W. C., 1912-14, p. 59. F. E. Hall (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXXI (1862), page III, foot-note) writes:

"At Bhilsā, within the fort, I recently found a fragmentary inscription built into the outer wall of a modern house, and looking upon one of the streets of the town. Subjoined is all that remains of a record of which perhaps a full half is missing.

1. śrīyamaṣaṃ-ṣṭi dānu-śāritā nāśāit-śeyā
2. gēham mē Vētravatyā niyamita-janatā-kāśābhamaṃ-ay-āpyaṣaṃram |
3. śhōṃmaṣy-ātra oṃśhachahra-eyatātā-m-iti viditv-ādārā-ātma-talyam
4. Bhāllīavēśmi-nānā ravir-avata bhūratā sāmīnam Kṛishṇarājān |
5. Chōdiānā sāmāṭ vijitya Sāharam sāmīritya Sindhā-shivayam
6. Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōḍapāli-avanipen bhūṃyām pratishthāpya oḥa |
7. dēvam drashtum-śh-āgatō tachitavūṃ-śh-otōtram pavitram param
8. śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nrip-āka-māntri-pada-bhūḥ Kaundinya-Vāhaspatiḥ |
9. Sachīmaṃ-iyam kṛitā-dātām rūchirā ātmad-Gajānakuḥyaya |
10. Kākākaṇa-śhikhitā Kāyastha-ḥ ..."

In the Salotgi pillar inscription (A) of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 867 (945 A. D.), mention is made of one Nārāyaṇa alias Gajānaka who is described as belonging to the Kaundinya *gotra* and as the chief minister and *sandhivigraha* of this Rāshtrakūṭa king. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60, 62-3. Kaundinya-Vāhaspati, who in the Bhilsā inscription is described as Gajānakuḥya (i.e., son or descendant of Gajānaka) is in all likelihood the son of Nārāyaṇa alias Gajānaka of the Salotgi inscription. This would favour the identification of Kṛishṇarāja of the Bhilsā inscription with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the epithets claimed by Vāhaspati find some corroboration from other sources. According to an account about Paramāra Siyaka II found in the *Narasimhaśāstracharita* this prince is credited with the conquest of a certain chief of Rudapāli. (Canto XI, v. 89: *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 42). Perhaps it was this chief of Rudapāli, called *Rōḍapādyaṇaṣa* in the Bhilsā inscription, that was restored to his kingdom by Vāhaspati, the minister of Kṛishṇa (III). In regard to the Śabara prince, Sindhā, killed by Vāhaspati, no satisfactory identification seems possible at present. However, attention may be drawn to the fact that W. Ganga Mārasimha II, the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III is credited with a victory over Naraga, a Śabara chief, in an inscription at Savara-Belagola (above, Vol. V, p. 171), text lines 21, 54 and 96, which also mentions the northern campaigns of this Ganga prince. Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280), however, identifies the illustrious Śabara of the Bargum temple inscription with Śabara Sindhā of the Bhilsā inscription.

² Nos. 185, 186, 191 and 194 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-7*; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff. and *vy.*, 30 ff.

Sinhavarman. The illustrious Nôhalâ was born of Avanivarman and she became the beloved of the Kalachuri prince Kêyûravarsa, i.e., Yuvarâjadêva I. Queen Nôhalâ is stated to have endowed a temple of Śiva with the villages of Viḍā, Pôḍi, Khailapātaka and others. It will be seen that although the story of their origin differs in some particulars from that relating to Narasimha given in the present record this much seems certain that both the families were of the same stock and were perhaps even lineally connected.¹ Narasimha was a subordinate of a Krishnarâja who fought against the Kalachuris² and the only Krishnarâja of this period who could answer to this description was Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.) of the Râshtrakûṭa family.³ Narasimha of our record seems to be a later descendant or a collateral member of the same family since his area of authority was in the same region around Bihârî over which the Châlukya family of Nôhalâ exercised sway. Viḍa-dvâdasa which was the fief of Narasimha seems to be identical with the area around Bihârî itself since Viḍa may be identified with Viḍâ which was one of the villages granted by Nôhalâ to the temple of Śiva at Bihârî, as stated in the Bihârî Chêdi inscription referred to above. Though I am unable to identify Viḍâ, the donated village, with any place near Bihârî, some of the other villages which the princess granted along with Viḍâ are however identifiable. Thus Pôḍi and Khailapātaka, two of the gift-villages, are represented by the modern Pundi and Khailwara which are to the north-west and north-east of Bihârî respectively. Viḍâ must be another village in the same locality.⁴ The exact relationship of Narasimha with the Châlukya family to which Nôhalâ belonged can only be decided by further researches.⁵

Now, returning to facts stated in the present Mâser inscription, it has to be ascertained under what circumstances Narasimha had to encounter the Kalachuris under the orders of Krishnarâja. It has been assumed above that Krishnarâja was Kṛishṇa III who claims in his Kachâḍ plates⁶ a victory over the Kalachuri Sahastrârjuna, who was the elderly relative of his mother and his wife. Kṛishṇa III achieved this victory as Yuvârâja, i.e., sometime between c. 934 and 939 A.C. It was evidently in this campaign of Kṛishṇa III that Narasimha took part and obtained the victory over the Kalachuris as described in the present record. As Prof. Mirashi⁷ and Dr. H. C. Ray⁸ have shown, the Kalachuri adversary of Kṛishṇa III may be identified with Yuvârâja I (c. 914-945 A.C.) who, being a member of the family of Sahastrârjuna, i.e., Kârtavîrya, was referred to as

¹ I later found that Prof. Mirashi had already arrived at this conclusion; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 8-9.

² Although the text of our record at this place is mutilated, there seems to be no doubt that the Kalachuri is referred to as the adversary and not as a friend. This would be apparent from the context which refers to the *śaṅkha-pāṭaka* given to the children *Kalachuri-dahamâhârî* . . . etc.

³ Râshtrakûṭa Kṛishṇa II was a friend and ally of the Kalachuri king Kakkala. It was Kṛishṇa III who fought the Kalachuris as stated in his Kachâḍ plates (above, Vol. IV, p. 279). The Chandêla king Kṛishṇapa with whom Krishnarâja of our record has been sought to be identified by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280) is not known to have fought the Kalachuris, though his father Yâdôvarman defeated a Chêdi king.

⁴ If the alternate reading *Viḍa-dvâdasa* for *Viḍa-dvâdasa* is preferred, Viḍa may perhaps stand for Bihârî itself.

⁵ I was at first inclined to refer Narasimha and his son Kêśarî of the Mâser inscription to the Châlukya family of Vemulavâda, the well-known Râshtrakûṭa feudatories, and identify these two princes with their namesakes of that family, Narasimha and Arîkêśarî II. This does not appear likely since the latter belonged to the solar race and were rulers of a much wider territory, viz., the Sâpâdalaksha which they were ruling from their capital Lumbalapataka, i.e., Vemulavâda in the Hyderabad State. The Sûktî Narasimha of our record was of the lunar race and a small potentate ruling Viḍa-dvâdasa, a region which lies in the Mallîya Pradesh, a far cry from Sâpâdalaksha which was situated in the Hyderabad State (*J.O.R.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 42). Further, in none of the genealogical accounts of the Vemulavâda Châlukya family is there an allusion to Bhâradvâja or to the *châḍaka* story. It seems, therefore, best to view these families as altogether unrelated.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 279.

⁷ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 371; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXXII (1933), pp. 35 ff.

⁸ *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II (1936), p. 762.

Sahasrājuna in the Karkhū plates. The Bībhūzi inscription of the rulers of Chādi¹ expressly refers to the conflict between Yuvarāja I surnamed Kāvūnavarsha and the Karnātas, who, in this period, could only be the Rāshtrakūtas themselves or perhaps their Chālukya vassals, the chiefs of Vemulavāḍa. Hence the present Māser inscription affords further confirmation to the conflict that took place between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Kalachuris in the time of Kṛishṇa III and Yuvarājādēva I, to which the records of both the dynasties bear testimony. The exact causes for the conflict between the two powers, who were even matrimonially connected, are not clearly known. One fact, however, needs elucidation here. How was it that Narasimha of the Sulki family whose area of authority was Viḍa-12 in the Kalachuri kingdom fought as a general under Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III? There is nothing improbable in this. Although Yuvarājādēva I and Kṛishṇa III were adversaries, prior to their advent into the political arena, there were matrimonial relations between the families in the days of their predecessors, Kalachuri Kokkala and Mugdhatunga, and Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa II and Amoghavarsha III, as is well-known. It may also be recalled that Amoghavarsha III, father of Kṛishṇa III, was the son-in-law of Yuvarājādēva I. We have said that the Chālukya family to which Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājādēva I belonged, was of the same stock with which Narasimha of our record was connected. It may be supposed that during the early days of friendship and matrimonial alliances between the two families, the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūtas, Narasimha or his predecessor, sought service under the Rāshtrakūta king, retaining all the time his fiefdom, the Viḍa-dvādasa in the Kalachuri kingdom.²

Of Kēserin, the son of Narasimha, our inscription says that he conquered the king of Lāṭa and a Kachchhapaghāta at the instance of Kṛishṇarāja, i.e., Kṛishṇa III. As to when these events could have taken place two views are possible.

The Kachchhapaghāta spoken of here was evidently a scion of the Kachchhapaghāta family of Gwalior. The Lāṭa country alluded to here may be taken to correspond roughly to the central and southern Gujarāt. This region was included in the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala, i.e., modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedabad District.³ In the time of Kṛishṇa II the province was recovered by him from a collateral Rāshtrakūta family and remained within the empire of the Rāshtrakūtas of Malkhed.⁴ From the Kāpaḍvaṭaj grant of Kṛishṇa II dated Śaka 832 (910 A.C.) we know that Prachapḍa of the Brahmanavāki(?) family had gained the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūta king Akalavarsha and was ruling at Harshapura (Harsola).⁵ During the reign of Indra III there seems to have been some trouble in the area as we are told that his feudatory, Narasimha II of Vemulavāḍa, fought the Lāṭas.⁶ But the region continued to be under Rāshtrakūta control since the Bagumrā (Nausāti) plates of Indra III (both sets), dated Śaka 836 (914 A.C.),⁷ and the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV,⁸ dated Śaka 852 (930 A.C.) record gifts made by them in Lāṭa-dēva. Subsequent to this date direct evidence of Rāshtrakūta hold over the region is met with in the time of Paramāra Harsha-Siyaka II whose Harsola grants of V. S. 1005, i.e., 949 A.C., issued by him as a feudatory of Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III and recording his gifts in Khēṭakamaṇḍala, indicate that the region was under his sway. In one of these grants Siyaka II is stated to have made the gifts when he was returning

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 256, v. 24.

² It may be pointed out that Jura in the Maitar State of Madhya Pradesh where an inscription of Rāshtrakūta Kṛishṇa III was found (above, Vol. XIX, p. 287) is not far from Bībhūzi near which Narasimha of the present inscription held a fief.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 240.

⁴ *Rāshtrakūtas and Their Times*, p. 98.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 53; Vol. XIX, p. 240.

⁶ *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 118-9.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 28-9.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 28.

from his expedition against Yōgarāja, who was none other than the Chāvēḍa king of Anhilvādīpātān and whom scholars have identified with Avanivarman II, the great-grandson of Bāhukadāhavaḷa.¹ Bāhukadāhavaḷa was a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra. Avanivarman II Yōgarāja who continued to be a Gūrjara feudatory, was holding Surāṣṭra and parts of Gujārāt from his capital at Anhilvāḍa.² He seems to have encroached upon Lāṭa and it was evidently to dislodge him from the area that Siyaka II marched against him and drove him back. Owing to his occupation of part or whole of Lāṭa for a while, Yōgarāja Avanivarman II might have acquired the title of Lāṭēśa³ and if this was the person that is referred to as Lāṭēśa in the present inscription as having been the adversary of Kēśarin, Kēśarin must have joined Siyaka II in this expedition, as both were acting on behalf of their Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlord Kṛṣṇa III. If so, these events have to be placed sometime about 948-949 A.C., before the issue of the Harsola grants. The Kachchhavāha prince who was ruling at Gwahor at this date was Lakṣmīnārāja, the father of Vajradāman of the Śāsabahu inscription, who being a Pratīhāra feudatory,⁴ like Yōgarāja, might have been allied with him in his attack on Lāṭa, and was likewise defeated by Siyaka II and Kēśarin. If what has been stated above as the possible trend of events in which Kēśarin of the present inscription encountered the Lāṭēśa and the Kachchhavāha is correct, it has to be supposed that the events represent an attempt made by the Pratīhāra ruler, who on this date was Mahēndrapāla II, to attack the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in the region of Lāṭa which, however, failed to bring any success. On the other hand, the defeat sustained by the Gūrjara feudatories seems to have paved the way for the Paramāra reconquest of Mālwa. For, evidence of Pratīhāra control over the region is available only up to 946 A.C.⁵ The absence of their records in Mālwa territory after this date and the evidence afforded by the Harsola grant of the Paramāras dated V. S. 1005 (949 A.C.)⁶ would show clearly that their hold on it was lost, the Paramāras having established themselves firmly over the area by 949 A.C.

The events detailed above which have been placed round about 949 A.C. would, however, make it impossible for Kṛṣṇa III to have been present in person to direct the campaign, for on this date he was in the south fighting the Chōḷas.⁷ Consequently, the reference made to him in the present inscription for the second time in the locative case as *Kṛṣṇanarājē* may be construed to indicate his absence from the northern campaigns at this date which were fought by Siyaka II and Kēśarin on his behalf.

Or, in the alternative, Kēśarin's conflict with the Lāṭēśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place much later in the reign of Kṛṣṇa III as shown below.

Now, it is well known that Kṛṣṇa III effected a second invasion of North India sometime after 964 A.C. as proved by an inscription of his at Jura,⁸ near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, in the territory of the Kalachuris. It is known that in this expedition he was ably assisted by his Gaṅga feudatory Māraśmīha II who, in commemoration of the victories secured by him in the north assumed the title of the 'lord of the Gūrjara'.⁹ The expedition seems to have been necessitated by the growing challenge to his authority over his possessions in Bundelkhand, Mālwa

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff, and Vol. XIX, pp. 336-38; see *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp. 38-39.

² *History of Kanauj*, pp. 236-1, 328-9.

³ Prof. Mirashi suggests that the Lāṭēśa Chaulukya varman, whose daughter Mṛigāṅkavālī married Kēyārasvaka according to the story in the *Vāṭikāśāhitya* might be a member of this Chālukya family: See *J. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 26, r. 5; see also *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 822.

⁵ Pataliputra inscription of 946 A.C., above, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-1.

⁶ Harsola grant, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236-8.

⁷ *Culce*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 239; *Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Their Times*, pp. 120-1.

⁹ Above, Vol. V, pp. 170, 176, text lines 7-8.

and Lāṭa. In fact some successful attempts were made by the neighbouring powers to encroach upon them. The earliest attempt in this direction was made by the Chandēlla ruler, Yaśovarman (c. 950 A.C.). The Khajurāho inscription (II)¹ of his son Dhaṅga dated V.S. 1011 states that Yaśovarman captured the fort of Kālāṅjara. This fort had been held in his possession by Kṛishṇa III from about 935 A.C. Yaśovarman followed up this success by overrunning the kingdom of Mālwa which must have been then under the rule of Paramāra Siyaka II. The Khajurāho inscription (II) testifies to this event for it states that Yaśovarman was the very death to the Mālavans (v. 23). His son Dhaṅga seems to have actually occupied a portion of Mālwa early in his reign as he is stated in the same Khajurāho inscription (v. 45) to have acquired the territory as far as Bhūsvat on the river of Mālava, i.e., Bhilsā on the Vētravati (Betwa) in Gwalior. Besides the Chandēlla ruler, the Chēdi king Lakshmaparāja (c. 945-70 A.C.) setting at naught the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭas over Mālwa and Lāṭa marched across these territories as far as Somanātha-Pāṭan in Saurāshtra, Kathiawar.² Not long after the date of these happenings the Lāṭa country seems to have slipped from Rāshtrakūṭa hold since it is found that Bārappa, the Chālukya chief, evidently taking advantage of the Chēdi king's raid across the country, assumed the title of the king of Lāṭa some time about 960-1 A.C.³ All these encroachments seem to have been made at the instigation of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler. For, we have it explicitly stated in the Kudlūr plates of Mārasimha II of 963 A.C. that Kṛishṇa III set out on an expedition to the north to conquer the Aśvapati.⁴ The Aśvapati was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king to whom the title of Aśvapati has to be applied at this period.⁵ The distinguishing appellation, 'King of the Gūrjara' by which Mārasimha II is stated to have become known by conquering the northern region for Kṛishṇarāja (III) would support our surmise that the Aśvapati against whom Kṛishṇa III directed his campaign was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler.⁶ As we have seen, the Jura inscription affords some evidence for the conduct of this expedition. Under the above circumstances, Kēśarin's encounter with the Lāṭā and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place during this campaign, the Lāṭā being perhaps Chālukya Bārappa, and the Kachchhavāha being Lakshmaparāja, both of whom were Pratihāra feudatories.

The facts stated further on in the last part of the present record are important inasmuch as a number of contemporary rulers are introduced. Thus mention is made of Vākpati and a Tantrādhipa and of some action relating to Muñja and Chachcha. The Hūgas despatched by Lōlukya are stated to have been defeated at Paṭṭapaka.

Among the contemporaries (of Kēśarin ?) figure Vākpati Muñja and Chachcha, both Paramāra chiefs. Muñja was the well-known Vākpati II Muñja whose known dates range from 974 to 995 A.C. Chachcha was the Paramāra prince of Naddāla, who is mentioned in verse 28 of the Panahera inscription of his descendant Jayasimha,⁷ and whose date falls in this period (c. 950-75

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 128, v. 31.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 102-3.

³ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

⁴ *Myo. Arch. Rep.*, for 1921, para. 41 ff. text lines 125-4. Kṛishṇa III is here given the title of *Narapati*.

⁵ See Rapson's article 'Lord of homes, lord of elephants and lord of men' in the *Woolner Commemorative Volume*, pp. 196-8. The title *Haryapati* is actually borne by a Gūrjara-Pratihāra king, Dhvapala, who was in fact the very contemporary of Kṛishṇa III (see above, Vol. I, p. 124 and Vol. XIV, p. 180).

⁶ Prof. Altekar believes that the Gūrjara king subdued by Kṛishṇa III and Mārasimha II was Paramāra Siyaka II himself. Sten Konow held that he might be Chālukya Mālarāja (*Sāskṛatās and Their Times*, pp. 120-21).

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 45.

A.C.). Verse 29 of this inscription tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost, gave battle to Khottigadēva at Khalighatta on the bank of the Rēvā in the cause of Siyaka and went to heaven. Evidently, the same exploit is attributed to the Paramāra prince Kaṅkadēva of the same Naddūla family in the Arthūnā inscription of Chāmūṇḍarāja,¹ verse 19 of which relates that Kaṅkadēva overthrew the army of the king of Karpāta in battle on the bank of the Narmadā and in fighting on the side of Śrī-Harsha of Mālava died a hero's death. It has been assumed by some writers² that Kaṅkadēva is identical with Chacheha and that it was this prince who fought against Rāshtrakūṭa Khottiga on behalf of Paramāra Siyaka II. It would seem that the facts narrated above with reference to several contemporary princes, including the fight at Khalighatta, were incidents of one and the same campaign, viz., the one undertaken by Khottiga against the Pratihāra and other princes of the north, viz., the Chōḍi, the Chandēlla and lastly the Paramāra who was his erstwhile feudatory. Kēsarin too may be supposed to have taken part in the expedition as can be deduced from the present Māser inscription. These events pertain to the reign of Khottiga and must have taken place before 972-3 A.C. As Māser where the present eulogistic inscription is found lies north-east of Khalighatta (modern Khalghat) on the Narmadā, it may be supposed that Khottiga was not halted at the Narmadā as a result of this battle but was able to proceed further north victoriously.

Now, the Māser inscription, recounting as it does the exploits of a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate, must have been set up before Khottiga's reign came to an end, i.e., before 972-3 A.C., as after this date the chances of a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate setting up an inscription so far north would be very remote, the area having come under the rule of the Paramāras by this date.

The mention of Muṇja (*Muṇjaveṇṇa*) in this record, assigned as it has been done to a date before 972-3 A.C., would lead to the conclusion that he had already become king in succession to Siyaka II by that date. Since, neither the latest date of Siyaka II nor the date of accession of Muṇja is definitely known yet, it is not unlikely that Muṇja ascended the Paramāra throne before 972 A.C., though the earliest date known of his is 974 A.C. It is usually believed that the Mālava king who plundered Mānyakhēja in 972 A.C. was Siyaka II Hamha on the evidence of a reference found in the *Pāyapaṭṭha*. But as surmised by Fleet the Mālava king might have been Vākpati Muṇja himself.³

Another incident of this campaign mentioned in the present inscription is the fight against the Hūṇas sent by Lōlikya which took place at Pattanaka. If Pattanaka is identical with Apahilavāḍa-Pāṭan which at this date was ruled by Chālukya Mālarāja, it may be supposed that the armies (of Kēsarin I) marched against this Chālukya chief and his Hūṇa vassals. I am unable to identify Lōlikya who despatched the Hūṇas.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Gōlahatti-Chāpaki near Ēlāpura may be identified with Gōla and Chāpagaon near Ellōrā, i.e., Ēlāpura, in the Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State. Viḍā, as stated already, may be identified with Viḍā near Bilhārī. Or, both Viḍā and Viḍā may stand for Bilhārī itself.⁴ I am unable to locate Pattanaka where the Hūṇas were encountered. Whether it stands for Apahilavāḍa-Pāṭan or Sōmanātha-Pāṭan cannot be determined until more definite data are available. I am also unable to locate Arkavasa.

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 296 ff.

² *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 338.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 422-3. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 180.

⁴ See above, p. 22, n. 4.

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TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 6, 7, 23 and 24 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 3, 3, 8 and 11 *Sraigdhārā* ; vv. 5, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 10 *Upajitī* ; v. 14 *Āryā* ; vv. 15 and 20 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 Ōm¹ [| *] Namaḥ Śubhāvā ॥ 8 ॥ jayaty-assikrīḍ-Dēvī mātṛikā lōka-vīrutā | yay-ā-kūr-ādibhir-vvarṇṇair-vvyāptā sarvādī chasācharam ॥ [| *] Dṛishṭvā kamthē surakshān madana-phala-yutām bhūta-vidrāvaṇ-ākhyān pāṇa va(ha)ddhām priyāyā vishadham-dama(nā) — — — — — [|]
- 2 krityaḥ Nihāra-patnyāḥ sakalam-idam-iti pratyajau-pannag-ādīn-Gauri-vakrām-vu(kṛ-āmbu)j-ālīḥ prakīrtati duritān chandira-śā(śi)rahō Bhavō vaḥ ॥ [2 ॥ *] Ātmany-ātmānam-ēva sphatikā-vad-amalē paśyataḥ svair-upāyāḥ svargaukaḥ-prārthanō-pi [— — — — —]
- 3 pātō dvidhā vaḥ | Kāmē-samprāpta-kāmē bhṛīṣa-kapīṣa-jāṭā-dhūma-varitāḥ kṛiṣānuḥ Śambhōr-anbhōja-garbhā-chchhavir-iva Gīrij-āy-āndu-vihavē(himā) punātū ॥ [3 ॥ *] Haimū Haimādri-kanyāyā bhrukuṭir-duritāni vaḥ | patikē Jāhnavā dṛishṭvā kōpa-rakt-āti[— — — — —] [4 ॥ *] [— — — — —]
- 4 [m-ē]chchhatō nann purā svargaukaśām(sām) svāminō Dhātūḥ pāṇi-paṇa-chyut-ōdaka-lavād-āhīrō-bhavad-bhūtālō | **Sulki-varīṣa-mahodayō** hita-kṛitām sākāhād-Yamō bhūbhṛitām **Bhāradvāja** iti prasiddha-mahimā granthi-trika-llanīkṛitāḥ ॥ [5 ॥ *] < < < < — — — — —
- 5 [vaṣ]ṭē tārādhipa-prabhē | **Sulki-ānvaya-dharaḥ** śrīmān-Narasimhō-bhavan-nripaḥ ॥ [6 ॥ *] Sa **Viḍa**-dvādaś-ādīśāḥ **Kulagrāmē**-vasuch-chīram | **Gōlahattiyārī** tu **Chāpa-kyām**-Ēlāpura-samīpataḥ ॥ [7 ॥ *] Prādād-vaidhavya-dīkshām chatura-Kalachuri-kshmaḥbhī — — — — —
- 6 — p[ō]ḥḍē sakala-guṇa-yutāḥ-**Kṛishṇarāj-ājñayā** vaḥ | vistīṛṇ-āji-dhvaḥ-ādhyā-pravara-vidhi-kṛitē mahāp-āntāḥ pravīṣya krōdh-āgnīn pūjya² samyag-ghata-karī-rudhīr-ājyēna khaḍga-āru(aru)ch-siva ॥ [8 ॥ *] Garjītvā guru dūram-unnatī-bhī — — — — —
- 7 — dhi gajasya dūma-samayō samjāyatō-gur-mmadah | pūshp-ādamva(ha)rayā janāyā dadati prīyāḥ phalāni drumā n-ōtāśkō na madō na kāla-harapam dūmasya yasay-ābhavat ॥ [9 ॥ *] Kṛi-āḥy-ātyaṇṭa-viruddha-tāpayā vij[— — — — —]
- 8 — [ā]llmulh-āsvādita-va(ha)ndhujīvayā yasay-āri-nāri śaradā vijānvi(hi)ṭā ॥ [10 ॥ *] Taamād-vair-ibha-knūliha-sthala-dalana-patūḥ **Kēsar**-iti prajānām bhartā jāṭō **Gupāḍhyāḥ** kshītisra-śarapam kshāntī-bhṛit-sūnrita-jūḥ | jītvā yō[yō] — — — — —
- 9 — — **Kṛishṇarājē** **Lāṭēsam** **Kach[chh]avāham** samada — — — — —
— ॥ [11 ॥ *] — — va(ha)ddha-jāṭā-kalāpam-uchitam prēt-ādhivāsa-kriyam tikshō-ōd-bhāṣita-kūla-dārīta-chītam bhāṣm-āvar[ṣ]ṣha-chchhavi [|] — — — — —
- 10 — — m-Umāpatēr-iva vapur-yad-vidvishām mahādiram ॥ [12 ॥ *] Kēśaḥ stugdha-
— — — — —
— — — — — [| *] — — — — —

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Better read pūjyitāḥ kula-karī, etc.

- 11 tsm cha yad-ripu-vadhū-sakhyā chirañ śōchitā || [13 || *] Sitighāśa(hāsa)nam-
adhitūḡham janvu(hu)kam-ava[lōkā(lōka)]ya dvishām bhavanē | sphuṭitā hṛdayē nūna[m]
..... [||14||*] ————
——— [||*] ————
- 12 puṇya-vinay-ōdyama-janma-bhūmim Padmā-pada-praśchim-**Arkkavan-**ābhidhānam ||
[15||*] Satya-tyāga-guṇ-śdhikō-dbhuta-yaśāḥ sādhu-[dvi] ————
——— [||*] ————
- 13 ti[sh]hā[ś]vatām śrīmad-**Vākpatinā** kṛtām avaka-va(ba)lē tantrādhīpō yaḥ sudhīb ||
[16||*] Mumj-ōrvvīpa-mahattamasya sahasā **Chachhasya** dattā[bha] ————
——— [||*] ————
- 14 havē [ku]m̐t-āgra-prasit-āmalañ na valīmañ [vyā]pādyā kāmśchid-dhathā[ti] || [17 || *]
Hūpān-Patṭanakarī samētya tarasā **Lōlikya**-samprēshitān-du ————
——— [||*] ————
- 15 māpra — śva-va[r-ē]bha-patti-vipulāñ nibka(śhka)[m]takām sv-śśinā || [18 ||*] Vatsō kiñ
ruditēna yāhi sarasāñ kurvv-ātmanō vāmchohhitāñ nītaḥ ————
——— [||*] ————
- 16 yasy-āri-pramadā-janō dṛḡha-matir-mm̐cityuñ prati prasthitāḥ || [19 || *] Ya[t-sa]-
myugēshu vara-vīra-śīraḥ-kapālāñ pātrāya n-āśhād-śbō sa[ka] ———— [||*] ————
——— [||20||*] ————
- 17 t-ā[rg]ha-vidhivān-Jishṇv-archhit-āmg̐hri-dvayō yō **Dubāśā(sa)na-Śalya**-darppa-da[ana]-
vyāpāra-lavdh(bdh)-āvadhiḥ | durvvār-āhita-ghāta-satya-vibhavō gī ————
——— [||21||*] ————
- 18 na chayāḥ kahūtrōḡ śatru-kahayāḥ sashitānāya su-yōchitāsv-ahar-śhaḥ kōpō va(ba)la-kahūnti-
kṛit | su-śvām-śhja-phalāya jivita ————
——— [||22||*].....(8 letters lost here).....
- 19 yat-āri-rva(ba)ḡavānalā | kallōla iva tōyānām sahasā pralayam gataḥ || [23 || *]
Hūpāśvara-mahā[śśna] ———— śśnā [di]vam gatā | parē..... (14 letters of this verse lost
here) [||24||*] ————
- 20 b-āhita-kumjaḡchidra-nakharī dāś **Harasy-ōttamaḥ** | dātā sarvva-janāya — ma ————
——— [||25||*].....
- 21

¹ Only the upper parts of many letters are to be seen in this line.

APPENDIX

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

(4 Plates)

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI, AND B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

This abnormally long inscription appears on twenty-five stone slabs, each measuring more or less 3' high by 3½' broad. Twenty-four of them are fixed in a row at short intervals into the wall of the *Nanchauki ghāt* at the *Rājasamudra*, while one is found inside a marble pavilion. *Rājasamudra*, popularly known as *Rāj Samand*, is an artificial lake which lies to the north of *Kankroli*, a railway station on the Mavli-Phulad-Marwar Junction branch of the Udaipur State Railway, and is about 40 miles north-north-east of the city of Udaipur. The lake is a fine sheet of water, extending over three miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. It is formed by a dam built at its south-western extremity. It is mainly fed by the water of the *Gōmati*, but is also abundantly augmented by the rain-water draining into it from the surrounding hills.¹

The inscription comprises a *mahākāvya*, entitled *Rājaprasasti*, consisting of twenty-four cantos. Twenty-four of the slabs contain each a canto, while the inscription on the twenty-fifth consists merely of invocations to various deities, and as such it does not form an integral part of the poem proper. This invocatory section occupies the foremost position, though it was composed last of all, as is evidenced by its eleventh stanza wherein the poet invokes blessings for *Rājasimha's* son *Jayasimha* as well as for the latter's children. The poet informs us that he composed the *prasasti* by the order of *Rājasimha*,² but that it was engraved on the stone slabs at the instance of his son and successor *Jayasimha*.³

Although several instances are known of such lengthy records engraved on stone, yet the present one is perhaps the longest so far discovered. This remarkable poem has not yet been edited entirely⁴ or properly,⁵ though its contents have occasionally been noticed by some scholars.⁶ The work is important more as a narrative of events than anything else. It no doubt conforms to many of the conventional characteristics of a *mahākāvya*, still it exhibits very little real poetic merit.

The script employed is *Nāgarī*, almost of the type prevalent at present. The language is Sanskrit throughout, except that here and there some phrases or sentences in the local dialect

¹ For a detailed description of the *ghāt* as well as of its surroundings see *Raj Bahadur G. H. Ojha's Rājputāna-kā Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. I, Ajmer, 1927, pp. 310 f.

² Canto I, Verse 10.

³ Canto V, Verse 51.

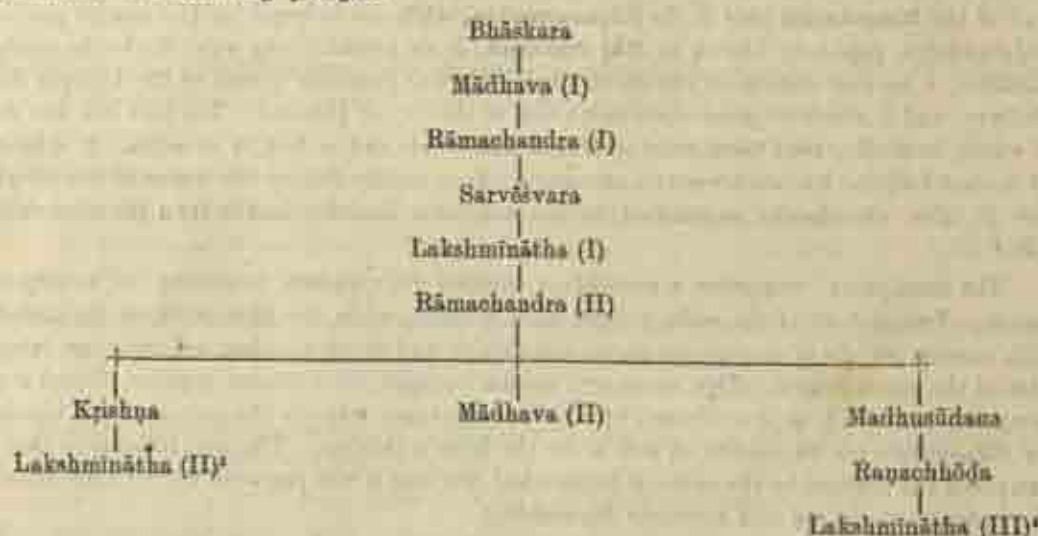
⁴ Two cantos, the second and the third, have been edited in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 145-154; but the text presented there is found inaccurate at several places.

⁵ Prof. Sri Ram Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, has undertaken to edit it. His work was to appear in the *Panjab University Oriental Publications*. We have seen a part of it in print and found that his treatment of the record is not strictly scientific. Besides, his readings are not correct throughout.

⁶ Especially by Ojha, *Ann. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March 1918, pp. 2 ff.; *Rājputāna-kā Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. II, pp. 879 ff. *et passim*.

are met with. It is, however, noteworthy that the poet not only presents certain Muslim names and titles in their Sanskritized forms, but also treats a few vernacular and even Persian terms as Sanskrit words like *šera* in the sense of 'a ser', *latta* for 'a kick' and *salāma* meaning 'salute' respectively in verse 16 of the Canto III and in verses 41 and 48 of the Canto IV. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities may be noticed : (1) an *anusvāra* is used for a close nasal as well as for a final *m* almost invariably ; (2) a consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled as in *mūrdhū* (Slab I, l. 37) ; (3) usually a single *chā* is written where a *chchā* is required,² such cases as *cilasachchātṛ* (Canto III, l. 1) being exceptional ; (4) the sign of *avagraha* is seldom used (Canto II, l. 18) ; (5) in many cases *ṣ* is employed instead of *ṣ*. (6) Sometimes *sh* stands for *kā*. There are certain other peculiarities, such as the spelling of the name *Bharata* as *Bharatha*, which betrays the poet's place of origin being South India.

The author of the poem is a Tēlaṅga or Telugu Bhāṭṭama, Rāpachhōḍa,³ by name, born of the Kāthōṇḍi family. From the description of his parentage given towards the end of several cantos, we extract the following pedigree :



The poet Rāpachhōḍa also mentions his mother's name as Vēṇī, daughter of a *Gōṣāimīn* whose proper name is not given but who presumably belonged to the Vallabha *sampradāya*. It may be pointed out that Vallabhāchārya, the founder of this sect, had also hailed from the Telugu country. His second son Viṭṭhalanātha was the first to assume the title of *Gōṣāi* or *Gōṣāimīn* which was later held by all the *āchāryas* of the sect. These Vaishnavas had their centres at various places in North India, but the one with which the maternal grandfather of the poet Rāpachhōḍa was connected was probably that of Nāthadvārā, about 30 miles north of Udaipur.⁶ We are further informed in verses 9 and 10 of Canto I that the poet composed the *prāśasti* while teaching a younger brother of his, named Lakshmaṇa, who seems to have had

¹ A certain Indian weight, roughly equal to 2 lbs.

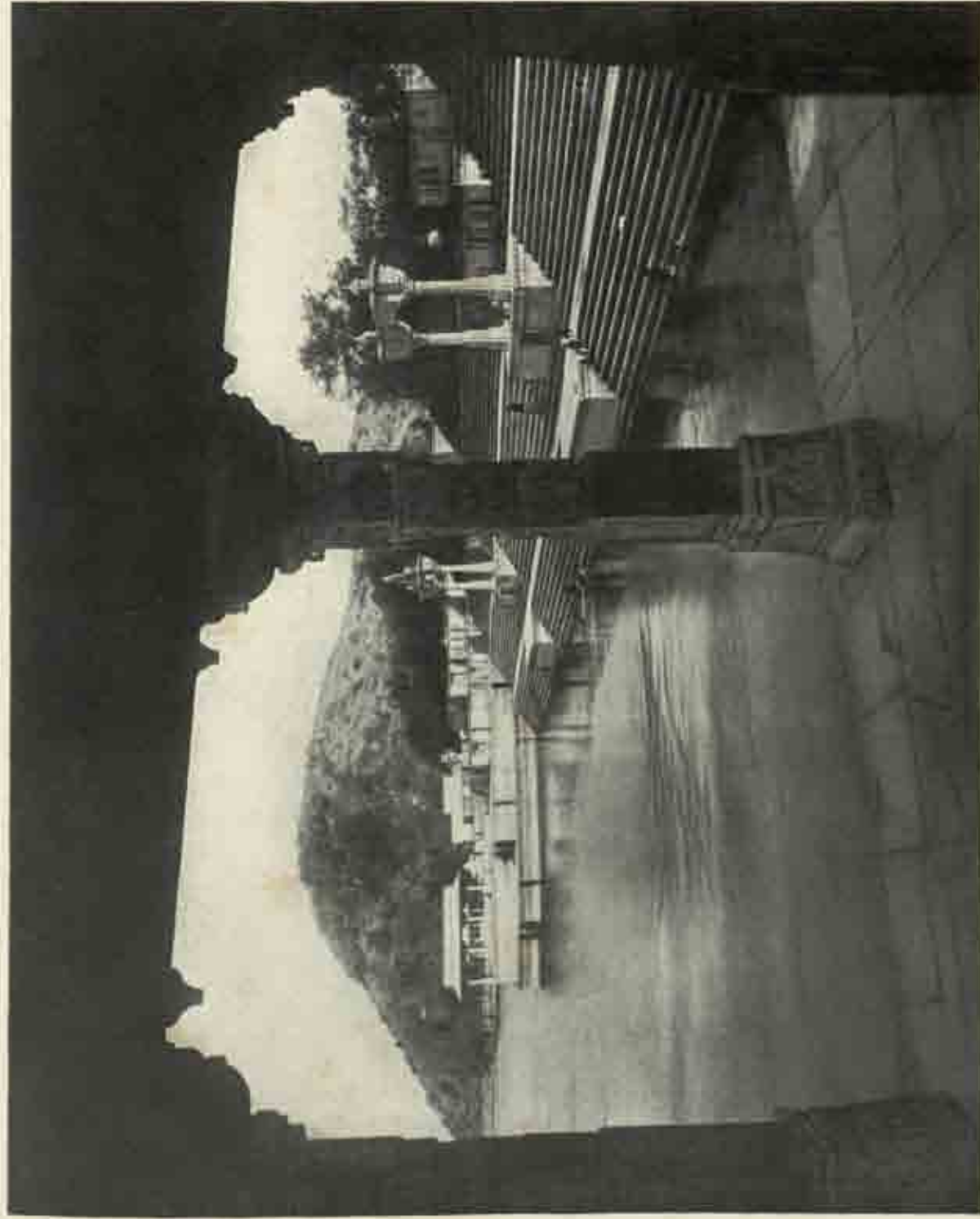
² For metrical requirements, the *chā* in the name Rāpachhōḍa has in most places to be read without the reduplication.

³ This Lakshminātha (II) is, in fact, not at all mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti*, but we know of his existence from the Jagannātharāya temple inscription at Udaipur, of which he is the composer, and in which he gives his genealogy perfectly agreeing with the one given here (see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 83, verse 48).

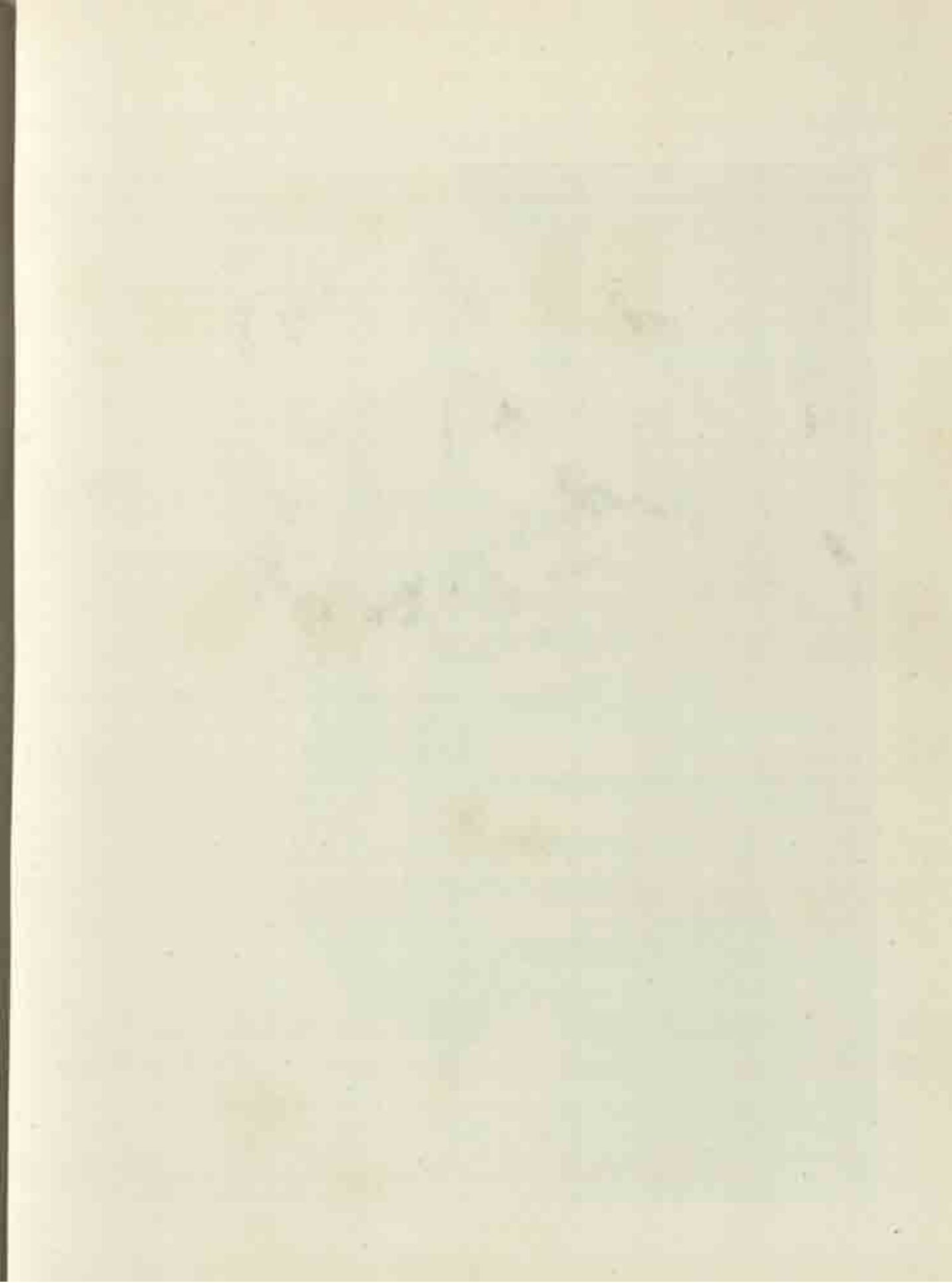
⁴ He is known from slab IX, ll. 45-46 : slab XXV, v. 15.

⁵ *Ityupādāya-kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Vol. I, pp. 338 ff. See also R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Jainism, etc.*, pp. 76 ff.

RAJAPRANASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR
I-A VIEW OF THE NAUCHAUKI GHAT, RAJASAMUDRA



(From a photograph.)



RECAPITULATORY ILLUSTRATIONS OF LUNAVYA
II-A VIEW OF ONE OF THE PAVILIONS, RAJAHMUNDRU



(From a photograph.)

another elder brother called Bharata,¹ and that he commenced the composition on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the Vikrama year 1718 in compliance with the orders of Mahārājā Rājasimha who is stated to have at the same time ordered the construction of the Rājasamudra lake as well, while halting at the village of Dhōdhuḥḍā.² The week-day on that date was Budha, as can be ascertained from verse 14 of the Canto IX, where the same date is repeated. It thus regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 1st January A. D. 1662, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta*.

It took full fourteen years to complete the work of excavating the lake and constructing the dam and the *ghāt*; for, we are informed that the inauguration ceremony of the Rājasamudra took place on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in the Vikrama Satiwat 1732,³ which regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 20th January A. D. 1676.

The names of the masons who are responsible for the engraving of the present inscription as also perhaps for the construction work are given in the *bhāṣā* portions occurring towards the end of some slabs. They are: *Gajadhara*⁴ Mukāṇḍa, *Gajadhara* Kalyāṇa's son Urajaṇa, *Gajadhara* Sukhadēva, *Gajadhara* Keso (Kēśava), Sundara, Lālā, etc.⁵

The pivotal theme of the poem is the Rājasamudra. It records the digging of the lake as well as the building of the dam and the *ghāt* in a very elaborate manner. Besides, it abounds in incidental details upon which it is needless to expatiate here. Since the text will be found simple enough to be self-explanatory, no comments are deemed necessary in this introduction. And a verbatim translation of the whole poem would unnecessarily increase the bulk of the article which is already exceeding usual limits. We shall, therefore, content ourselves by giving an abstract of the contents at the end of the text, adding notes on the historical portions. It may, however, be observed here that whereas the poet's account of the contemporary events appears to be fairly authentic, his descriptions touching the earlier history, for which he had drawn chiefly upon legendary, bardic or traditional sources, are manifestly wrong in several details and are therefore unreliable. The inaccuracies will be pointed out at their proper places.

The text has been prepared from the inked estampages taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934. The present article was ready as early as 1940, but its publication has been delayed due to the suspension of the printing of the journal for some years during and after the World War II.

TEXT⁶

Slab I : Invocation

[Metres : vv. 1-14 *Śikharīṇī* ; vv. 15-21, 24-30 *Sragdharā* ; v. 22 *Upajāti* ; v. 23 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*.]

१ ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ यद्रोहेतुं तेतुं मुहुतिहृतितेतुं जलनिधौ मुबद्धं यत्त्वके
परनिवरत्नकेण हविर् ॥ इत्था कामः कामं जनक-

¹ The poem was also intended to be a text book for the poet's own children, Lakshminātha and the rest see Slab XXV, v. 16.

² Possibly it is the same Dhōdhuḥḍā as is mentioned further on in verse 3 of the Canto IX, where it is enumerated as the first of the sixteen villages whose area was included in the lake.

³ This date as well as that of the commencement of the work is given at several places in the poem, but of such instances where week-days are also mentioned one may be seen in ll. 41-43 of Slab IX.

⁴ The term *gajadhara* is equivalent to *sāvedhār* meaning 'mason', literally 'holder of the yardstick' (*ga* or *gar* 'yard').

⁵ More or less the same list is found towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII, IX and XXV.

⁶ From ink impressions.

- 2 तनपाबाभनयनामुविधानः कामं कनयानु स रामः कृतजयः ॥१॥ स्मितज्योत्स्नालेपोज्ज(स्व)-
तललितकण्ठः कवचपशिखिस्फूर्जत्पल्लव-
- 3 गगनितनामो विभसितः । मूढे चेलादोला(ला)शृणुत इति भूवाप्रतिष्ठितेर्षुतेर्षी^१र्षाः शृं(र्ष)भुः
स्फटिकवचिहेहेतिवचिरः ॥२॥ पुरा राघोदस्त्वय(स्व)रणद्वयः
- 4 सेतुविजयप्रभं(भं)वं कृतवाग्धिं नयमिह तद्वानं रक्षितवान् । प्रतिष्ठामस्याद्धा तव
विचरराज्ये भगवति प्रभाको निवि(वि)ध्नं स निरिचरमातर्जय जय ॥
- 5 ॥३॥ वराभीत्योर्दार्शीं पुष्टमकुञ्जां कामवशनां महाकालोरःत्वां ससुखमजयवीरविभुतां । प्रसन्नाशीं
इयामां स्मितमपमूर्शीं
- 6 दक्षिणतमां स्तुवन्कालीं विद्याभित्तितुतधनानीह लभते ॥४॥ चतुर्भिः कंतासम्पुरितकरिभिर्है-
मसमुपैर्षटैः शृङ्गो-
- 7 तिर्य्यक्तैः स्मरति मुखसिक्तां कनकभां । वराभोज्यद्वैतमपुतकरां त्वांभु(त्वांभु)जगतां रमे
भीमते यो मुखमपि स मलेभधनवान् ॥५॥
- 8 हर्षवस्था भास(स्व)स्फटिकहिमकुंदाञ्जयकुपुधाना धातो वा मुकुरवचिपद्यातनगता । नवीना
वीणाभृद्विहिरिहरेद्विचिन्ता स-
- 9 रत्नपास्तां [न]ः सुमतिहृत्ये जाड्यहृत्ये ॥६॥ शृङ्गं वाणीं लज्जां शिवा(य)मपि दद्यातां
मणिलसतिकरीर्दुद्योतां मणिघटलसत्सव्यचरणां । प्रिनेत्रां
- 10 स्मेरास्यां समणिचयकाज्यो(ज्यो)द्यतकरां अपारकतां मरुता भजत भुवनेशीं पुष्पकुचां ॥७॥
हर्षेणालः^२ शृङ्गो(शृङ्गो) सलितकमली ह्योगममुखः क एव शृङ्गो]-
- 11 इह(ग) लघुकलितशक्तिहंसकरः । हवांसो हस्तजो धृतसकलनामोऽनलवपुस्तुतिर्नम जप्या
जयति वरणीशो मन्त्रिय ॥८॥ कपो-
- 12 सप्रोत्तमोत्कनकविलसत्कुंडलयुगां(गं) मुखेभुं वि(वि)ध्यानां कनकविकसन्धंयकवधि । गदा-
दीर्घारति करगरिपुत्रिह्नां च दगला-
- 13 मूर्त्ती व्याघ्रेष्टस्तस्मिन्मुखमूलसंस्तंभनविधिः^३ ॥९॥ शतायुः सिद्धिं वा सवति व(व)हुवृद्धिं
विदधतीं प्रसिद्धिं लोके वा सततमृगव-
- 14 द्वि व विगता । पुष्पाणामृद्धिं वा सुभगपुलकृद्धिं वनगिरां समृद्धिं भक्तानां सवदि
हरसिद्धिं भज मनः ॥१०॥ शिवे राज-

^१ The form *asgla* is evidently derived from the word *asgla* which is a Prakrit equivalent of *asgla*.

^२ The sign of *asgla* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and supplied later on.

- 15 न्यातां जयसि समरादौ जयकरी शतापुष्यं रा(रा)णं कलय जयसिहं सतनयं । स्थिरं
राणाराज्यं जगति रचयाऽऽचञ्चतपनं प्रशस्तोः स्वये¹
- 16 त्वं मम सुतगिरावुधेनसुतं ॥११॥ चतुर्वारं तैतज्जनकलकलालंकृततनुं गिरिं ध्रुत्वा लोके
तव विवरराज्यं त्वनुमितं । ध्रुवं निःसदे-
- 17 हं रचय नृपदेहं मम वपुः स्थिरं मेहं स्नेहं ततममपि तेहं निजजनः ॥१२॥ इदं
स्तोत्रं स्तुत्यं पठति मनुजो म(मं)गलकं(क)रं मुकार्यादौ यस्त-
- 18 ब्रूवति सफलं विघ्नरहितं । प्रपूर्णं वा² तूष्णं जननि रणक्षोभेन रचितं पठित्वा ध्रुत्वादौ
जगद्विलमास्तां मुक्तमयं ॥१३॥ इति भवानीस्तोत्रं [11*]
- 19 सरोलंबे स्तंबेरममूलसद्वे(वे)लितमूले मुहुरेवे(वे) त्वं वेदवति गुणलंबे(वे) त्वयि विभो
[1*] समालंबे कं वेदितवति भूषं वेदितविपत्कदं-
- 20 वेदनालंबे(वे) मुकविनिकुरवे(वे) कुट कृपां ॥१४॥ नष्टाः सुद्राः समुद्राः सलघनसलिलाः³
कूपवाप्योऽभद्रा दारिद्र्यं वीक्ष्य वारां किल मुरस-
- 21 रितो वारि गृह्णति सनं । शंखालं केशपंकित शिरसि च शकु(क)लं चंद्रकं रत्नसेतोः
सिद्धरं वा(वा)लुकोपं दधदिति गृणिभिः पातु गोतो गणे-
- 22 शः⁴ ॥१५॥ कणो⁵ सूर्यद्वयं वायुनिवलपमिषाज्ज्वालनीं रंतवर्षां(वीं) चंद्रं रीप्यं कटाहं
विभुकरनिकरं पिष्टकं स्निग्धकुंभी । दानं मिष्टं जलं वप-
- 23 वति दधदलं धूमकेतुं च सर्वैर्लङ्कालि तनुक्तो ह्यसुरसुरनरालंबलंबोदरोज्यात् ॥१६॥
शुंहावंदं प्रचंडं सवलसवसितं रंभ्रवद्विज्ञास्त्रं
- 24 वि(वि)भ्राणो धूमकेतुं मधुकरगुटिकावंतमुहृष्टवंदं । तद्गुणं वल्लिस्तत्रो दितिजहृ(ह)तिहृते
स्वापितः शंभुनाली भ्रातृया लोकेर्गजास्यः क-
- 25 वित इति मुदे श्रीगणेशः मुवेधः ॥१७॥ पूज्योभूडकुलुः सुरदितिजनरः सर्वकार्येषु
कस्मात्तन्मये क्रीडनेयं जलनिधिमयिकं शुंडया पीत-
- 26 वान्वे । संकास्थद्वारकास्या⁶सुरसुरमनुजाहोदलक्ष्मीस्वयंभूषिण्युस्तोर्वस्तु मुंचस्तकलमिदमतः सर्वबंधो
मुदे सः ॥१८॥ प्रस्त-

¹ The syllable *ra* is inscribed above the line.

² The sign of *nisarga* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and was supplied later on.

³ Read *kāpa-vāpya* = *py-abhadrā*, as otherwise the line would be short of one syllable.

⁴ The words *Lankāśekhā* and *Dvārakāśekhā* qualify the *asura*, etc., i.e., demons, etc., of *Lankā* as well as of *Dvārakā*.

- 27 भानुं रसानोत्तमफलत(म)तिती निर्मलोद्यत्तिताभिभ्राजस्तद्वृक्षद्वया निशि मधुरवि[धुं] चंदया
मुंडया यत् । धृत्वा स्वास्ये दधे तद्वृक्ष-
28 मिति जनेः स्नाग्निभिः भ्रातृमस्मात्पादंरया मोचिते(ती) ती सहसितमयतात्पसेशहर्ता गणेशः
॥१६॥ भ्रातः किं वाहनस्य प्रकटयसि न वा
29 सात्तनं स्कंदवाक्यादेवं प्रोद्वंशुंशामुलकनितमहामुलकस्पर्शलेशः । भोक्तुं भोगी किमित्थं इवति
कृतमती मुखेस्मादकस्मात्स्कं-
30 धातस्य स्वतन्त्रस्वकनितमतिवचनचारे दद्याद्गणेशः ॥२०॥ सत्कुंभी दंडुभो द्वौ भुजगमुलकरं
वाचमुद्वंशुंशं ताली वा कण(णं)ताली त्रिभु-
31 रहरमहाताडवाडव(व)रे यत् । चंडाद्या वाक्यंति द्विपवदनविभोरेष तुष्टो विशिष्टं
स्वाविष्टः(ष्टं) स्पष्टनृत्यं प्रविष्टद्विष्टं पातु मामिष्टशिष्टं ॥२१॥
32 श्रीवक्त्रुंड(ड)स्तव एष तुंडस्थितः सतां मंडितसूक्तिकुंडः । उद्वंशेत्तद्वटोप्रचंडविद्यामणीकुं[ड]तदः
सदा स्प(स्या)त् ॥२२॥ इति गणेश(श)स्तोत्रं ।
33 स्वनामस्वर्जं गायतः स्वस्तरोगानजलं जनान्द्वलवद्वं वितन्वन् । जयश्रवणान्भूषणध्वजमुत्थं
सहस्रद्युतिसंमुदे स्तादुबुध[ः]
34 ॥२३॥ सत्पीतं चामरं किं कलयति तपनो धार्यमाणं द्विगीर्णः श्रुताभावाहमाभिः^१ कृतपट-
घटनायापि सूक्ष्मसहजं । वेदुं तद्या(द्या)तर्हता-
35 यत्तव(व)लव(व)लं स्वर्णवा(वा)णप्रजं वा तर्धते तर्धंतोर्करिति रक्षिकरणा येन ते पुत्रदाः
स्युः ॥२४॥ जाते प्रस्योदयेसावुदयगिरिवरः सु-
36 यंवाहुरणाभाकवेः शुद्धेहिरण्यमंदकतमणिभिः पद्मरागैः कृतं डाक् । शृंगस्तोमे समस्ते रचयति
निचयं भूषणानां मधेष्टं(ष्टं)
37 वाह्यप्रपुष्पयुक्तं स भवतु भगवान्भूतवे भानुमालो ॥२५॥ प्रा[च्या]मुद्वंशानां धृतीतो मरकत-
कनकोद्भासितोत्तंस उद्वंशुंशोद्यत्स्वर्ण-
38 पत्रं हरिद्वनपटं ध्वजं मुद्गिन मेरोः । वर्षाशंस्यद्वुतं वा हरिधनुरधुना कुंडलीभूतमित्थं
सूतस्वादवप्रभाभस्तुमुग्निविहसितं मंडलं पा-
39 तु पूजः ॥२६॥ मुक्तागुच्छं विजस्वद्वपुररुणमणिं विद्रुमं सूतरूपं ध्वजं सत्पुष्कराणं हरिहरित-
मणीन्दीर्घवैहृष्यंदंडान् । वि(वि)भ्रद्व्यस्य ध्वजं

^१ The word *śrūta* is used in the sense of *śrūta* 'understood' or 'inferred'.

^२ The engraver had ditiographically engraved a superfluous *da* after *śrūta*, which he later on moved out.

^३ This expression is not very clear. If the third word in the compound is meant to be *śrūta*, the correct form should be *śrūta-śrūta*, which would not fit in with the metre.

^४ After *pa* is a scooped out medial *r*.

- 40 त्वसितमणिधूरं धन्यगोम(मे)दमं च श्रीमानोः स्वदनस्ते मनसि खलु भूतो हंतु
सर्वप्रहर्ति(सिं) ॥२७॥ विद्यामच्छयता मूर्तिन तपुगमनकरा ये मेरोर्ध्व-
41 ष्टाः कल्लोलोत्सासितेस्मिन्मयु'वरयुवतीसंचये चंचलाकाः । हेवातकेतशब्दैर्विदधति भूशमासकितमङ्गा
गुदत्वं धीष्णे कुर्वति युक्तं हरिहरव इत-
42 स्ते धियं ते विशंतु ॥२८॥ व(च)कारं शक्र सव्यक्(गु) धुरि यम तमतामशभावेहि
रक्षत्वं वीतीन्वि(त्वी)तिहोवाधनमिह वदन स्वापय त्वं रवे'श] । बाधो बाऽऽमोजय
43 त्वं रथमथ धनदाराधन(नं) त्वं हरीणां शम्भो त्वं भो[ः*] धियं मे पवति तदरण्यो
विश्वतोन् शास्ति सोम्यात् ॥२९॥ आचले ये पश्चिमाशाकुचमुगविलस[त्सु-]
44 [कु]मालेपसक्तः कि वा चालेः प्रचालैर्जलमिधिविठ(ठ)रे स्वशंनंघर्षणैश्च प्रेमना(स्ना) [बा]न्ध्या[दितः
कि हरिहरवज्रपाणिना सत्कुसुंभा रक्तेनैवाव(व)रेणा ~
45 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ — — ~ — — ~ — — [॥३०॥]²

Slab II ; Canto I

[Metres : vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 *Mālinī* ; v. 3 *Prithol* ; 5, 14, 15, 17-29 *Anuashubh* ; vv. 8, 11, 12, 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 9, 10, 30, 31 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 16 *Sālinī*.]

श्रीः[ः*]

- 1 ~ नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ मुनिनृपमनुजेभ्यो वशंनं संप्रदातु परमकरुणयैवागत्य कैलास-
शैलात् । तदभुवि कुटिलाया एकलिंगस्मि-
2 कूटे स्थित इह विश्वरेड्यो राजसिंहेशमभ्यात् ॥१॥ तुहिनकिरणहोरशोरकभूरगौर ।¹ वपुरपि
जलदाभं कालि-
3 कापांगवन्ध्या(स्नया) : ॥(1) प्रतिकृतिघटनाभिबिं(विं)अदभ्रातमक्तः ।⁴ कलधनु तव राजमर्म-
नाम्येकलिंगः ॥२॥
4 चतुर्मितपुमर्थसङ्गितरनाय सङ्गुधः सदा ।⁴ चतुर्भुजधरो मृदा किल चतुर्ध्वगोष्ठयदाः ॥(1)
चतुर्भुजह-

¹ *Maya* means *illusion*.

² This portion has not come out on the impression. How much matter has been lost after the verse 30 cannot be determined.

³ Engraved on the top.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

- 5 रिदिवरं निजचतुर्भुजाभिः शुभं चतुःश्रुतिसमीरितं दिशतु राजसिंहप्रभोः ॥३॥ जगदलित-
जनानां पालनादस्ति
- 6 यावा(वा) निगमयचसि यावा(वा)साविकावा किलोक्ता ॥१॥ सुखयतु सहितं त्वां
पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रैरवतु तव तु गोत्रं सावि(वि)-
- 7 का राजसिंह ॥४॥ ऐ(ऐ)विरं विभवं दद्यात् १ शीवली(ली) वृत्तिं(त्ति) दध-
त्यलं ॥१॥ बुधे प्रसन्नगोः(गो) स्कन्ददाता भूप प्रवाल-
- 8 भाः ॥५॥ दधवतुलकरे द्राक्षमोदकं मस्य भक्तः १ कलयति सं(स)फलार्थं मोदकं
राजसिंह १ नृपवर स तु विजितं वि-
- 9 धनराजो विनिश्चनन् रचयतु तनयस्ते मंगलं मंगलायाः ॥६॥ प्रथमनृपमुनी यः सिद्धिदाता
धिवत्मान् १
- 10 अपरमनुमिव त्वां वीक्ष्य सिद्धिं प्रदातुं ॥१॥ दशशतकरयुक्तो युक्तमेवेत्यहो त्वा- १
मयतु स तु नितान्तं भूप-
- 11 ते राजसिंह ॥७॥ धीरः कविः स्कन्दपुराणवरोनुशास्ता १ धाता स्कन्दगुणगणस्य
तमःसफलः ॥१॥ धादित्य-
- 12 वर्ण इह मां मधुसूदनोऽप्यात्कामेतिवुस्तरतरे १ प्रविशतमद्वा ॥८॥ इती(ति) मंगलाष्टकं ॥
यस्यासीन्मधुसू-
- 13 वनस्तु जनको जातः कठोर्दो कुले तेलंगः कविपंडितः सुजननी खेनी च गोस्वामिजा ॥१॥
कुर्वे राजसमुद्रनामक-
- 14 जलाधारप्रशस्तिं त्वहं सोढव्यं रणखोड एव भरथा(ता)वं लक्ष्मणं शिशयन् ॥९॥ पुण्ये
सप्तवसे पाले समतनी(नी)त्स्वष्टा-
- 15 दशाक्षवेवके १ माघे श्यामलपक्षके नरपतिः [स]त्सप्तमी वासरे ॥१॥ धीर्मुद्रावभति
जसास(श)मसहारेभं च तस्मात्त-
- 16 या प्रारंभं रणखोड एव कृतवांस्तस्य प्रशस्तेस्तथा ॥१०॥ अर्थं त्ववर्णमपि वेत्ति न
वा(वा)लको वा वृष्टार्थसंकथक
- 17 एव गणद्वयश्च १ सोहं तर्पय गुणवृद्धसमोपविष्टः किञ्चिद्दशमि मम धाष्टर्धमिव
जमर्ध ॥११॥ जिह्वायु चेतकपिपति-

¹ The syllable *sub* is engraved above the line.

² Perhaps the intended reading is *subditi-nita*.

³ This *desa* is not necessary.

⁴ The letter *du* is inscribed above the line.

- 18 लिङ्गनेयु¹ कात्तवीर्यार्जुनो वचसि वाक्पतिरेव बाह् ॥(1) आतु² गुणास्तव तवा निपुणो
भवामि काश्चित्ततो नृप वदाम्यसि-
- 19 साहसेन ॥१२॥ मुण्या जनार्दनहरेस्तु कथास्ति पुण्यश्लोकस्य वा नलनृपस्य युधि-
ष्ठिरस्य ॥(1) तावृक्कथा जयति वाण-
- 20 नपस्य वक्ष्ये श्रीराजसिंहनृपतेरपि सत्कथां तत् ॥१३॥ रामायणे भारतेस्ति प्रोक्तानां
भूमिजां यशः । यथा राज्ञा-
- 21 मिहोक्तानां स्यात्सपाञ्चदशतारकं ॥१४॥ खंडप्रशस्तिर्भुवने रामखंडस्य शोभते । श्री³खंड-
प्रशस्तिस्ते राजसि-
- 22 ह विराजते ॥१५॥ नत्पांयुष्यस्तुल्यमायुस्तु भावाग्रधानां स्याद्देवभागभारतादेः । देवायुष्यस्तुल्य-
सायुस्ततोहं प्र(प्र)थं कु-
- 23 र्मे राण गीर्वाणवाण्या ॥१६॥ व्यासवात्सीकिबद्धगृही वा(वा)नधीहर्षवद्भूयः । स संस्कृतकवी
राज्ञां यशोगन्धर्वकश्चरं
- 24 ॥१७॥ श्रीराजाराजसिंहस्य वर्णनं कर्तुमुद्यतः । भूपात्वाण्यादिका(श्च)कृतं वक्ष्येहं मुनिसंमति
॥१८॥ वक्ष्ये वायु(यु)पुराणस्य ।⁴ मे-
- 25 इपाटीयखंडके ॥(1) षष्टे(ष्टे)ध्याये स्वेकलंगमाहात्म्ये वाक्पमोरितं ॥१९॥ अथ शैलात्मजा
व(व)हन् शोकव्याकुललोचना ॥(1) नै(नै)दिनं प्र-
- 26 मं वाणं मृजती तमुवाच ह ।[1^{*}] २०।[1^{*}] यस्माद्वाणं सृजाम्यद्य विमोघात्⁵ शंकरस्य
व [1^{*}] पूर्ववत्तावच मखा(महा)पाद्वाण्यो राजा भविष्यति ॥२१॥
- 27 आराध्य तं जगन्न(आ)थं ।⁶ तीर्थे नागहृद्वे शुभे । राज्यं शक इव प्राप्य पुनः
स्वर्गमवाप्स्यति ॥२२॥ पुनश्चंदगणं प्राह पार्वती ध्याकु-
- 28 लेक्षणा । मयावां हृतवानद्य ।⁷ द्वाररक्षेप्सरजनात् ॥२३॥ हारीत इति नाम्ना त्वं
येदपाटे मुनिर्भव । तवाराध्य शिवं देवं ।⁸ त
- 29 तः स्वर्गमवाप्स्यति ॥२४॥ इति वायुपुराणस्य संमतिस्तत्र विस्तरः ॥(1) द्रष्टव्यो
वाण्यखंडेस्मिन् ।⁹ कार्यः शिष्यैस्तदावरः ॥२५॥
- 30 न मे विज्ञानतरणी राजसिंहगुणांशुधेः ।¹⁰ वाराण्ये वक्त्रमुदुप(व)मस्याज्ञाकरमाश्रये¹¹ ॥२६॥
सालंकारयणिः सुस्तिमोक्तिकः सङ्-

¹ The correct form is *likhna*.

² Better read *gāṇa*.

³ *Sandā* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

⁵ Both *viraga* and the *daṇḍa* are above the line.

⁶ While composing this verse the poet obviously had in mind Kālidāsa's *Kaśya-sūrya-prakāśa-samastā śra-
chālpa-vishayā matā* [*Itihāsur-dustarān mōhād-māṇḍapā-dāmi śāporam*] (*Raghuvamśa*, 1. 2).

- 31 सामृतः ॥(1) राजप्रशस्तिर्धोस्तु समुद्रोन्मः¹ सुवर्णभूः ॥२७॥ सेतिहासी भारतवल्गोवत्-
सूर्यान्वयः समः ॥(1) रामाय-
- 32 येन पठनाद्भ्रंस्तानुवकलाय सः ॥२८॥ श्रीराजाराजसिंहस्य महावीरस्य वर्णने ॥(1)
वाण्यः सूर्यान्वयी सर्वे सुर्वर्ष-
- 33 शं वदेष्टिमे ॥[२६॥²] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोत्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वर[कः] कठोडि-
कुलजो लक्ष्म्यादिनाथस्तुतः³ । तेलंगोस्य तु राम-
- 34 चंद्र इति वा कुण्डोस्य [वा⁴] माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्य इमे व(व)होशक्तिरूपमाः
॥[३०॥⁵] यस्यासौन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको श्रेणी च
- 35 गोस्वामिना माता वा रणछोड एव कृतवान् राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयः । काव्यं सान्ध्याराजसिंहपति-
श्रीवर्णनादयं महदीरांक प्रथ-
- 36 सोऽपि पुंस्त्रिमगमत्सर्गोर्वर्गोत्तमः ॥[1*] ३१॥[1*] इति श्रीमधुसूदनमहपुत्ररणछोडकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याख्ये
महाकाव्ये [प्रथमः सर्गः ॥]

Slab III: Canto II

[Metres: v. 1 Mandākrāntā; vv. 2-38 Anuṣṭubh.]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥[1*] गुंजापुंजाभरणमिव च चंद्रकालीकिरीटं गोत्रं श्रेष्ठं करकमलयोः पुंजितं
चित्रवस्त्रं ॥(1)
- 2 मध्ये पीतं वसनमपरं किलिषीं वक्त्रवेणीं¹ नसामुक्तां दधदतिमुदे तेस्तु गोचद्वन्द्वः
॥१॥ आदौ जल-
- 3 मयं विम्बं² तत्र नारायणः³ स्थितः । ह(हि)रण्यहारी तन्नाभौ⁴ पद्मकोव
इहाभवत् ॥२॥ व(व)ह्या भुवर्ग(व)स्तस्य स-
- 4 रीचिः कश्यपोस्य तु ॥(1) सुतो विवस्वा(स्वा)स्तस्यासौन्मनुरिश्वाकुरस्य सः ॥३॥
चिकुलिः स शशावत्यनामा
- 5 तस्य पुरंजयः ॥(1) ककुत्स्थापरनामापामस्यानेनास्ततः पुंशुः ॥४॥ ततोभूद्विश्वरथस्तु
ततश्चंद्रस्ततोभव-
- 6 तु ॥(1) यवनादयोस्य शापस्तो व(व)हदयोस्य शापजः ॥५॥ ततः कुवत्प्राशोभद्वं
धुमरापराभिधः ॥(1) दृडादयोस्यास्य ह-

¹ Read "achitā" as in L. 35 of Slab IV.² *Danda annessonary*.³ *Vācarpa* is above the line.

[illegible]

- 7 यंशो निबंभस्तस्य वा ततः ॥६॥ व(ब)हंशद्वयः कुशाश्वोस्य सेनजितस्य वा ततः ॥१॥
पुबनाश्वोस्य माधाता जसह-
- 8 स्पुगराभिषः ॥७॥ चक्रवर्यस्य तनयः पुत्रकुत्सोस्य वा सुतः ॥१॥ जसहस्पृष्टितीपोस्माभन-
रव्यस्ततोभवत् ॥८॥
- 9 हर्वश्वोस्यादणस्तस्य त्रिबं(ब)धनमुपस्ततः ॥१॥ सत्यव्रतस्त्रिशंकुस्तु तस्य^१ नामांतरं ततः ॥९॥
हरिश्चंद्रो रोहितोस्य
- 10 तस्य वा हरितस्ततः ॥१॥ चंपस्तस्य सुवेवोस्माद्विजयो भशकोस्य वा [॥^२] १०॥[१^३]
तस्माद्विको वा(बा)हुकोस्य तत्पुत्रः सगरः स च ॥१॥
- 11 चक्रवर्ती सुमत्यां तु पत्न्या तस्याभवत्सुताः^४ ॥११॥ श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठाः) धष्टिसहस्रोद्यत्संख्याः
सागरकारकाः । सगरस्यान्यप-
- 12 त्या(स्या) तु केशिन्यामस[म]जसः^५ ॥१२॥ ततोक्षुमान्दिलीपोस्मात्तस्मात्तातो भगोरथः ।
ततः [धु]तस्ततो [ना]मः सिधुद्वीपोस्य
- 13 तस्मृतः^६ ॥१३॥ धयुतायुस्तस्य जात अतुपर्णस्तु तस्मृतः । तवंकामः सुवातोस्य तस्मान्निम-
सहःपतिः^७ ॥ ॥१४॥ मदयंथाः स कस्मा-
- 14 वपादाग्याश्वोस्य चादमकः ॥१॥ मूलकोस्माह^८शरवस्तत एडविप्रस्ततः ॥१५॥ जातो विश्वसहस्त-
- 15 स्मात्तदुंगदचक्रवर्यतः ॥१॥ दोर्वबाहुदिलीपोस्य रघुरस्याज इत्यतः ॥१६॥ जातो वशरच-
स्तस्य कौश-
- 16 त्यायां सुतोभवत् ॥१॥ श्रीरा(रा)मचंद्रः^९ कंकस्यां भरयो(तो) रामभक्तिमान् ॥१७॥
सुमित्रायां लक्ष्मणदत्त शत्रुघ्नश्चे-
- 17 ति ना(रा)मतः ॥१॥ श्रीसोतायां कुशो जातो जवश्चेति कुशा^{१०}बभूव ॥१८॥ कुमुद
स्यामतिधिको निषधोस्य त-
- 18 तो नलः ॥१॥ नमोय दृढरीकोस्य क्षेमधन्वा ततोभवत् ॥१९॥ देवातीकस्ततोद्धीनः
पारियात्रोस्य तस्मृतः ॥१॥ व(ब)-
- 19 जस्तस्य स्थलस्तस्माद्वज्रनाभस्ततोभवत् ॥२०॥ स(सं)गणस्तस्य विद्युतिः पुत्रस्तस्य सुतोभवत्
॥१॥ हिरण्यना-

^१ The letter *da* is engraved above the line.

^२ *Uarga* is above the line.

^३ The figure 14 between two sets of dandas appear above the line. The first pair of dandas is thus in excess.

^४ Here instead of *Daimedha* the *Purinas* give *Satantha* which appears to be correct.

^५ The syllable *ma* appears above the line.

^६ A space for one or two letter is left blank between *da* and *da*.

- 20 मः पुण्योस्माद्भुवतिहिस्ततोभवत् ॥२१॥ सुदर्शनोस्वाग्निवर्णस(स्)स्य श्रीप्रस्ततो भक्त ॥(१)
ततः प्रमुभुतस्त-
- 21 स्मासंघिस्तस्य तु वर्णः ॥२२॥ ततो महर्वास्तस्याभूतिरवसाहः प्रसेनजित् ॥(१)
ततस्ततस्तकोऽ-
- 22 स्माह(इ)हह(इ)स इति स्वयं ॥२३॥ महाभारतसंग्रामे निहतसन्निगन्मुना ॥(१) एते
स्वतोता व्यासेन संशोक्ता भार-
- 23 ते नृपाः [॥*॥२४॥] अनागतान्ज(अ)गार्वेवं अयास्तत्र ववामि तान् ॥(१)
वृ(वृ)हह(इ)ताह(इ)हृणस्तस्योदक्षिण इत्यतः ॥२५॥ कस्त-
- 24 वृहः प्रतिय्योमस्तस्यास्माद्गानुरस्य वा ॥(१) दिवाकस्तस्य पदवी बाहिनोर्पातिरित्यभूत् ॥२६॥
तस्यासीत्सहदेवो-
- 25 स्य वृ(वृ)हहवस्ततोभवत् ॥(१) भानुमान् वा प्रतीकाऽवोस्य तस्मात्सुप्रतीककः ॥२७॥
ततोभूमवदेवोस्म(स्मा)त्सुनजवो-
- 26 स्य पुष्करः ॥(१) ततोंतरिकः सुतपास्तस्मान्मित्रजिवस्य तु ॥२८॥ वृ(वृ)हह्राजस्ततो-
व(व)हिस्तस्मात्तस्य कृतंजयः ॥(१) तस्माह-
- 27 नंजयस्तस्य संजयः शाक्य इत्यतः ॥२९॥ शुद्धोदोस्मात्तांगलोस्य प्रसेनजिवस्य स्वतः ॥(१)
भृङ्गकस्तस्य वृणकस्त-
- 28 स्यासीत्सुरचस्ततः ॥३०॥ सुमित्रस्तु सुमित्रांत इष्टाकोरन्वयोभवत् ॥(१) उक्ता भागवते
स्कंधे नवमे ते मयोदिताः ॥३१॥
- 29 इतिशतपथशतकमेवा संख्या कृता वदे ॥(१) प्रसिद्धास्तू(स्तू)यंबंशस्थान् वज्रनाभी
भवस्ततः ॥३२॥ महारथोति राजेन्द्र-
- 30 तस्मादतिरथो नृपः ॥(१) तस्मादवलसेनस्तु सेनास्य स्वचला रथे ॥३३॥ तस्मात्किनक
सेनोस्य महामेनांग [इ]त्यतः ॥(१) त-
- 31 स्माह्रिजयसेनोस्याऽजयसेनस्ततोभवत् ॥३४॥ अर्नगसेनस्तस्मात्सु मदसेनस्ततोभवत् । भूयः
सिहरचस्वेते* अ-
- 32 योध्यावासिनो नृपाः ॥३५॥ तस्माह्रिजयभूपोयं मुक्त्वाऽयोध्यां रणागतान् ॥(१) जित्वा
नृपान्दक्षिणस्थानवसद्दक्षिण-

* The letter *ia* is engraved above the line.

* Sandhi is not observed here.

- 33 क्षितो ॥३६॥ तत्रास्याकाशवाण्यासोऽनुक्त्वा राजाभिधामय ॥(१) आदित्याख्या तु धर्तव्या
भवता भवदन्वये ॥३७॥ जा-
- 34 ता विजयभूषिता राजानो सनुपूर्वकाः ॥(१) वीरा संखेरितास्तेषां पञ्चाशद्वत् सत(तं)
॥३८॥ आसीदित्यादि^१ । द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥
- 35 संवत् ॥१७॥१८ धूर्वे(धर्वे) माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां त(ति)थौ रामसमुद्रा मुहूर्त
(मुहूर्त) राजेराजसीयजी कीर्षो ॥ संव-
- 36 त ॥१७॥३२॥ शुक्ले(धर्वे) माघमासे सुकल(शुक्ल)पक्षे १५ तिथे(थौ) राजसमुद्र
प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) कीर्षी गजधर मुकुंद गजधर कल्याण-
- 37 जी सुत उरजय गजधर सुष(स)वेश गजधर केसो ॥ सु(सु)वर ॥ ताना ।
सोमपुरा^२ [ज]ति ॥ चतुरा पुरव्य ॥ रामराम वाष्[वा]जी [॥^३]

Slab IV ; Canto III

[Metres : vv. 1, 35, 36 *Sārdūlavikrīṭa* ; vv. 2-12, 24-27, 32-34 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 13, 14, 16-20, 22, 23, 30 *Upajātī* ; vv. 15, 29, 31 *Indravajrā* ; v. 21 *Indravamśā* ; v. 28 *Upajātī* of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśasthāvilā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ उल्लोलोभवदुप्रताछ(च्छ)सुरभीपुछ(च्छ)छ(च्छ)टाचामरः सद्गोवर्द्धन-
धन्यगोत्रविलसच्छब्दो जितेन्द्रो व(व)-
- 2 लो ॥(१) गोपालः कलितश्च गोपतनयासक्तो निजप्रमवान्पादाद्गोवतभस्तरक्षणपरः सच्च-
कवर्त्ता हरिः ॥१॥ ततो वि-
- 3 जयभूपस्य पद्यादित्योभक्त्युतः ॥(१) शिवादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्वरदत्तोस्य^४ वा सुतः ॥२॥
सुजसादित्यनामस्मात्सुमु-
- 4 आदित्यकस्ततः । (१) सोमवत्तस्तस्य पुत्रः शिलादित्योस्य चात्मजः ॥३॥ केशवादित्य
एतस्मादागादित्योस्य चात्म-
- 5 जः । भोगादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्देवादित्यस्ततोभक्त्युत् ॥४॥ आशादित्यः कालभोजादित्योस्मात्तनयोस्य
तु ॥(१) ग्रहादित्य इहा-
- 6 दित्याश्चतुर्दशमितास्ततः ॥५॥ ग्रहादित्यमुतः सर्वे ग(गु)हितीताभिवाद्युतः । माता युक्तं
तेषु पुत्रोऽर्थेष्टो वाष्पामिधोभव-

^१ By this are meant the two stanzas, Nos. 30 and 31, of Slab II, Canto I.

^२ *Somayukt* means 'architect'.

^३ The name should end in *aditya* rather than in *aditi* in accordance with the information contained in verse 37 of Slab III, Canto II and verse 5 of the present one.

- 7 तु ॥६॥ मं दुष्टा न(नं)दिनं मोरी दुशोर्ध्वं पुराऽनुजत् । मंदो गणोत्तो बाणोति-
प्रिषादृक्का(त्वा)स्पदोऽनवत्^१ ॥७॥ हारी-
- 8 त्रराशिः सुमुनिश्चंद्रः शंभोर्गणोभयत् । तस्य शिष्योभयद्वान्पस्तस्माज्जातः प्रा(प्र)सावतः ॥८॥
नागहृदपुरे तिष्ठन्ने-
- 9 कर्त्तव्यशिवप्रभो । सखे बाणोऽर्चनं चास्मै वरागृहो ददो ततः ॥९॥ निप्रकूटपतिस्त्वं
स्यास्त्वहंइत्यन्तरणाद्भु-
- 10 वं । मा गच्छ(च्छ)तान्निवजकूटः संततिः स्वादक्षडिता ॥१०॥ प्राप्येत्यादिचरान्बाण्य एकस्मिन्
शतके गते ॥(१) एकाद्यनव-
- 11 तिस्त्वष्टे^२ माधे पक्षेवत्तक्षके ॥११॥ सप्तमीदिनमे बाण्यः स पंचदशवत्सं(त्स)रः ।
एकस्मिन्नेशहारीतप्रसादाद्भूम्यवानभूत् ॥१२॥
- 12 नागहृदाण्ये नगरे विराजी नरेश्वरः शङ्खधरेषु धन्यः । व(व)लेन वेहेन च भोजनेन
भीमो रणे भीमतमो
- 13 रिपूणां ॥१३॥ पंचाधिकवि(त्रि)शदमंदहस्तप्रमाणमुक्पट्टपटं दधानः । व(व)भो निचोत्
किल धोदशोत्तरप्र-
- 14 माणं विमलं वसानः ॥१४॥ श्री'एकस्मिन्ने मुदा प्रवत्तं हारीतनाम्ने मुनयेय तेन ।
वत्सं दधानः कटकं च हेमं पञ्चा-
- 15 शकुल्यपलमानास्ते ॥१५॥ द्वाविंशद्विंशत्तमद्विंशद्विंशतः प्रत्य(स्था)भिर्वै शौदवरीः कृतस्य ।
मजस्य चैकस्य
- 16 भर्त्तुं हि चत्वारिंशत्तमि(त्रि)ंशदसि दधानं ॥१६॥ एकप्रहाराम्बुषो महासेर्दुर्गाचं नाया
जवतो विनिधनं । भुं-
- 17 जगन्हाव्योपलुप्तं स^३ अगस्त्यश[स्त्यः] प्रबभूव बाण्यः ॥१७॥ ततः स निर्जित्य नृपं
तु मोरीजातीमभूव
- 18 मयुराजसं । गृहीतपौष्टिचित्तविजकूटं सखेजं राज्यं नृपसकलसं ॥१८॥ राज्याति-
पूर्णात्प्रवरत्वनक्षमीमप-

^१ Compare verses 20 and 21 of Canto I above.

^२ Read *asthā* : as being prefixed to the word *astha*. *Sa*, *sat*, *lamat*, *adhat*, etc., will be found used as mere expletives very commonly in this poem.

^३ *Samāhi* has not been observed here.

^४ The correct *samāhi* would be *am-gastya*, but as *Agastya* has been retained for the sake of the metre.

- 19 त्वशब्दादिमधनयुक्ता । तां रावलाख्यां पदवीं दधानो वाष्पाभिधानः स रराज राजा
॥१६॥ ततः क्षुमागामि-
- 20 धराबलोस्माद्गोविन्दनामाव महेंद्रनामा । क्षालनूपोस्मादिव सिंहधर्मा तस्यात्मजः शशितकुमार-
नामा ॥२०॥ जा-
- 21 तस्ततो रावलशालिवाहनस्तस्यात्मजोभूधरवाहनस्ततः । अंबाप्रसादोऽस्य च कीर्त्तिवर्मकस्तत्पुत्र आ-
22 सीधरवर्मनामकः ॥२१॥ ततो नृपालो नरपत्यभिरुपस्त्ववोत्तमोस्माद्रूपभैरवोस्मात् । श्रीपुंजरा-
23 जोभवदस्य कर्णवित्यः सुतोऽप्यामि च बार्धसिंहः ॥२२॥ श्रीगा(गो)वसिहोष स हंसराजः
सुतोऽस्य सूनुः शुन-
- 24 योगराजः । स वैरवाहयोष स वैरसिंहस्ततोऽस्य वा रावलतेजसिंहः ॥२३॥ ततः
समरसिहाण्यः पृथ्वीराज-
- 25 स्य भूपते[*] ॥(१) पृथाख्याया भगिन्यास्तु पतिरित्यतिहासतः ॥२४॥ गोरीसाहिष्डीनेन
गज्जनीशेन संगरं
- 26 । कुर्वतोऽखर्वगर्वस्य महासामंतशोभितः ॥२५॥ दिल्लीश्वरस्य बोहाननायस्यास्य सहायकत् ।
27 सद्वावशसहस्रैः(खैः) स्ववीराणां सहितो रणे ॥२६॥ बध्वा(बद्धा) गोरीपतिं वैवात्स्यर्थातः
सूर्यबिम्बित् ॥(१) भाषारसपुल-
- 28 केस्य घुट्टस्योक्तोऽस्ति विस्तरः ॥२७॥ तस्यात्मजोभूधूपकनंरावलः प्रोक्तास्तु बह्विशतिरावला
इमे । कर्णात्मजो
- 29 माहपरावलोभवत्त कुंगराद्ये तु पुरे नृपो बभौ ॥२८॥ कर्णस्य जातस्तनयो द्वितीयः
श्रीराहपः कर्णनृपाजपोषः ।
- 30 वाषणेन वा शाकुनिकस्य गत्वा मंडोवरे मोकलसीं स जित्वा ॥२९॥ तातात्तिके
स्थानप्रति स्म व(व)डं कर्णस्य राजाविव-
- 31 वं गृहीत्वा । भूमौ च तं चारु ददौ तदीयं रानाभिधानं त्रिवराहपाम ॥३०॥ अव्याशिषा
वा(वा)ह्यणपत्तिवासजातीयविद-
- 32 छ(छ)रदात्यनाम्नः । श्रीविजयकूटे व(व)सलखरान्धं चर्चं ततो राहप एष वीरः
॥३१॥ ततो व(व)भौ विजयकूटे राहपा(गो) वाहपोष(व)कः ।
- 33 पूर्वं सौंसोवनगरे वासात्सीसोविद्या स्मृतः ॥३२॥ रानाविद्वलाभेन रानेत्युक्तोऽस्ति त्वं(वं)भौ ।
वंशस्याद्ये भविष्य-

- 34 ति रानाविहदिनो नृपाः ॥३३॥ राजेदराग्रपूज्यो नारायणपरायणः । विशेषवादिवादिषां
वीरो रानाभिषां वने ।¹
- 35 ॥३४॥ आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवदुषोऽस्माद्वामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वदे(इव)रकः कठोऽङ्कितजो
लक्ष्म्यादिनामस्ततः
- 36 । तेलंगोस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कुण्डोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोऽनृगमपुत्रद्वयस्य इमे
व(व)ह्येतिशेषपदाः ॥३५॥ वस्या-
- 37 सीगमपुत्रद्वयस्तु जलको वेणी च गा(मो)स्वामिनाऽभून्माता रणछोड एष कृतवान् राज-
प्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं सान्ध्या-
- 38 जसिहसुगुणश्रीवर्णनादयं महतीराजं समभूत्तृतीय इह सत्सर्गाः सुसर्गः स्फुटं ॥३६॥ इति-
श्रीतेलंगजातीयकठोऽङ्क-
- 39 विपश्चितोपनाममपुत्रद्वयमदुपुत्ररणछोडकृते राजप्रशस्त्याह्वये मा(म)हाकाव्ये तृतीयः सर्गः ॥
सं १७३२ वर्षे माघी १५ राजसमुद्रप्रतिष्ठा ॥*

Slab V : Canto IV

[Metres : v. 1 Mālīnī; vv. 2-50 Anuśṭubh.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ कलितहृत्निषोन्नो नीमलोर्लोतिकेसो तररिति वृत्तवस्था वेमता
यत्र गोप्यः । विदधति जलकेन
- 2 य(यं) च सिचति सोत्मासुखयतु यधुनावास्तोर(व*)ती समालः ॥१॥ तस्य पुत्रो नरपती
रानास्य जसकर्णकः । तन्नु(त्सु)तो नागपा-
- 3 सोस्य पुण्यपालः सुतोस्य तु ॥१२॥* पुण्यमल्लः सुतस्तस्य पुत्रो भुवनसिंहकः । तस्य
पुत्रो भीमसिंहो जयसिंहोस्य तत्सु-
- 4 तः ॥३॥ सज्जसिंहस्ये(स्त्रे)व गडमंडलीकामिषोस्य तु । कनिष्ठो रत्नसी अता पद्मिनी
तस्मिन्नाभयत् ॥४॥ तत्कृतेलावरीनेन इदे
- 5 श्रीविष्णुकृते । सज्जसिंहो द्वादशवर्षात्सुभिः सप्तभिः सुतैः ॥५॥ सहितः द्वादशपु(पु)तोसी
दिवं मातोऽस्य चात्म-
- 6 जः । एक उर्वरितोऽर्जुनी राज्यं यके ततोऽरसी ॥६॥* ज्येष्ठः(ष्ठः) सुतः पितुः
संगे यो हतो(त्सु) तत्सुतो वने । राज्यं हमीरो दानीदो मर्द-

¹ This danda is superfluous.

- 7 संग्रहवर्षकः ॥७॥ विबुरे त्विन्द्रसरसि श्रीमूर्ति स्फटिकीं घृतां । न प्राप्तां सुखसमय
एकलिंगस्य तद्वधात् ॥८॥
- 8 मूर्तिं जलुमंजीमेतां इयमां इयमायुतां ततः । श्रेत्रसिहस्ततो तावा(वा) लक्ष्मी मोकल-
स्ततः । ६। भ्रातृरावतबाध-
- 9 स्वाप्नगत्यस्य कलाप्तये ॥१॥ बाधेलाक्ष्यं तद्वधं तद्वध्ना नामहवेकरोत् ॥१०॥ त्रिद्वारं
स्फटिकाभासमनुष्टं कलाशयधूपः । प्रा-
- 10 कारमुत्तमाकारमेकलिंगप्रभोर्व्यधात् ॥११॥ कृत्वायं द्वारकायात्रां शंखोद्धारं गतस्ततः । सिद्ध
एकोस्य पत्न्यास्तु गर्भे राज्याप्तयेवि-
- 11 शत् ॥१२॥ स कुंभकर्णोभूयुत्रो मोकलोत्पास्य वस्तकात् । खवति स्म जलं धर्मं
प्रसिद्धमिति निश्चभूत् ॥१३॥ कुंभकर्णोय भूपो-
- 12 भूदुर्गकुंभलमेवकृत् । स[बोह]शतश्रीपकु(युग्) ।¹ रायमल्लोय राज्यकृत् ॥१४॥ संघर्षसिह-
स्तपुत्रः स द्विलक्षमित्तर्भट्टः । युक्तो वा(वा)वर-
- 13 विल्लीशवेशो कलेपुरावधि ॥१५॥² गत्वान् पीतियाजालपर्यं(पर्यं)[तं]³ पर्यंकल्पयत् ।
स्वदेशसीमानमयं रत्नसिहोय राज्यकृत् ॥१६॥ तद्भूता विक्रमा-
- 14 विल्यो⁴ भूपोभूतस्वा(स्य) सोवरः । राना⁵ उदयसिहोय स दिव्योव(व)यसागरं ॥१७॥
तथोदयपुरं चक्रे तद्वामोत्सर्गकर्मणि [१] छीतुमदृष्टाय सो-
- 15 इयंलक्ष्मीनाययुताय च ॥१८॥ भूरवाडाधाममदोद्व्यादानं तुलाविकं । चित्रकूटेष योद्धास्य
राठोवो जैमलो रणं ॥१९॥⁶ पत्ता सीसो-
- 16 विद्या चक्रे विल्लीशेन महापशाः । अकम्बरेण भटयुग्मीर ईश्वरदासकः ॥२०॥ कुलकं ।
प्रतापसिहोय गुपः कछ(छ)वाहेन मा-
- 17 जिना । मानसिहोय तस्यासीद्धमनस्यं भुजेविंशो⁷ ॥२१॥ अकम्बरप्रभोः पादर्वे मानसिहस्ततो
गतः । गृहीत्वा तद्व(द्व)नं ग्रामे त्त-
- 18 भनीरे समागतः ॥२२॥ तपोयुद्धमभूदो(व्यो)रं लोहकोष्ठगतस्य सः । मानसिहस्य कुंभीरकुंभे
शुभवराक्रमः ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठः
- 19 प्रतापसिहस्य⁸ अमरेशाभिधः सुतः । कुंतं शकुंतवेगोयं मुमोवाणलोचनः ॥२४॥ राणा-
प्रतापसिहोय मानसिहस्य

¹ This danda is superfluous.² The syllable *tyā* is engraved below the line.³ Sandhi has not been observed here.⁴ *Bhuj* has apparently been used here in the sense of food.

- 20 हस्तिनः । कुंने कुंतं मुमोचाशु पश्चाद्वृत्ती पलायितः ॥२५॥ समग्रं प्रतापेन शक्तसिंहोऽस्य
सोऽवरः । मानसिंहस्य सं-
- 21 गस्ये(स्वो) वृष्ट्वैवं स्नेहोवपत् ॥२६॥ नीलावस्थावपारं त्वं पदचात्वयं प्रभी ततः ।
प्रतापसिंहो वृष्टोऽस्व(इव)मेकमथ निर्वयी
- 22 ॥२७॥ ततो द्वौ मुगली खोरी मानसिंहेन वेगतः ॥(१) प्रेषितौ शक्तसिंहोऽपि गृहोत्वातां
महाव(व)लः ॥२८॥ मानसिंहस्य मु-
- 23 गली प्रतापेन संगरं । चक्रुः श्रीप्रतापेन शक्तसिंहेन तौ ततः ॥२९॥ निहतौ
हितकारीति शक्त[सिंहः] सहोवरः ।
- 24 राणेनोक्तं शक्तसिंहवंश(इवा)स्तत्राण्यल्लभः ॥३०॥ अकञ्चर इहायातस्ततश्चक्रे स संगरं ।
प्रतापसि(सि)हं व(व)लिनं मत्वा क्षे-
- 25 ल्मुनामकं ॥३१॥ संस्थाप्यात्र सुतं श्लेष्मणागरां प्रति निर्वयी । अमरेशः खानखाना-
वाराणां हरणं व्यधात् ॥३२॥
- 26 मुवातिनीवत्संतोऽप्य प्रेषयामास ताः पुनः । खानखानस्याद्भुतं तज्जातं श्लेष्मनस्यपि ॥३३॥
ततः श्लेष्मजहांगीरना-
- 27 मा विल्लीश्वरोभवत् । पुनरत्रागतौ युद्धं कृत्वा खुरंमनामकं ॥३४॥^{*} संस्थाप्यात्त(व)
सुतं स्वीयं युद्धं कृत्वा प्रतापिनं । प्रतापसि-
- 28 हं चतुरा(र)शीतिलैर्न्यवृत्तं गतः ॥१^{*} ३५॥^{*} विल्लीपति^१(विल्लीपति) प्रतापेशो धर्तुं
देवेरनामके । सुलतानं सेरिमाख्यं अकताख्यं(अथ)गजस्थितं ॥१^{*} ३६॥^{*}
- 29 विल्लीशस्य पितृख्यं तं वीश्याभूतं पुत्रस्ततः । सोऽपि भूत्यश्चिच्छे(च्छे)व गजाह्नी पञ्चिहारकः
॥१^{*} ३७॥^{*} प्रताप^{*}सिंहो राणेनो
- 30 रणे रावणविक्रमः । शकुंतलेगः कुंतेन कुंभि(भि)कुंतं(भं) बभञ्ज सः ॥३८॥ पपात
कुंभी तुरगमाहरोहाय सिरिमः । अमरेशः स्वकुंतेन
- 31 म्महन्सेरिमाभिधं ॥३९॥ स कुंतः सशिरस्त्राण्यर्मादिवं समक्षं वपत् । अमरेशकराहुष्टः स
कुंतो न विनिःसु-
- 32 तः ॥४०॥ ततः प्रतापेनानतो बत्वा(त्वा) तर्ता परेन सः । कुंतं अकर्वामर्धेन कुंताप्या
हर्षमावधे ॥४१॥ दर्शनीयः स येनाहं

^{*} The word *puti* appears below the line.

- 33 निहृतः सेरिमाववत् । प्रतापसिंहं (सिंह) स्तष्टु (च्छु) स्वाऽप्रे (त्वा प्रे) वयं (त्वं) विबुद्धं ॥४२॥
भटं तं वीर्य तेनो[क्त] नायं प्रेभ्यः स एव तु । राणे-
- 34 वं(इ)ः प्रेषयामास^१ अमरेवं रणोत्कटं ॥४३॥ तं वृद्ध्वा सेरिमोवाच^२ सोममस्ति मये-
क्षितः । युद्धकाले नभोभूमिध्यापिशीर्षशरीरवा-
- 35 न् ॥४४॥ देवो(वा)नेत(न) हतोहं हि यास्ये त्याजं क्षमं ततः । कोसोयलक्षेण
क्षत(तु)रशीतिप्रमिता गताः ॥४५॥^३ स्मानपाताः प्रतापेदो महोदयपुरे-
- 36 वसत् ॥(१) वानं वदो कोपि भाटः प्राप्योष्णोषादिकं घनं ॥४६॥ प्रतापसिंहाद्विलीशं
वृष्टं यातस्तवंतिके । यदा प्राप्तु(न्त)स्तवा व(व)द्धं तदुष्णो-
- 37 थं करेवधत् ॥४७॥ गत्वा सखामं कृतवाग्दिलीशेन तदेरितं । किमिदं सोमवद्राणाप्रतापो-
ष्णीवमित्यतः ॥४८॥^४ न धूर्तं नू-
- 38 द्धिर्न विल्लीशस्तुलोष जापिताक्षयः । तदा समंस्ते जगति सर्वेहिबुतुरत्ककैः ॥४९॥ अमरः
भीप्रतापेदो वीर इत्युक्त-
- 39 [मी]क्षितो । इति राणा प्रतापस्य प्रतापः कवितो मया ॥५०॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्त्वाह्वये
महाकाव्ये श्रीराजे क्षतुर्थः सर्गः ॥

Slab VI ; Canto V

[Metres : vv. 1-32, 34-50 *Anushūbh* ; v. 33 *Vasuntatilakā* ; vv. 51, 53 *Sārdūlavikṛīṭa*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः । राणा^१ अमरसिंहाख्योऽकरोद्वाज्य(ज्य)त'ततः पुरा । मानसिहस्य
संप्रप्ते क्षान्तावाक्यभूतो ॥१॥
- 2 सेरिमासुस्तानस्य वधे प्रोक्तोऽस्य विक्रमः । जहांगीरस्यापि तेन क्षुरमेणाथ युद्धकृत् ॥२॥
अवबुल्लक्षणेन व-
- 3 ऋदक्षणे रथं ततः । अतुर्विशतिसंख्यैस्तं वृद्धः स्वानेश्वरैरत्नं ॥३॥ विल्लीपतेर्भृत्यवरं जने
कायमलानकं । जंटासायां मा-
- 4 लपुरभंग(मं) चक्रेव बंडकृत् ॥४॥ पुत्रोऽस्य कर्णसिंहाख्यः सिरौजं मालवामुखं । वंधे'राक्षसां
न(व)भंजाव बंडं चक्रेतिलुट-
- 5 नं ॥५॥ ततो जहांगीरजातः क्षुरंमो मिलनं^२ व्यधात् । गोर्धवायां समायातः^३
अमर(रे)शो निजस्यलात् ॥६॥ महोदयपुरासत्र क्षु-

^१ This is redundant.

^२ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

^३ The name *Sārdū*, being of foreign origin, is used here *asīkṛīṭa*.

^४ There is a scored-out २-stroke over *ma*.

^५ The correct form is *allāṇa*.

- 6 रंघोपि समागतः । इलाधरौत्या सावरं तौ सस्नेहौ मिलितौ ततः ॥७॥ राना¹
अमरसिंहो महोदयपुरेऽवसत् । महादा-
- 7 नाति विदधे चक्रे राज्यं सुखान्वितं ॥८॥ सखीमायाक्यभट्टाय गुरवे मंत्रदायिने । राना¹
अमरसिंहो होतोऽग्रामं वदौ मु-
- 8 दा ॥९॥ अप राना कर्णसं(सि)हचक्रे राज्यं पुराकरोत् । सखीमारपदे गंगातीरे
रूपयुतां वदौ ॥१०॥ अकरक्षेत्रविप्रोभ्यो
- 9 ग्रामं पूर्वं तु विद्विरे । धंधेरायातवादेशसिरोजपुरमंगकुत् ॥११॥ अखेराजं सिरोहीजं
चक्रे शत्रुजितं व(व)लात् । पद्मलक्ष्मं(स्मां)-
- 10 हिकसंलः कर्णदानपराक्रमः ॥१२॥² विलीश्वराज्यहीगीरासस्य पुरंमनामकं । पुत्रं
विमुक्तः प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितौ ॥१३॥ ज-
- 11 हीगीरे दिवं पाते संगे भ्रातरमर्तुन । इत्वा(स्वा) विलीश्वरं चक्रे सोमूत्साहि-
जंहानियः ॥१४॥ पुत्रं ॥³ शते षोडशकेतीते अनुःषष्टधभि-
- 12 धेवके । भाद्रशुक्लद्वि(द्वि)तीया⁴यां कर्णसिंहनुपावभूत् ॥१५॥ जगत्सिंहो महेशाय ।
राठोडजसत्तजा । श्रीमज्जावृत्ती तस्याः कृ-
- 13 शेर्जातो व(व)लो महान् ॥१६॥ शते षोडशकेतीते पंचाश(शी)र्यनिधेवके । राध-
शुक्लतीयायां राज्यं प्राप जगत्पतिः ॥१७॥ जगत्सि-
- 14 हाक्षपा धंजो¹ अखेराजो व(व)सान्वितः ॥१८॥ स इंगरपुरं प्राप्तः पुंजानामाथ राखतः
॥१९॥ पलायितः पातितं तत्त्वदनस्य मवाक्ष-
- 15 कं । लुंदनं इंगरपुरे कृतं लोकरत्नं ततः ॥२०॥ जगत्सिंहाक्षपा यातो राठोडो
रामसिंहकः । प्रति देवलियां सेनायुक्तो राखतम्-
- 16 इदं ॥२०॥ जसत्तं मानसिंहपुत्रयुक्तं जयान सः । पुर्वा देवलियायां च लुंदनं रचितं
ज[नि]ः ॥२१॥ शते षोडशकेतीते षडशीत्य-
- 17 निधेवके । ऊर्जहृणद्वितीयायां⁴ जगत्सिंहमहीपतेः ॥२२॥ पुत्रः श्रीराजसिंहोभूद्व(द्व)र्षति¹
अरसी तथा । मेडताविपरराठोडराजसिंह-
- 18 महोभूतः ॥२३॥ पुत्री जनाजेनाम्नी तत्कुलजाताविमौ मुतः । अभूमोहनवासाक्योऽ-
पार(परि)णीताभिं(प्रि)याभवः ॥२४॥ अखेराजं

¹ Soudhi is not observed here.² This me is incised above the line.³ This danda is unnecessary.⁴ The number of gha appears over the following letter.

No. 4—SADASIVAGAD PLATES OF KADAMBA VIJAYADITYA ; SAKA 1102

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of **copper plates**¹ was secured by me for study in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnatak parts in February 1952. It was in the possession of Mr. H. V. Naik, Clerk of the Court, Civil Judge's Court, Karwar. Mr. Naik's family headquarters are at **Sadāsivagad**, about four miles from Karwar, and these plates were lying there as an heirloom. Details as to how and when this family came to possess them are not known. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of **three** plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The writing is found on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The rims are raised to protect the inscription which is, however, worn out in many places. The plates measure 8" in length, 6" in breadth and 1/8th inch in thickness. The ring which is 2" in diameter passes through a circular hole, 5/8th inch in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick circular seal having a rim. The **seal**, which is 2½" in diameter, contains on the sunken surface the figures of a rampant lion with upturned tail and a dagger in front of it. At the top around are the figures of a *svastika* and the sun, followed by the legend *Śrī-Viṣṇu-dāsaḥ* in Nāgarī characters, and then the crescent. The ring and the seal together weigh 70 *talas* and the whole set weighs 380 *talas*.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century, being normal for the period. The letter *ṣ* at the commencement is written like *ts*. Medial *ā* is generally denoted by a side *mātrā*. Exceptions to this are the letters *vā* in line 1 and *mā* in line 44, where a slanting stroke is placed at the top of *v* and *m* to denote the length. In regard to **orthography**, the consonant following a *repha*, as a rule, is not doubled. We do, however, note a few instances of doubling also, e. g., *mūrttāḥ* in line 4, *Vijayāḥkka* in line 31 and *sucarya* in line 35. The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse, except in lines 39-46 describing the particulars of the gift. The composition is defective in some places.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Śiva. After narrating the origin of the Kadamba family, in the usual manner, from the mythical hero Trilochana Kadamba who was born from the sweat of Śiva, it gives a succinct genealogical account of the Kadambas of Goa. The account stops with Śivachitta Pernāḍi and his younger brother Vijayārka or Vijayāditya II, the sons of Jayakṣin II from the Chālukya princess Mallala Mahādēvi. The inscription represents **Vijayāditya** as the ruling monarch. Its object is to record a gift of land by the king to the goddess Āryā Bhagavatī. Though not explicitly stated, it appears from the description of his family and the context that the beneficiary of the gift was a Brāhmaṇa of the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, named Gōvinda, who was well-versed in the science of astronomy. The donee's family is described for four generations. The gift property was situated within the boundaries of the village Aruvige included in the tract of Maruvajtagadalu.

The record bears the date which is expressed in words thus: **Śaka 1102, Vikārin, Kārttika śu. 12, Sunday**. The Śaka year was current and the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, October 14, 1179 A. C.

¹ No. 2 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1951-52.

The importance of the epigraph lies in its being unique. Inscriptions mentioning the joint rule of the two brothers, Śivachūṭa Permāḍi and Vijayāditya II, and also those that refer to the rule of the former only who was the elder of the two, have been discovered. But no inscription referring to Vijayāditya as an independent ruler, has come to light so far. No doubt the second part of the Halsi inscription contains a reference to the regnal year possibly of Vijayāditya; but it is clear from the earlier portion that his brother Permāḍi was ruling at the time.¹ Hence the present happens to be the first and the only inscription so far discovered, attributing independent rule to Vijayāditya, dissociated from his brother. The reason for this appears to be that Permāḍi was no longer living by this time.² According to the Halsi inscription, Vijayāditya was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu and bore the epithet *Viṣṇuchūṭa*. But it is revealed from the seal of the present plates that he preferred to describe himself as *Viṣṇudāsa*, i. e., 'an humble servant of Lord Viṣṇu.'

The inscription contains two place-names. One is the region called Marruvattugadalu or Maruvattugadalu, and the other the village Aruvige situated therein. It is interesting to note that Maruvattugadalu is a purely Kannada expression made up of the words *maru*, *pattu* or *matu* and *gaḍalu*. It means 'the coastal region adjoining the sea.' I am, however, unable to identify this tract. Aruvige appears to be identical with the present day Arage, a village about 4 miles to the south-east of Karwar, on the road to Ankola. The village Arage contains a shrine dedicated to a female deity named Durgā. This deity probably represents the goddess Āryā Bhagavatt of the epigraph.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3, 7 *Upajāti*; vv. 4, 8, 9, 14-18 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 11 *Mandākrāntā*; v. 12 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate

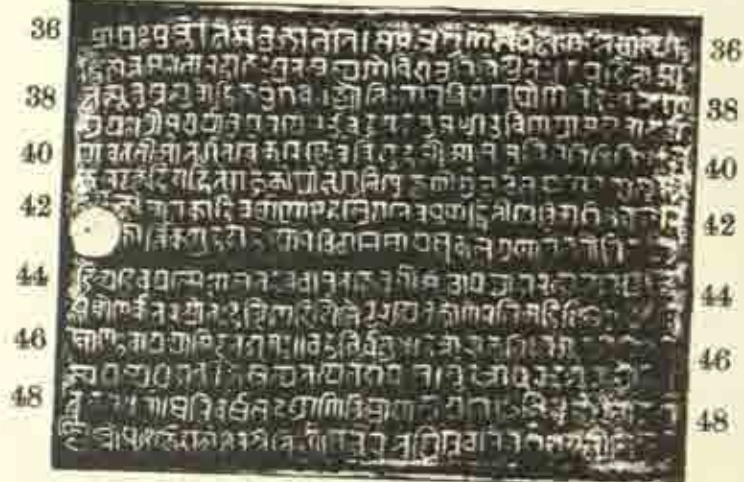
- 1 ॐ नमः [] शिवाय [१*] लक्ष्मीभक्तैरगण्यपुण्यवपुषः [] कीडावरा-
- 2 हाकूतेर्दंष्ट्राग्रं क्षतचंद्रदी[धितिमग्रं] — — — [त्राय]-
- 3 तां* [१*] यत्रानां [वि]लशा (क्षी) लशैलज [ल] — — — — —
- 4 क्षीराभोनिधिशायिनो मुररिपोर्मूर्तेः पूषोष [धियं] [॥ १*] पा-
- 5 याचुचंद्रसिन्धुमणिजंगदिवं य — — — — —
- 6 म्रोल्लभकणी [द्र] सुंदरफणप्रोल्लासिर [त्ना] व [त्ती]
- 7 आगच्छत्सुरसिंभुमंगलविधौ नीराजनाविर्भव [त्प्रौ]-
- 8 डाहंकृतिदीपराजविकसल्लक्ष्मी दधात्युच्चकैः [॥ १२*] पुरा पुराणां विजये

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, pp. 273-80; compare George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 199.

² Compare *Kadamba Kula*, p. 201.

³ From the original plates and impressions.

⁴ In this and a few more instances that follow, the final *o* is changed to *ananta*.



SEAL



From a Photograph

9 पुरारोः*] स्वदोदवि(विं)दुच्छलतो लवाटे [।*] आविवं(वं)भूवे गुणमं-

[व्रनीतिः सुखाम्]-

10 तैः प्लावयितुं जगति ।। ३*] ताः कदंब(ब)तलं प्राप्ता लोकोत्तुगधिलोचनं ।

Second Plate : First Side

11 त्रिलोचनकदंबा(वा)स्य चतुर्भुजमजीजनत् ।। ४*] तत्सता'नक-

12 दंब(ब)वंशविलसत्तीरांबु(बु)धौ [स्ये]यसि प्राकारे शरणागत[क्षितिभूजा]

13 लीलावनौ श्रीपतेः । लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतने कुवलय[प्रोल्लास] — — ◡

14 यत्भू(दूभू)भृन्मीलिविराजिपादयुगलः*] श्रोषष्टदेवोजनि ।। ५*] एतस्माज्जयकेसि-

15 भूप[ति]रभूदश्चातविश्राणनः क्षोणीरक्षणदक्षिण[स्त्रिजग]-

16 तामानंदनिधयंदनः । यत्पाद्योनिधितीररोपितजय[स्त]भ-

17 प्रलंभां जगित्यभःकुंभिषटाः(टा) धूपति ◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡

18 लोः ।। ६*] परस्परं संगररंगचुंचु चालुक्यचोलाधिप[ती] ◡ — — [।]

19 निःशंकमके विरचय्य मित्रे लेभे यशो — ◡ ◡ — ◡ —

20 ख्या ।। ७*] ततः समजनि श्रीमान्विजयादित्यभूप[ति]ः ।

21 ति यत्कीतिकल्पवल्याः पयोधयः ।। ८*] ततो जगज्जयी ज[ज्ञे ज]-

22 यकेसिमहीपतिः । केनायते [तरां]

Second Plate : Second Side

23 धौ ।। ९*] चालुक्यान्यदमोलिमौक्तिकर्मणि सौजन्य — — ◡ — — —

24 [तुं] जगतां श्रियः कुलगृहं पेर्माडिभूप सुतां । [यस्मै] — ◡ ◡ —

25 म मैत्रलमहादेवी जगन्मंगला दासीकुंजरकोश[देशसहितां] द-

26 त्वा(त्वा) कृतार्थोभवत् ।। १०*] तस्मादस्यामजनि विजयी वीर[पेर्माडिदे]-

27 वो गौरीभर्तृप्रणयसदनं त्यागसिंहासनश्रीः । — — — — ◡ ◡

28 भटमहादुर्गवर्गैः कलीनां जन्मस्थानं विशदयशसां — ◡ — —

29 पतीनां ।। ११*] तस्यानुजः सकलमंगलजन्मभूमिः श्रीसंपदां प-

30 दमुदारगुणाभिरामः । आसावमं(न)सशिरसां(सा)वनिपाल-

31 मौलिमाशिकधरजितपदो विजयाकर्कदेवः ।। १२*] यस्मि [सैरु(कं)त]-

32 चक्रवर्त्तनृपती क्षोणीभूतामाश्रये वीरश्रीनिजघ्नमनि विज-

33 गतीभाष्याभिरामोदये । लक्षार्घाधिकदातकेलिरतये लो-

34 कोतराल्युन्नतो सज्जते फलभारनम्रशिरसः प्रायो [निलिपद्]-

35 माः ।। १३*] यद्वितीर्णसुवर्णोरुमा[र]

Third Plate

36 प्रायः प्रस्थानमनुजा [न] ते ।। १४*] समस्तगुणसंपन्नः केशवाक्यो

37 द्विजोत्तमः । भारद्वाजः सुतस्तस्य गोविदो भूवि विधृतः ।। १५*] कर्पदिनामा

38 तत्सूनुस्तत्पुत्रो द्विजपुंगवः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदो ध्येष्टो गोविदः सद्गुणा-

39 श्रयः ।। १६*] श्रीमदायामभवयै(त्यै) मस्वद्गङ्गडलुमध्याश्रमिणे ग्राम(मा)दारा-
[दरुवि]-

40 गैवत(चतु)[ः*]सीमांतर्गतं वैकरेक्षेत्रं विशुद्धसीमासमन्वितनिधिनि[क्षेप]-

41 जलवृक्षादिसहितं राजकीयां(या)मंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयं सर्वेभ्यः

42 [ञ्च कृत्वा] शकादिबर्माणां सहस्रे शते च पूर्णे द्वितीये विकारिसंवत्सरे

43 कार्तिकशुद्धद्वादश्यां रविवारि[र] सोमं सकलगुणालंकृतो वि[जया]-

44 दित्यदेवस्तस्मै शासनं दत्तवान् ।।*] त[त्*]क्षेत्रसीमा[]वापयादार[]

45 यकोणकं तरुलोतः दक्षिणदिशि नैऋत्येव कोणे पश्चिमदिशि

46 पाणः वायव्यामिक्षुतडागः ।। व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । य-

47 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फले ।। १७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

48 त वसुधरा । धष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते किमिः ।। १८*] . . . [मै]-

49 शिष्योप[ज्ञ]जगमसरस्वतिः शासनं रचयित्वैव ति[ष्ट]

No. 5—TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In May 1949, I received for examination from Mr. K. C. Pāṇigrāhi, Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, two sets of copper plates belonging to the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda. I prepared transcripts of the inscriptions from the original plates which were in the usual course returned to Mr. Pāṇigrāhi. It was understood that he would contribute a paper on the above inscriptions to the *Epigraphia Indica*. In December 1950, I met Mr. Pāṇigrāhi at Nagpur where

* The language of this passage is faulty.

* The record is complete except for the last few aksharas which are indistinct. In this line there is reference to the person who drafted the document. The name of the poet, who bore the epithet *jugamo-samantā*, cannot be deciphered fully.

we assembled in connection with the thirteenth session of the Indian History Congress. He then informed me that it was not possible for him, owing to his pre-occupations, to take up the editing of the inscriptions. He requested me to publish them. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness shown to me in this connection.

The plates are now the property of the H.E. School at Bānpur which is a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the south-western part of the Puri District of Orissa. Mr. Pāyagrāhī received them on a temporary loan for examination from the Headmaster of the Bānpur H. E. School. Nothing is known as to the circumstances that brought the plates into the possession of the above institution.

A. Grant of Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja

This inscription was published by Pandit Satyanārāyaṇa Bājaguru with plates in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, part i, pp. 59 ff. But his treatment of the subject is rather perfunctory.

The set consists of three plates each measuring 6·6 inches by 3·5 inches. The plates are held together by a ring to which the seal is soldered. The ring was found cut open when the set reached me. The seal contains, in counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a couchant bull, facing proper right, and the legend *śri-Madhyamarājadevāḥ* below it. The first and third plates are engraved only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. The first plate is damaged at the top right corner, and a few lines of writing are partly obliterated. The plates weigh 64 *tolas*, while the ring with the seal weighs 38 *tolas*.

The inscription is an incomplete charter of the Śailōdbhava king Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja who seems to have flourished about the second half of the seventh century A.C. (circa 665-95 A.C.).¹ The writing on the reverse of the second plate ends with a verse describing the achievements of king Madhyamarāja. There is only half a line of writing on the obverse of the third plate, which was meant for introducing the customary list of officials and others belonging to Kōśgōḍa-maṇḍala, to whom the royal order regarding the grant was intended to be addressed. These letters should have properly been preceded by a prose passage mentioning the king, desirous of making a grant, as *kutālī*. It is possible to think that this mistake committed by the engraver was the reason why the set was abandoned, at least for the time being. It is well known that plates were often kept ready in the record offices of ancient Indian rulers with the introductory portion of the grant inscribed and a blank for the necessary grant portion to be incised later as occasions arose.²

In respect of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Parikud plates³ (issued in the 26th year of the king's reign), the only other record of Śailōdbhava Madhyamarāja so far known, and hardly anything calls for special mention. With the exception of the incomplete prose passage at the end, just referred to, the *siddham* symbol, the word *saasti* and the reference to the place of issue, the entire record is written in verse. There are altogether twenty verses, no less than eighteen of which are already known from the Parikud plates. The remaining two verses are also not new as they, like many others of both

¹ The 13th regnal year of his father, who ruled at least up to his 50th year, fell sometime after 619 A.C. He himself ruled at least up to his 26th regnal year. See below.

² Cf. the Kōśāpur plate of Śrīchandra, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92; Chittagong plate of Kāntidēva, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff., etc.

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 234-7. The date given in words in line 45 must have been given in figures in line 54. Unfortunately the preservation of the writing in this part of the plate is unsatisfactory and the figures cannot be deciphered from the published facsimile.

the Parikud and the present charter, have been quoted from the records of Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II Śrinivāsa, father of Ayasōbhita II Madhyamarāja. The earliest inscription of the Śailōdbhava family is the Ganjam plates¹ issued by Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II (circa 610-65 A.C.) in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.C.) when he was a feudatory of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. The other charters of this Śailōdbhava king, so far discovered, were issued without any reference to his overlord apparently after the defeat of the Gauda king, either Śaśāṅka himself or his successor, by king Harshavardhana of Kananj, allied with king Bhaskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, sometime before 638 A.C.² Of the charters issued by the Śailōdbhava king during this period of his independent rule, the Khurda plates,³ the introduction of which is couched in prose as in the Ganjam plates, appear to be the earliest. The Khurda plates as well as the Buguda plates,⁴ the latter having an introduction in verses composed for the first time by the court poet of Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II, are not dated. Most of these verses are quoted not only in the later dated charters of the same king (the Puri plates⁵—regnal year 13, doubtfully read as 23 by Basak—and the Cuttack Museum plates⁶—regnal year 50), but also in all later records of the family. Later Śailōdbhava kings developed the habit of quoting the introductory verses from the documents of their predecessors and of adding a few stanzas composed about themselves by their own court poets. This custom can also be traced in many other royal families of ancient India, such as the imperial Gāḍgas of Orissa and the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

It will be seen from what has been said above that all the twenty verses quoted in the inscription under discussion are already known from the published records of the Śailōdbhavas. Nevertheless, the present inscription is of considerable importance, as it helps us in correcting the faulty text of the Parikud plates.

The first verse, which is found at the beginning of the later charters of Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II as well as of all the grants of his successors, is an adoration to Saṃblin (Śiva). Verse 2, which is the same as the second verse of the Parikud plates, introduces a king named Mādhavēndra. Thereafter we have the history of the Śailōdbhava family from the very beginning. This style of the introduction, which is found also in the Alhoje inscription,⁷ would suggest that this Mādhavēndra (i.e., Mādhavarāja or Mādhavarman) was another name of the reigning monarch, Ayasōbhita II Madhyamarāja. It should, however, be pointed out that the same verse is also found in the Buguda plates of Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II as well as in the Nvinā grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhatta who was the grandson of Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II and the son of Ayasōbhita II Madhyamarāja. It therefore seems that all the above three Śailōdbhava kings bore *Mādhavarman* as a secondary name. Or better the verse in question referring to Sainyabhatta Mādhavarman II is out of place and carelessly quoted in the records of Ayasōbhita II Madhya-

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

² About 643 A.C. Harshavardhana led an expedition against Kāṇḍā in Orissa probably on behalf of the Gauda king whom he then considered his subordinate ally. Śaśāṅka's death and the discomfiture of the Gauda king took place sometime before 638 A.C. when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang travelled in East India. See *History of Bengal*, Dhaka University, Vol. I, pp. 71 ff. Harsha's victory over the Gauda king seems also to have preceded his encounter with Pulakāśin II, which took place, according to the Alhoje inscription, sometime before 634 A.C.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 127-9.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 181-2.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff. This *prākāśa* begins with an adoration to Jineśvara, then introduces the reigning monarch Śatyāśraya (Pulakāśin II), and finally begins the history of the Chālukya family from its earliest illustrious member.

marāja and his son Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.¹ Verse 3, omitted in the Parikud plates but found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II, introduces Mount Mahēndra which is intimately associated in literature with the Kalinga country. Verses 4-5 mentioning Palindasena as famous among the people of Kalinga and as a devotee of Lord Svayambhū (Śiva) and the following five verses (verses 6-10) speaking of the eponymous Śailodbhava, his *śūlaja* or descendant Aranabhīta, his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman I), his descendant (possibly an adopted son²) Ayaśbhīta, and his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman II), are found in most of the later records of the family. Verse 11, which is omitted in the Parikud plates but is found in the versified introduction of the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II, refers to the achievements of king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II. Verse 12 speaks of the same king as Śrinivāsa and attributes to him certain sacrifices including the Aśvamedha. The horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated by the Śailodbhava king, before the issue of the Puri plates of his thirteenth regnal year, to commemorate the throwing off of the Gauda yoke. Verses 13-20 describe the reigning monarch Ayaśbhīta II Madhyamarāja and are all of them found in the Parikud plates and some of them also in the later records of the family. The text of the verses common only to the present charter and the Parikud plates is corrupt in both the records, although the text offered by the record under discussion is better and has helped in restoring the reading intended by the author. Verse 15 describes the king as a royal ascetic. The next verse (verse 16) compares him with the god Śambhu and says that he had discourses with departed saints coming from heaven at his call. Verse 17 says that the king, who was as fair as the moon owing to his fame pervading the earth,³ performed amazing tricks of archery. Verse 18 says how the jewel of Kōṅgōda (i.e., the king) became an equal of the son of Prithā (i.e., Arjuna) by piercing, from a distance, at a time four boards, each covered with two shields, with arrows discharged from two bows simultaneously by his two hands. Verse 19 describes how the king could run with two stout persons on his shoulders in emulation of the monkey hero Hanumat, famous in the story of the *Rāmāyana*.

Of the names of geographical interest, the inscription mentions Mount Mahēndra, Kalinga, Kōṅgōda and Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala. The Mahēndra is no doubt represented by the present Mahēndragiri peak in the Srikakulam District. Kalinga, in a narrow sense, was the country around it. Kōṅgōda was the name of both the kingdom and the capital of the Śailodbhavas. It was apparently regarded as a part of the Kalinga country. The city of Kōṅgōda stood on the river Sālinā which is the modern Sāliyā running past Bānpur, the findspot of our record. The heart of the Kōṅgōda country, i.e., the dominions of the Śailodbhavas, thus lay about the border between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa.

¹ The mention of Mādhavēndra in the Parikud and Nivini plates was not explained by the scholars who edited those inscriptions. Pandit Rājaguru is apparently unaware of the fact that the verse in question is found in the records of three successive rulers of the Śailodbhava family and not only in the charter under discussion.

² Cf. *Successors of the Śālvahanas*, pp. 400-1; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 83. Note also that the epic hero Nala, son of Virasena, is described in the *Narāyaṇīya*, V, 124, as *Vraṭasū-kala-dīpa*. There is, however, difference of opinion among scholars as to the genealogy of the Śailodbhavas. For the son represented as a descendant of the father, see also the *Rājatarangīni* VIII, 1083 (Stein's translation, Vol. II, p. 512), the Assam plates of Vallabhadra, line 16 (above, Vol. V, p. 184), etc.

³ I do not agree with Pandit Rājaguru who thinks that *śrīśūka-dharmā*, used in the description of king Ayaśbhīta II Madhyamarāja, has to be regarded as one of his names. He further thinks that Mādhava issued his Ganjam grant in the Gupta year 300 (519-20 A.C.) when he was holding the office of Mahāsemantr under his father Śaśānka alias Madhyamarāja. The suggestion is, however, against known facts of history and without any evidence in support of it.

TEXT*

[Metres :—verses 1, 3, 5, 14, 15, 17-19 *Sārdhālavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 12, 13, 16 *Śrāṅghārā* ; verses 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 6 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham* Svasti [1*] vijaya-Kāṅgōda-vāsakāt [1*] Indōr-dihauta-mṛṅgāla-ta[n*]tubhir-iva
- 2 śliṣṭāḥ karai[h*] kōmalai [* r-vva(r-bo)ddh-āhār-arupai[h*] sphurat-phatpa(pi)-maṅḍr-iddigūha-
[h](gdha)-prabhāsō-nōu(xō-mēu)bhīḥ [1*]
- 3 Pārsvatyā[h*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h*]-plati-
bhinnā-hhasma-ka[ḡ]kā[h*] Sambhō-
- 4 ja(r-ja)tā[h*] pātṭu(nu) vah || [1*] Śrīmān-ucchehair-nnabhasō gurur-amara-patō[h*] kshōbha-
jīd-ya[h*] ksha[māyā] gatabhī-
- 5 ras-tōyārāṣēr-attha divasakarād-bhāsvad-āśōka-kār[1] || hlādī sarvvasya ch-śudhō-tri-bhuvana-
bha-
- 6 vana-pō(prē)ṇakaś=ch-āpi vāyō [* rājā sa(sa)sthāpa-mārttiḥ(r-ja)yat[1] kalī-mala-kshālānō
Mādhavēndra[h] || 2*]
- 7 Prāchy-āmbhōnidhī¹-ruha(dīha)-sāndra(nu)r-atuḥ[h*] pushpa²-drum-ālī-rvṛi(vri)taḥ syandaṁ-
ni(nān-ni)rjara-vāri-
- 8 dārita-darī-phēna³-ekhalan-[n]i[s(x)]ana[h] || evāna-ttrasta-patatttri-valgu-virutair-āpū-
- 9 ris-āntar-guḥ(gu)huḥ rīmā[n*]-Mēru(r)-i(v-ōdgataḥ kuḷa-giriḥ khyātō Mahēndra[h*]
kahitau[h](tau) || 3*]
- 10 Prāṇu(Prāṇu)r-mah-ōbha-kara-pīvara-chohā(chā)ru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛishṇ-āma-samachaya-
vibhōda-viśāla-vakshāḥ [1*]
- 11 ā(rā)jiva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntaḥ khvātāḥ Kaliṅga-janatāṁ Polindasēna[h] || 4*]
- 12 Tēn-ēttham gunin-āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n-śāṭam bhuvō maṇḍalam [* śaktō ya[h*]
paripālānāya juga-
- 13 taḥ kō nāma sa syād-iti | pratyūdishṭa-vibh-u(bh-ū)tsavēna bhagavān(vā)n-ārādhitā[h*]
śāsvatas-tach-chitt-ā-
- 14 nu(nu)gupa[m*] vidhissu(tu)r-adīśad-vāñchhām svayambhō(mbhū)r-āpiḥ(pi || 5) Sa ślā-sa-
(sa)kal-ōdbbādī tēn-āpy-ā-
- 15 lōkya dhi(dh)matā | parikalpita-mad-vanśa(d-vanśaḥ) prabhuh Śailōdbbhava[h*] kṛitah [|| 6*]
Śailōdbbhavasya kula-
- 16 jō-raṇabhita āśīd-yēn-āśakṛit-ka(t-kri)ta-bhiyā[m*] divishad⁴-āṅganānām(nām) | jyōtanā-
pravō(bō)dha-samayō eva-dhiy-ai-
- 17 va sārddham-ākampitō nayana-pakshma-jalōḥu chandraḥ || 7*]

* From the original plates and their impressions.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The *śōṇḍa* is superfluous.

* The Parikmā and Nirvāṇa plates have *arōḥa-patā*.

* Originally *śī* was engraved in place of *śā*. This verse is found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavarman II.

* The Cuttack Museum plates read *pushpa*.

* The Cuttack Museum plates read *pāṇa*.

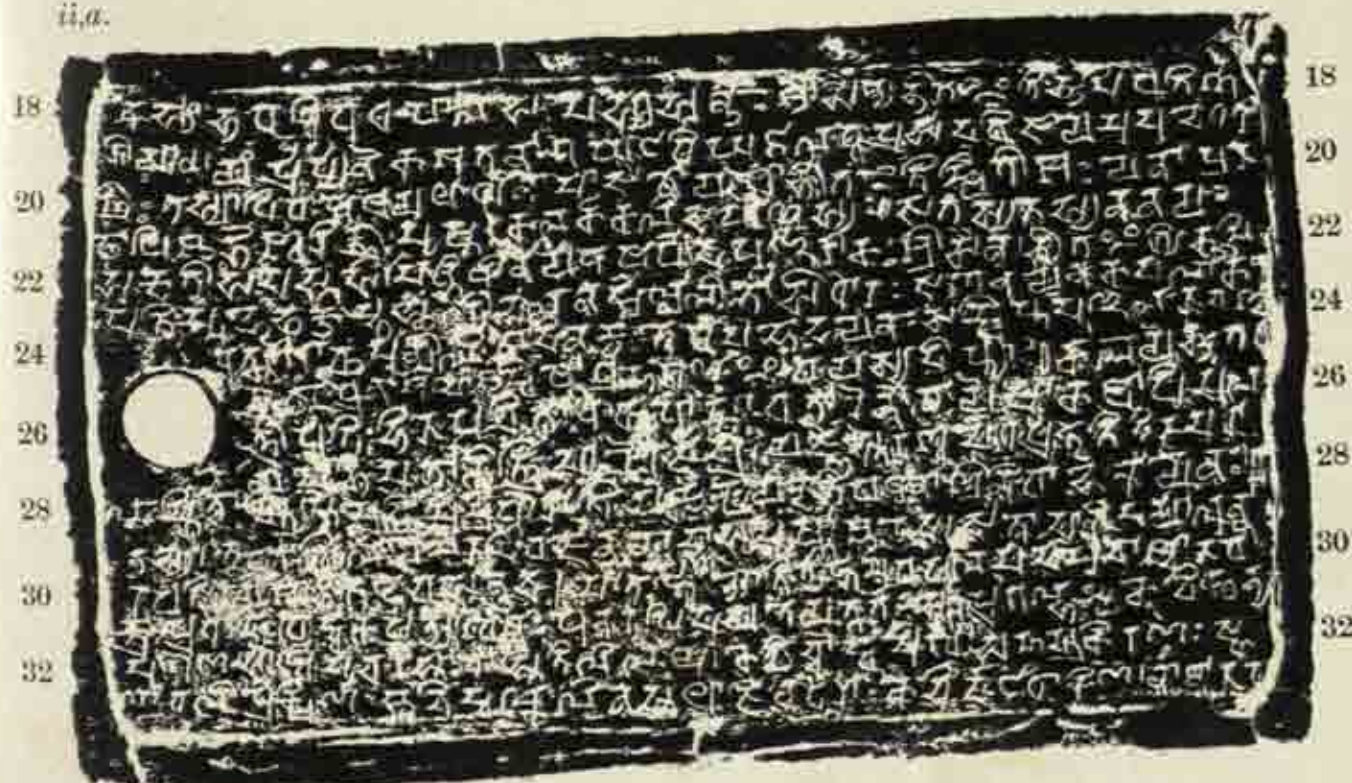
* *Ja* was originally incised in place of *da*.

* The rest of the line is blank.

TWO SAILodbhava GRANTS FROM BANPUR
A.—GRANT OF AYASOBHITA II MADHYAMARAJA



ii.a.



Second Plate; First Side

- 18 Tasy-ābhavad-vivṛ(bu)dha-pāla-samasya sūnū śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmi-patir-ga-
 19 riyān | yam prāpy-ānūka¹-kata-nāga-ghatā-vighatṭa-lavdha(bdha)-prasāda-vijayē(yam) munudā-
 dhari-
 20 ttrih(tri) || 8* | Tasy-āpi vanśō(vanśō)-tā yathārtha-nāmā jātō-yasōbhīta iti kshītīkṣh || 9* |
 Yēnā(na) praru(rū)-
 21 dhā-pi śubhāś-charittrih mri(ttrair-nri)kṣhṭah kalasōka[h*] kalī-darppanasyah(sya) || 9* |
 Jātasya(s=sa) tasya na(ta)nayāḥ
 22 su-kṛitī samasta-simantini-nayana-xarpa(t-pa)da-puṇḍarikah || 9* | śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmi-
 23 patir-mmahōbha-kumbha-sthalī-dalana-durilāh(ii)-kṣ(s)-dhārāḥ || 10* | Jātēna yēna kamal-
 ākara-
 24 vai-eva-gūṭtram=munilōṭ(tam) dīnakṛit-ēva mahōdayēnāḥ(na) | samkṣhīpta-maṇḍala-ruchāś-
 cha
 25 gatā[h*] pramā(nā)lam-āsu dvishō graha-gaṇā iva yasya dīptyāḥ(ptyā) || 11* | Kāleyair-bhū-
 tadh(ā)-
 26 ttripatībhīr-apaśhit-ānūka-pāp-āvatārair-onitā yōhā[m*] kṣh-āpi prala-
 27 yam-abhimatā kirtitri(rti)-mā(pā)lair-ajasmam(aram) | yajñais-tair-asvamōdha-prabhṛitibhir-
 amarā
 28 lambhītā-tṛptim-d(m-n)rvī(rvī)m-urūra(dṛi)pt-ārāti-pakṣha-kṣhaya-kṛitī-patunā Śrīm-
 vāsēna yēnāḥ(na) || 12* |
 29 Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākṣhīl-ārē ma(r-ma)rud-iva jananād-bhāsvad-ushṇāśu-tōjā |² jātō³ mānī
 dayālar-una-
 30 rapatir-Ayāśōbhītadēvas-tanu(nū)ja[h*] | mātāngān-yō-titūngām(āgān) va(ha)hān-mada-
 muchā(cha)ś-chāru-va-
 31 ktrā[n*] prachagḍāḥ(gḍān) va(ba)ddhv-ākarshaty-a-khinnaḥ punar-api dayatō⁴ yatnataḥ asa-
 (sa) pragalbhaḥ || 13* | Kōchid-vanya-
 32 mṛigāṇa sārddham-acharathā-tāḥ tām sthitim līlayā |⁵ kōchib-eh-ōddha(rdhva)-mukhā[h*]
 sahasrakṛipah(ṭa)-jvā-
 33 l-āvalī-prākṣhīṇa[h*] kōchid-vaikāliṇas-tāḥ-ājina dhārāḥ kōchir-ja(j-pa)lā-dhārīṇa(ṇḍ) |⁶
 nānā-ru(rū)pa-

Second Plate; Second Side

- 34 dhārās-tapanti munayō divy-śabpa(spa)d-ākāmksīṇāḥ || 14* | Kōchich-chhaila-guh-ōdarāśu
 niyātā⁷ dhū-
 35 m-āvalī-pāyinaḥ⁸ anyē vāyu-phal-āmvu(mbu)-bhakāna-niyatā[h*]⁹ kōchin-nirāhārakā || (kāḥ |
 itthān-
 36 yōga-yu(ju)shō vihāya vasatī[m*] dhyāyanti divyath padam |¹⁰ chittrach Madhyamarājadēva-
 guṇa-dhī-

¹ Read *prāpya n-ānka* for the sake of the metre.² The *doṣa* is superfluous.³ Other records of the family usually read *śārē*.⁴ For the expressions (1) *dayatā*, (2) *yatnataḥ* and (3) *sa pragalbhaḥ*, some other records of the family have(1) *dayatā*, *yatnā* or *yatnāḥ*, (2) *yat-śrīkṣh* or *yat-natāḥ* and (3) *sa-pragalbhaḥ* respectively.⁵ Some records of the family read *nirāh*.⁶ The rule of *anukā* has been ignored here apparently for the sake of the metre.

- 37 d-rājyō(jyō)-pi tat-prāptavān(h)(vān) || [15*] Yasy-āhvānā-sa(t-sa)mīyuh' sura-bhavana-gatā divya-satvā(ttvāh) praga-
- 38 bhāh tai(bhās-taih) sārddham nitya-kālām sukṛita-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-hṛidyā(dyān) prakurvvaḥ-(rvvan ||) Sambhōs-tasy-ānu-²
- 39 kārī padam-amaram-sjani śāsvataḥ śānta-rūpaḥ lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)śāhas-sa vīrah kṣiti-[ta]la-
- 40 vasatō(ti)r²-nnirjit-ārāti-pakṣaḥ || [16*] Stṛity-utpatti-vināśa-kāraṇa-param yan-jyō(j-jyō)-tir²-avyāhataḥ |³
- 41 vyakt-āvyaktam-ananta-śakti-niyataḥ dēv-ātīdēvō mahāh(hān ||) tasy-ānugraha-kūri-vi-
- 42 krama-dhana(nu)ś-chēṣṭāh karōty-adbhutāh sa śrīmān-atula[h*] śāśāka-dhavalah kṣōṅg-ya-
- 43 śa[h*]-khyāpitaḥ || [17*] Ā karṇād-atulaḥ vikṛiṣṭaḥ tarasā chāpa-dvaya[m*] llayāh(yā)⁴
- 44 aṣṭābhī[h*] kavachai vi(r-vi)vēṣṭya phalakān-ātād-ō(d-u)bhābhyaṁ-apī | pāṇibhyāḥ chaturah śilimu-
- 45 kha-mukhair-bhīnta(ttvā) su-tīkṣṇai bhīr(r-bhīr)śah(śa)ñ-jātō dōi(di)vya-gatī[h*] Prithā-suta-samāh(mah) Kōṅgōda-ratna[m*] kṣhītauḥ(tau) || [18*]
- 46 Varmabhyām sakalāḥ śarīram-śakṛit-śa[m*]vēṣṭya līl-ānvitah pi(pi)nan dvai(dvan) purnahō(ahau) nidhāya yuga-
- 47 pa[t*] akandha-dvayō llayā | sadya[h*] śāta-kṛipāna-bhāsura-karō dhāvaty-a-khinnō bhīkṣa[m*]
- 48 bhūpālō Hanumat-parākrama iti khyāta[h*] khamā-maṇḍalāh(lā) || [19*] Jātēna śubhra-va-
- 49 pushā śāśin-ēva yēna samva(sadhva)rdhītaḥ kumuda-shaṇḍam-iva eva-gōttrah(ttram) | śāśkōchita-
- 50 ū-cha rīpa-paṇkaja-vṛindam-ārās-sō(t-sō)-yam' ni(nṛi)pō jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpaḥ || [20*]

Third Plate

- 51 aśmīn(śmīn) Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē mahāśānta-śrī⁵

B. Grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta

This is a set of three plates, each measuring 6.35 inches by 3.5 inches, held together by a ring with seal. The seal contains the emblems of the crescent above, the couchant bull facing proper right in the middle, and an expanded lotus below. Between the bull and the lotus there is the legend reading *Śrī-Dharmarājadēvaya*. The first plate is written on one side only, whereas the other two plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing on the reverse of the third plate is considerably damaged as portions of the metal on this side have peeled off. The three plates together weigh 61 tolas, while the weight of the ring and the seal is 26 tolas.

¹ In the Parikud plates of the same king, Banerji reads : *gasy-āhva(āg)ānu-mama[d*]ya[s]-sura*.

² In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *Sambhōs-samāhāna-kārī padam-amara-jam[ō*]*.

³ In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *śasatī(tin)*.

⁴ The present record helps us in correcting the reading of the Parikud plates.

⁵ The *śāśkō* is superfluous.

⁶ The rule of *śāśkō* has been ignored here for the sake of the metre.

⁷ In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *kṛpāna yō jayati*. The medial *i* of *ii* is joined with a horizontal stop stroke (here superfluous, at the right of the letter as in the last line of the Sumaṇḍala plates and in some other records. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85, n. 5).

⁸ The record abruptly ends here. This line containing the beginning of the list of officials to whom the royal order regarding a grant would have to be issued should have been properly preceded by a prose passage mentioning the reigning monarch.

The charter belongs to king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** of the **Śailodbhava** family of **Kōṣṭhā** in modern Orissa and closely resembles the other charters¹ of the same king in respect of **palaeography, language and orthography**. The date of the charter under discussion is uncertain. After the word [*Sam**]vat, only the figure *1* can be traced, the writing of the following portion being damaged in the plate. It is therefore doubtful whether the date is year *1* or any other regnal year between *10* and *19*. The **Śailodbhava** king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** seems to have flourished about the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth (circa 695-730 A.C.)².

The draft of the present charter closely follows that of the **Kondēda** grant issued by king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** in his thirtieth regnal year. The eighteen verses forming the introduction of our charter as well as the lengthy prose passage introducing the king as *kutali* (lines 1-40) are the same as the corresponding part of the **Kondēda** grant (lines 1-47), with slight changes (including minor mistakes) in the text and the names of the places whence the charters were issued. Verses 1-11 of the record dealing with the predecessors of the reigning monarch are merely a selection from the introductory stanzas found in the records (cf. the **Bānpur** plates edited above) of his father **Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja**. Verses 12-18 describe the achievements of **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** himself. It is well known that only one of these verses (verse 15) gives a valuable historical information. It seems to say how **Dharmarāja** had an elder brother named **Mādhava** (i.e., **Mādhavavarman** probably named after his grandfather) who began to bear ill will against his younger brother as soon as he ascended the throne, how **Dharmarāja** defeated this **Mādhava** at the battle of **Phāsikā**, how **Mādhava** thereupon took shelter under a king named **Tivara**, and how both **Mādhava** and **Tivara** were defeated by **Dharmarāja** in a battle fought at the foot of the **Vimibyas**. This **Tivara** may have been a later member of the **Pāṇḍuvāṇśa** of South **Kōṣṭhā**.³ Verse 16 discloses the king's secondary name **Mānabhīta**.

The prose passage following the introductory verses in our inscription refers to the place whence the charter was issued. The name of the place is doubtful but may be **Āntiḍa** or **Siliḍa**. The king is here described as a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara** (**Śiva**) and as devoted to his parents. Another interesting passage says that he was the son's son (i.e., grandson) of one who took an *asvāhṛitha* bath after the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice (*asvāmēdha-śvāhṛitha-snāna-nivṛtita-sūnōḥ-tanayaś*) apparently referring to the performance of the horse sacrifice by his grandfather **Sainyābhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa**, already discussed above in connection with the **Bānpur** plates of **Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja**, father of **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta**.⁴

The passage recording the grant in the inscription under review is defective. The engraver had at first omitted a lengthy passage mentioning the donee, the gift land and the actual donor and later squeezed only the important words and names from the omitted passage in the limited space. The defective description suggests that the real donor of the grant was the queen **Kalyāṇadēvi** (or **Śrīkalyāṇa**) and that her grant was endorsed by the king. The gift land consisted of 3 measures styled *ṭampāra* in a locality called **Suvarṇarāṇḍī** situated in the **Thōraṇa viśaya** and

¹ The **Kondēda** grant of the 30th regnal year (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), the **Nivini** grant possibly of the 9th regnal year (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41) and the **Puri** plates of a doubtful date (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff.). **Bhandarkar's** reading of the dates of the **Puri** and **Kondēda** plates is wrong (see *List*, Nos. 2040, 41; *Successors of the Śātarājanas*, p. 401).

² He ruled at least up to his 30th regnal year.

³ This **Tivara** cannot be identified with **Mahāśiva Tivara** of the **Pāṇḍuvāṇśa** as the latter flourished in the sixth century (circa 565-80 A.C.; see *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144). **Dharmarāja's** rule (covering not less than 30 years according to the **Kondēda** grant) can hardly be placed earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century because, as indicated above, his grandfather performed the *Aśvamēdha* before his 13th regnal year falling some time after 619 A.C. and ruled for at least 50 years (cf. the date of the **Cuttack Museum** plates) and his father ruled for at least 26 years (cf. the date of the **Parikud** plates).

⁴ The **Parikud** plates suggest that **Madhyamarāja** took part in the performance of his father's horse-sacrifice.

2½ *śarpas* at the village of Madhuvāṭaka attached to the Rāṇḍa *śiṣa* probably forming a part of the same *viśaya*. The donee was a Jain (?) monk called Śha-lāṇa (possibly one who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth; cf. Śha-chāṇa) Prabuddhachandra who was the disciple of the *arhādūchārya* (the most venerable teacher) Nāśichandra. The grant seems to have been actually made in favour of a deity or religious establishment in the residence of Prabuddhachandra. This is suggested by the expression *balī-satru-chara-prasarttanāḡa*. But the record seems to say that Prabuddhachandra alone would have to enjoy the grant till his death. The gift was thus temporary. Nothing is recorded in regard to the relation that existed between the queen Kalyāṇadēvi (or Śūkalayāṇa?) and the king Dharmarāja, although the epithet *vājñī* seems to suggest that she was one of the king's wives. The epithet *bhāgavatī* used before the word *vājñī* may actually refer to an unnamed goddess established in Prabuddhachandra's residence. In case it was intended for the queen, she has possibly to be taken as the mother or a step-mother of the king. The word *śarpas* (also written *śarpas* or *śarpas*) is found in many records¹ in the sense of a land measure. It is clear that the engraver omitted a large number of words from the passage detailing the grant in the original draft of the document.

The *dātaka* or executor of the charter was the *Pañchakaraṇōparika-vaiśālīka-bṛhaddhōgī* Sāmanta. Apparently the same person is mentioned in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja as the *Bṛhaddhōgī* Sāmanta who wrote that document. Of the official designations attributed to Sāmanta in our record, *pañcho-baraṇ-ōparika* is the same as *pañch-ādhikaraṇ-ōparika* of the Gunai-gihar plate² and may indicate 'the chief Superintendent of five administrative offices.' *Vaiśālīka*, found in records like the Kanak plate³ of Lakṣmīgraha, possibly means a privy councillor. The designation *Dhōgī* seems to have indicated an *ināmdār*. The plates were engraved by *Āditya-dēva* who appears to be styled *dhakāśīlīka*, i.e., a goldsmith.⁴ The document was *kāśhāṭa*, i.e., endowed or registered with a seal, by the *pēṭipāla* (literally, keeper of the boxes, i.e., those containing documents) named Balavarman who is also known from the Puri plates of Dharmarāja.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the Thūraṇa *viśaya* is also known from other records,⁵ although its definite location is doubtful. The king's *viśaya* or residence whence the charter was issued cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the villages of Savarṇamūṇḍī and Madhuvāṭaka as well as the *śiṣa* or subdivision called Rāṇḍa.

TEXT⁶

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 11, 14, 18 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 22 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 4, 13, 16, 19-21 *Anantabāh*; verse 7 *Indravajrā*; verses 9, 10, 15 *Śaṅkharā*; verse 17 *Nardakāḡa*; verse 23 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

I Suddham⁷ Svastīḡ(śi ||) Indōr-dhō(r-dhau)ta-maṇḍala-tantubhīr-eva ślīḡḡāḡ(ḡ) karaiḡ(ḡ) kōmalaiḡ⁸ vaddh-ādhōr-arunaiḡ(ḡ) śpīḡ.

¹ Cf. J. B. O. E. S., Vol. XVI, p. 181 (Puri plates of Dharmarāja, text, line 40); above, Vol. XXIV, p. 103 (Cutback Museum Plates of Mādhavarman, text, line 30). Vol. XX1, p. 41 (Nivāṇ grant of Dharmarāja, text, line 47), etc.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 333.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 329.

⁴ The same designation is also found in the forms *dhakāśīlīka* (Bhamferkar, *List*, Nos. 1470, 1497, etc.) and *Arhāśīlīka* (ibid., No. 1496). These appear to be Sanskritizations of Telugu and Kannada words, 'a goldsmith.'

⁵ See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 129 (Puri plates of Mādhavarman II), J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII, part 1, p. 285 (Kāṇḍia plates of Mādhavarman II), etc.

⁶ From the original plates and their impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol. [As for *svastīḡ*, with *śiḡra*, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 140, n. 2.—Ed.]

⁸ Read 'kāmāśīlīka'.

TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR
B.—GRANT OF DHARMARAJA MANABHITA

i.
2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10
12 12

ii, a.
14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22
24 24

ii, b.
26 26
28 28
30 30
32 32
34 34
36 36

iii, a.

38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44 a.
44 b.
44 c.
46 46
48 48

iii, b.

50 50
52 52
54 54

Seal



- 2 rat-phari-mayār-digdha-prabhāṣā-āśāhī¹ [1*] Pārvatyā[2*] sa-kaccha-graha-vyatikara-
vyāvṛtta-va(ha)ndha-śathā [3*] Gaṇḍā-
- 3 mva(mba)-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kayikū[4*] Śambhūr-jatāh-pānu(nu) val [11*] Prāśū-
(Prāśū)r-mahābha-kara-pivara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[5*] kṛishṇ-āma²
- 4 sapcha(ścha)[ya*]-vibhāṣa-viśāṭa(la)-vakabā[6*] rūjīva-kōmala-dai-āyata-kōchen-āntah khyā-
tah Kālīṅga-janatōsu
- 5 Pulindasēna[7*] [12*] Tēn-ēntham(ttham) guṇinō-pa(n-āpi) satva(ttra)-mahatā n-śaktah blu-
vūr-maṇḍalam [8*] śaktō yah pari(ri)pāla[nā]-
- 6 ya jagatah kō nāma sa syād-iti | pratyādiṣṭa-vibhur-bha(bh-ūta)vēna bha[ga]vān³-
ārādhita[9*] āśvataḥ tu(tta-ta)ch-chit-ānu-
- 7 guṇah viḍhimsu(tsu)r-āśāṣa-vāṇchhām svasa(ya)mhbō(mhbū)r-api [13*] Sa śilā-śakā-
śāhāṭi tēn-āpy-āṭkyā(kya) dhīma-
- 8 tā [14*] pari(ri)kalpita-sad-vaṇṣa(d-vanṣah) prabhū Śailōdbhavaḥ kṛitah [15*] Śailōdbha-
vaya kulaḥ-ranabhita śat y(d-yō)
- 9 n-śakṛit-kṛitā(ta)-bhūyā[16*] dvishad-aṅganānūch(nām) | jyōtēnāyā⁴-pravō(bō)dha-samayō
sva-dhy-ānu sūndham-ākaṁ(ka)mpitō
- 10 nayana-pakṣma-jalēhu chandra[17*] [18*] Tasy-ābhavaḥ-viva(bu)dha-pāla-samasya
sūnuḥ śri-Sainyabhita i-
- 11 ti bhūmipatiga(r-gu)riyān [19*] yaṁ prāpya n-aika-kata-nāga-ghaṭṭa-vighaṭṭa-lavdha(bdha)-
pratāpa-vijayaḥ ma(mu)rudō
- 12 dhari(ri)tri [20*] Tasy- āpi vaṇṣā(variṣā)-tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō-yasōbhi(bhī)ta iti kṣit-
śah [21*] yāna pra-

Second Plate : First Side

- 13 ru(rū)dhō-pi śābhāṣa-charitmaḥ ruḥ(tar-r-mi)śtah kalāṅkaḥ kalī-darppapasya [22*] Jātō-
tha [tasya tanaya]=sukri-
- 14 ti samasta-śmanta(nā)ni-nayana-śadpa(tpa)da-paṇḍarika[23*] | śri-Sainyabhita [iti bhūmi]-
patir-mmahā-
- 15 bha-kumbhasthali-dalana-duralit-śai-dhūrah [24*] Kāṭyair-bhūtaḥ-tripatibhir-upachit-
āṇeka-pā-
- 16 p-āvatārair-āṭṭā y-śāhā kath-āpi pralayana-abhimatā kṛiti-mā(pā)hāir-ajamān[25*] (aram |)
yajhāir-tair-āśvamedha-
- 17 prabhū(bhū)tiḥ-amarā lambūtā tpi(s-tri)ptim-arvīm⁵ -udpi(dḍi)pt-ārāti-pakṣa-kṣhaya-
kṛiti-paṇuḥ Śrinivāsēna
- 18 yēna [26*] Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākṣil-āri(rū)r-mmurud-iva janitō bhāsvad-ashnāt(u)shy-
ānu(tējā)[27*] sūrō mām dayā-
- 19 lur-narapatir-Ayāśbhītadēvas-tanūja[28*] | mātāṅgān-yō-titūṅgān-va(ba)hala-maḍa-mucha-
- 20 ś-chāru-vaktrāp-pra(n-pra)chagān va(ba)ddhy-ākacataty-a-khinnah pamar-api [da]yatō⁶
yatnataḥ sampragalbhaḥ [29*] Kōchi-

¹ Read *prabhāṣa-āśāhī*. An erased *ā* sign is noticed above *ānu*.

² The *ā* sign is superfluous.

³ An erased subscript *i* can be traced beneath *ānu*.

⁴ *Ga* had been at first omitted and was later engraved above the line in a small form.

⁵ Read *jyōtēnā*, omitting *ā*.

⁶ The engraver had begun to inscribe *ānu* close to *ruḥ*, but gave it up to leave some space between the two *ākāṣa*.

⁷ See above, p. 37, note 4.

- 21 ś-ehhai(śh-ehhai)ha-guh-ōdarēśhu niratā¹ dhūm-āvali-pāyina² anyē vāyu-phai-ānva-
(mbu)-bhaksha-niratā[h*] kēchhi(chi)n-ti(n-ai)rē-
22 hārakā[h*] | iitham yōga-juaḥō viḥāya vasatib(tim) dhyāyash(ya)nti divyām(vya)m-padañ
chitra[m*] Mādhyamāśjadēva-
23 guṇa-dhpid-rājyē-pi tat-prāptavān || [11*] Tasy-ābhavat-sakala-śāstra-viśēsha-vēdi śrī-
Dharmmarāja
24 iti sūnur-ulhī[ta*]-śāstrāḥ | yasy-ātinirmala-yasah parivarddhamāna[m*] pādau Harē-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 25 r-iva na māyitam-ā tpi(tri)lōkyāḥ³ || [12*] Nirārayai[h*] prayatnēna guṇais-sa parivāritah
[h*] vaimukhyād-ā-
26 rehayā ch-āiva sarvva-dōshair-vvivarjitat⁴ || [13*] Kālō hanti ripu(pā)n-mā(n-ma)hāraṇa
śata-vyāpāra-lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)nnatīna(tin)*
27 kālō dharmma-vivēchanāya na(ni)ratō vrī(brā)hmaṇya-madhyē sthitah Krauśchārē-iva
yasya chōshpitam-alam lōka(kaiḥ)
28 samālōkyatē || [14*] Rājyash lavdh-ai(bdh-ai)va darppād-a[vi*]gaṇita-tayō Mādhavō
jyōsh(ha-bhāvāt(n) dēśān(śā)d-samād-a-
29 pāstū[ā-kpi]ta-va(vi)shama-matir-vvigrāhō Phāsikāyām || (yām) || yuddha-kāśōbhāga bhagū
nripati-varam-asau sathārīta-
30 s-Tivar-a(r-ā)khyash pāśchāt-tēn-āpi sārddham punar-āpi vijitō Vindhya-pādēśhu jirṇa-
[h] || [15*] Śuryam ścīr-yau-
31 vanam rājyam-ēk-alkam mada-kārakam(kam) | , sarvva[h*] śrī-Mānabhītaśya nirvi-
kāram-upasthitah[ti](tam) || [16*] Taraga-
32 khur-ābhighāta-vidatad-dharapi-talajam jaya-gaja-karṇaḥ(ṇa)-chāmara-vidhūnana-vi-
phuritam(tam) | su-bha-
33 pa-phara-prasarppana-niruddha-kakū(ku)d-gaganam va(ba)la-raja ēva yasya Jayati dvi-
shatti dhvajinīm(nim) || [17*] Ā-
34 rachya prasabham ghatā gaja-gaṇair-sāvīya-pa(pā)dātakaiḥ ji(kair-ji)tv-ānyām(nyā)m-
va(n-ba)la-śālīnō nripa-varān-āgatya
35 dīśhētē-bhura[m](am) || yuddhō bhīma-pa(rā*)kramēṇa vijitā nirvrit-padam prāpitāḥ(tā)
dīśhyantē bhavan-āṅgaḥ prāti-dīḥam
36 prātaḥ prapām-ārthinaḥ || [18*] Vijay-Āsili[ḍa]*-vāsakāt śrī-Śailōdbhava-kula-tilaka-mahāma-

Third Plate : First Side

- 37 kha-vājapēy-śēvamādb-āvavahritā⁵-tana(enā)nā(na)-nirvvaritita-sūnō-tanayō va(ba)-
hu-vividha-matta-vāraṇa-va-
38 turaga-ma(pa)dāti-śāstra-śaṇ(śa)mpāta-śākulō(la)-va(ba)hv-āhava-vinihata-śatrur-anēka-
vikram-ākṛānta-sakala-bhū-

¹ See above, p. 37, note 5.

² The rule of *śandhi* has been neglected here for the sake of the metre.

³ The reading of this defective passage is slightly different in different records of the king. The emenda-
tions suggested by scholars do not appear to be satisfactory.

⁴ The second *pāda* of the stanza (*kālō . . . kālō-vivarddham*), which had been omitted through inadvertence,
was later inserted about the end of the record in lines 54-55.

⁵ The reading may be *vijaya-śāli*. The last akshara of the name may also be *śa*, *śā* or *śu*.

⁶ Read *śākhāśāli*.

⁷ Better read *śākhāśāli*.

- 39 maṇḍalō au(hu)ja-va(ba)l-ātula-prathita-yaśa(sā)ñ-chā(ś=cha)suridanta-saṅgrāmā-d-asakpil-
lavdha(bdha)-pratāpaḥ paramamāhāśva-
40 rō mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātah śrī-Dharmmarājadēvaḥ kusall |¹ Thōraṇa-vishayō | mahā-
sāmanta-
41 śrisāmanta- | mahāra(rā)ja- | rājanaka- | rājaputa-āntaraṅga- | dāḍḍanāyaka- | dāḍḍavā(pā)-
śik-aupari[ka*]-sta(ta)divini-
42 yukta[ka]-vyavahāritas= karaṇān-anyāś=cha(nyāś=cha) Vra(Brā)hmaṇa-purōg-ādi-
vishayika-janapada(dām)ś=chāfa-tāḥa-
43 vallabha-jātyān-yath-ārham-pūjayati mānayaty-ājñāpayati cha | viditam-asu bhavatām
ēta-d-viśu-
44 ya-samva(mba)dīdha-²

(a) d-arhat-ā(d-ā)chārya-Nāśichandra || tad-ā(ch-chhi)ahya śka-sāta-Pravu(bu)dīdha-chandra
| yāva[t*] jīvati | va(ba)li-sa(sa)lita-charu-pravartianāya | bhaga(va*)ti śrī-rājūl

(b) Śrī-Kalyāṇadēvi | Thōraṇa-vishaya-samva(mba)dīdha | Suvarṇaśūṇḍī timpira tri(tri)ṇi
[3] Rāṇja-āma-samva(mba)dīdha-Madhuvātaka-grāma | timpī-

(c) ra-dvayam 2 pādā(dah) |

- 45 tad-anumōditō-smābhi[h*]³ yataś-tāmva(mra)-paṭa(ta)ka-darsanāt yathā-kāla-samu-
chita-phalam-upabhuñjānō(nasya) dharmma-
46 gauravāt kōnachit-paripatthi(nih)uā [na*] bhavitavyam-iti | aktāś=cha dharmma-
śāstrō ||⁴ Va(Ba)hubhir-vasubhā dattā rājabbis-Saga-
47 r-ādibhir-ya(bhih) | ya(sya) yaśya yadā bhūmita(s-ta)sa(sya) tasya tadā phala[m*] || [19*]
Sva-dā(da)ntā(ttā)no-para-dattām-vā(tīām vā) yō harōta vasundharān(rām) |
48 sa viśvāyām kṛmir-bhūtvā pītṛibhis-saha pachyatē || [20*] Mā bhūā=a-phala-sāukā vaḥ
para-datt-ēti pāṭhivā[h] | sva-

Third Plate; Second Side

- 49 dānāt-phalam-ānantyam para-datt-ānpālana(nā) || [21*] Vidyul-vilāsa-karalām-ava-
gamyā samya[g*]-lōka-sthitiṁ
50 yaśasī [sakta*]-manōbbhir-ucchaḥ || [22*] nītyaḥ paṭe-ōpakṛiti-mātra-ratair-bhavadbhīh
dha(dbbhir-dha)rmu-ābbhirādha-na-parair-anumōdi-
51 tavyā || [22*] Iti kamala-dal-ānvu(mbu)-vindu-[lōlā]ñ-chūri(lām śrī)yam-anuchintya manushya-
jīvitam(ta)ñ=cha | sakalam-ida-
52 m=udāhṛitam(ta)ñ=chah(ñ=cha) vu(bu)dīhvā na hi purubhaih para-kirtayō rvvi(vi)lōpyā-
[h] || [23*] [Dūtakō-ttra] pañcha-karaṇ-ōpari[ka*]-vai-
53 ēvāsaka-vri(bri)hadbhōgi [Śāmantah]* utkirṇā a[kshaśālikāna*] Āditya-tōvām lāñchi-
54 tāñ petāpālā(la)-Va(Ba)lavarmma[ṇā] | Sam*[vat] [1]...[2] Kālō sa(bha)[kt*]im-[u]paiti śu-
55 bhra-charitaiḥ Śambhōḥ kathā-vistaraḥ ||... pritha... itī |

¹ The *doḍḍa*, used so many times in lines 40-41 and 44, is unnecessary.

² The following two lines, marked (a) and (b) are offered in the original as two branches of line 44. The por-
tion, marked (c), is a continuation of (b) and is engraved beneath the beginning of line 44. The engraver, *noticed*
after inscribing the word *samva(mba)dīdha* that a lengthy passage detailing the grant had been omitted. He there-
fore squeezed only the important words of the omitted passage in as small a space as possible.

³ The intended reading seems to be *tad-dānam-anumōditō-smābhih*.

⁴ Horizontal strokes are here used for interpunctuation instead of the usual vertical ones.

⁵ See the Pari plates, line 60.

⁶ The preserved lower part of two *nisharas* seems to read *igāś* which possibly stands for *Phālgunaśūl*.

⁷ See above, p. 42, note 4.

No. 6—ALAGUM INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN; REGNAL YEAR 62

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, DONTAMUND, AND S. RATHA-SARMA, PURI

The village of **Alagum** lies about twenty-three miles from the holy city of Puri, celebrated for the great temple of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, and about ten miles from the Sakhigopāl station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. There is a small temple in the village, in which the god Śiva in the form of a *linga*, styled Garttēvara, is worshipped. The temple itself is rather unimpressive like so many of its class in the villages in different parts of Orissa. But its importance lies in the existence of two inscriptions on the stones of its wall near the door, one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription on the proper left is in the Telugu script and language while that on the right is in the Gauḍiya script and in the Sanskrit language. The second inscription forms the subject matter of this paper.

The inscription covers a space about four feet and four inches in length and about one foot eleven inches in breadth. There are altogether twenty-six lines of writing, the letters being about $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. Originally both the inscriptions were fully covered with cement. Of late the cement plastering was removed; but there are still traces of it in the lower part of the inscription published here. Some letters, especially in lines 24-26, are not clearly visible.

The characters belong to a cursive form of the Gauḍiya class, commonly called Proto-Bengali, and may be assigned to about the twelfth century A.C. or even later. The sign for medial *i*, which resembles that in modern Oriya, and the short type of medial *ā* sign exhibited in a few cases (cf. *Kāsyapa* in lines 5-6) are interesting to note. The initial *a* occurs several times in the inscription (lines 10, 18, 21, etc.) and the sign for *anagraha* only once (line 13). The characters may be compared with those in the records of the imperial Gaṅgas such as the Nagari plates of Anāṅgabhūma III. circa 1211-38 A.C.) edited above.¹

The language of the inscription under discussion is incorrect Sanskrit, its orthography exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation; cf. words like *dēsa* for *dēva* (line 4), *raṇsa* for *raṇka* (line 7), *māhācāra* for *māhācāra* (line 8), etc. The rules of *sandhi* have been sometimes ignored.

The record is dated in the sixty-second year of a king named **Anantavarmadēva**. The great length of the reign referred to leaves hardly any doubt that the king is no other than the great Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga who is known to have been crowned in 1078 A.C. and ruled for about seventy years up to 1147 A.C. The sixty-second year of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga would thus correspond to 1140-41 A.C. It may be noted that the reference is to the regnal reckoning and not to the *Śaka* reckoning in which, as indicated by certain inscriptions of the later rulers of Orissa, a number of regnal years were not to be counted. The details of the date, quoted in the inscription under notice, speak of Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Māgha. The date thus regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 30th of January, 1141 A.C. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 284, the *śukla*/*ai* *tithi* ended on that date at -19 of the day.

The inscription records certain grants made by a person named **Kāmāṇḍi** whose epithet *diśāpati* (Sanskrit *diśāpati*) looks like an official designation. It is possible to think that Kāmāṇḍi was the governor of a territorial unit of which the present village of Alagum in the Puri District formed a part. Kāmāṇḍi is simultaneously called *Paramamāhācāra* and *Parama-*

¹ Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

śiśāṇa, which show that he was a devotee of both the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. His family belonged to the Kāśyapa gōtra and to the *pañc-āśhēya-pravaras* (i.e., having five sages as *pravaras* or distinguished members of the *gōtra* in question). The Kāśyapa gōtra, however, is known to have only three *pravaras*, viz., Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhrava. *Pañc-āśhēya* thus appears to be a mistake for *try-āśhēya*. In dealing with the ancestry of Kāmāṇḍi, the inscription rather curiously speaks of *Pitāmaha Pōtāṇḍi*, of the former's son Bhīmāṇḍi and of the latter's *varṇa-śābhava* or descendant Kāmāṇḍi. It seems that Pōtāṇḍi was the *pitāmaha* or grandfather of Kāmāṇḍi and that Bhīmāṇḍi was his father in spite of the fact that he is said to have been merely a descendant of Bhīmāṇḍi. This seems to be suggested by the word *pitāmaha* used in connection with the name of Pōtāṇḍi, by the similar formations of the three names, viz., Pōtāṇḍi, Bhīmāṇḍi and Kāmāṇḍi, and also by the fact that there is hardly any meaning in mentioning only two distant ancestors of the donor when the established custom throughout India was generally to mention only his father and grandfather. It may, however, not be impossible that Kāmāṇḍi was actually the son of a brother of Bhīmāṇḍi who later adopted him as his own son. That is possibly why Kāmāṇḍi is called a *varṇa-śābhava* and not exactly a *putra* of Bhīmāṇḍi. It may be recalled in this connection that the Śailōdbhava king Ayaśōbhita I of Kōṅḡḍa in Orissa is described in some records in prose as the son of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman I, but in others in verse as merely a descendant of the latter.¹ A very interesting information about Kāmāṇḍi's family given in the record is that it hailed from a village, the name of which reads like Kaḍamvura, in the Chōḷa country, which was the modern Tanjore-Trichinopoly region of South India.

Kāmāṇḍi is said to have purchased with his own money a *hala* of land styled Kapālōśvara in the village of Alagumma which formed a part of the Rāmaḍa *viśaya* and made it an endowment in favour of the *maṭha* of the god Gaṛttōśvaraḍēva. The purchase is said to have been witnessed by certain honest *prajā-lōkas* apparently meaning the people of the locality. The object of the grant was two-fold. In the first place, it was to provide food to an ascetic, possibly living in the *maṭha* referred to, whose name may have been Bhij or Abhij. Secondly, three *pravartas* of paddy were allotted for providing *unvēdya* or the daily ceremonial offering to the god Gaṛttōśvaraḍēva. In this description of the grant, the word *hala*, known also from other sources, has been used to indicate a piece of land of uncertain area. The exact weight of a *pravarta* of paddy is likewise unknown.²

In addition to the piece of land granted, a sum of money was deposited with the local *adhīśvāri* (possibly superintendents of the temple) who are said to have been maintaining the *paṭi-dēva*, literally 'village deity' (possibly meaning Gaṛttōśvara), for providing an *akṣapā* or perpetual lamp, apparently in the temple, in honour of the god Gaṛttōśvara. The lamp was expected to be the *kula-tāraya* (i.e., a thing that ensures easy crossing of the sea of *samsāra* for the members of one's family) of "this *kāparyaka*" probably meaning Kāmāṇḍi himself. The word *kāparyaka* appears to be a mistake for a word like *kāpyaka* meaning 'a penitent'. The amount granted in this connection is described as a hundred *chūrṇis* added by five *purāṇas*. The word *chūrṇi* usually means a hundred cowrie-shells, while *purāṇa* was the old silver *kāśhāpā* usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. According to Oriya lexicons,³ however, both the words *chūrṇi* and *purāṇa* are recognised in the sense of *kāśhāpa* (Sanskrit *kāśhāpā*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. There is no doubt that the words have been used in the same sense also in the record under

¹ See *Successors of the Śālardharmas*, pp. 400 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 200 and note.

² Is it Oriya *paṭi* which is equal to ten maunds?

³ Cf. *Prasāda Abhikāṇa*, s.v. *chūrṇi* and *purāṇa*. The Mohar plate (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 189, text line 26; cf. p. 191, note 5) spells the word as *chūrṇi* and uses it as a synonym of *purāṇa*. The same word also occurs in line 59 of the Vangya-Sāhitya Parimat plate of Vijayarūpaśāha (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147), although it was wrongly read *achūrṇi*.

discussion. This is clearly suggested by the fact that the amount given in words as 'a hundred *chūrṇa* and five *parāṇas*' is separately mentioned in figures as *pa 105* (i.e., 105 *parāṇas*). Thus the amount granted for making provision for the burning of a lamp perpetually in the temple of Garudēśvara was 100 *chūrṇas*, *parāṇas*, or *kāḥṇas* which were equivalent to 134,400 cowrie-shells.

It is interesting to note that the family of Kāmāndī, who made grants in favour of the village-god of Alagum near Puri and appears to have been an official serving the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, is said to have hailed from the country of the Chōḷas. It is well-known that Chōḍagaṅga's mother Rājāsundarī was a Chōḷa princess and that the very name of the king points to the existence of Chōḷa or Chōḍa blood in his vein. Rājāsundarī is described in the Gaṅga records as the daughter of the Chōḷa king Rājendra who is variously identified by scholars with Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.), Virarājendra (1063-70 A.C.) and Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I (1063-70 A.C. as Eastern Chāḷukya king; 1070-1118 A.C. as ruler of the united Chōḷa-Chāḷukya kingdom), although the Gaṅga king's name, Virarājendra-Chōḍagaṅga, found in some records, suggests that he was the grandson of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra after whom he was named.¹ One of the queens of Chōḍagaṅga was the Chōḷa princess Chōḍa-mahādēvī who is known to have granted some *Kulōttuṅga-nidānas* for a lamp at the temple of Bhīmēśa at Drākāhārāma and may have been a daughter of Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I.² This seems to suggest that Chōḍagaṅga's mother was a cousin of Kulōttuṅga (son of a daughter of Rājendra I), a granddaughter of Rājendra I and a daughter of Virarājendra. We have also evidence to show that there was considerable Chōḷa influence at the court of some of the early monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty, who sometimes employed Chōḷa officials.³

There is little doubt that the rise of the imperial Gaṅgas in Kalinga was connected with the expansion of Chōḷa influence in that country.⁴ It is now accepted by most scholars that the Gaṅga dynasty was established at Kalingangara (modern Mukhalingam near Chittoor or Śrīkākulam) about the close of the fifth century A.C. The Gaṅgas soon established their power in Central Kalinga; but, in the seventh century, their position was threatened by the expansion of the power of their eastern neighbours, the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅgōḍa (about the border between the Ganjam and Puri Districts of Orissa) and by the establishment of the Eastern Chāḷukyas at Pāṭṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in the south. The authority of the Kalinga-nagara government was also considerably shaken about this time by the rise of collateral viceregal families like that of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka. The process of decline continued and, in the tenth century, the kingdom seems to have been divided into five states under different branches of the Gaṅga family as well as of viceregal lines.⁵ About the end of the same century, Vajrahasta Anantavarman (c. 985-1016 A.C.), belonging to one of the branch lines of the Gaṅga family, seems to have consolidated his position in all the five states.⁶ His success may have been due to the help he may have received from the Chōḷas. It has to be noted that this king, the first important ruler of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family, was a contemporary of the great Chōḷa king Rājārāja (985-1016 A.C.) who claims to have conquered Vēṅgi (the kingdom of the Eastern Chāḷukyas) by 998 A.C. and Kalinga (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) sometime before 1003 A.C.⁷

¹ Cf. Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga* (offprint), pp. 130-31.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³ Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 126 ff. See also *J. E. S. I. E.*, 1923-26, p. 63.

⁴ Cf. *Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 450.

⁵ Cf. *J. K. H. E. S.*, Vol. I, p. 226.

⁶ The history of the ancestors of this ruler has been discussed in connection with the Nagari plates of Anantabhima III (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.).

⁷ Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 24-27.

2 2
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 6 6
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 16 16
 18 18
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 22 22
 24 24
 26 26

His son Rājendra I (1015-43 A.C.) also claims to have defeated the Eastern Chūlukya king as well as to have set up pillars of victory on Mount Mahendra in Kalinga (in the present Srikakulam District of Madras). Whether, however, this achievement of Rājendra I should be attributed to his own reign or to that of his father when he may have led the expedition against the Kalinga country as his father's general is uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. But it is extremely interesting to note that, in the description of the expeditions led by the generals of Rājendra I about 1023 A.C. in the countries towards the east as far as South-East Bengal, mention is made of the reduction of Ojra (Puri-Cuttack area) and Kōsala (the Sambalpur region together with certain western tracts), both then under the Sōmavamsi king of Yayātinagara,¹ but not of any conflict with the king of Kalinga.² This fact seems to suggest that the early rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family were regarded by the Chōla emperors as their subordinate allies. The real founder of the greatness of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family was another Vajrahasta Anantavarman (1038-70 A.C.) who was the grandson of his namesake mentioned above and the grandfather of the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. But Chōla influence continued in Kalinga as late as the reign of Chōḍagaṅga and even later.

The present inscription is one of the few records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga that have been so far discovered in the Puri-Cuttack region which was conquered by that monarch from the Sōmavamsis about the beginning of the twelfth century.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Chōla-dēsa has already been noticed. Kaḍamvura may, as Mr. N. L. Rao has kindly suggested be identified with Kaḍambūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District. Alagudima is no doubt modern Alagum which is the findspot of the inscription under discussion. The name is Alaguma even now in Oriya pronunciation. The *visaya* or district of Rāmaṅga, in which the village of Alagumima is said to have been situated, seems to be the same as the Rāvaṅga *visaya* mentioned in the Puri plates of Bhānu II.³

TEXT⁴

- 1 Siddham⁵ Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-Anantavarmadēvasya
- 2 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājy⁶ ||* dvāśaśatī(śata)-
- 3 samva(samva)tsarē Māgha-II(sita-tithau sapta-
- 4 myām vārē Gurau Chōla-dēsa(sa)-prati-
- 5 va(ba)ddha-Kaḍamvura-grāma-vinirgata-Kāśya(śya)-
- 6 pa-gōtra-pañch-ārcha(rehō)ya-pravara-pitāma-
- 7 ha-Pōtāṇḍi[||*] tat-putra-Bhīmāṇḍi[||*] tad-vana-ō(d-vanā-ō)-
- 8 dāhava-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-paramavaiśna(śha)va-
- 9 diśpati⁷-Kāmāṇḍi-nāmā khyātā[||*]
- 10 idānīm Rāmaṅga-visaya-pratīva(ba)ddha⁸-Ala-
- 11 gumma-grāmiya-Kapālēsva(śva)ra-nāma-bhūmi-ha-
- 12 l-aikach sādhu-prajā-lōka(kā)ra-pramukhikṛi-
- 13 tyā sva-dhanēna krītvā⁹-śōha-dharuma-viva(vpi)-
- 14 ddhaya¹⁰ śrī-Garttāva(śva)radēvasya matha-pratīva(ba)¹¹.

¹ See I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.

² Ray, op. cit., pp. 318 ff.; above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff.

³ See J. B. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-20.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The *śaṅkas* are superfluous.

⁷ Possibly *diśapati*.

⁸ The rule of *śandās* has not been observed here.

- 15 ddhikṛīya tapasvinō Bhiṣ¹ bhōjan-ārthō
 16 pradattā(ttam |) tan-madhyād-āpi śrī-Gaṛttāva(śva)ra-
 17 dēvasya naivēdy-ārthō dhānya-pravartta-trayaṁ
 18 niyōjitaṁ(tam) || aparaṁ-āpi śrī-Ga-
 19 ritēśva(śva)ra-pritayē pañcha-purāṇ-ādhi-
 20 ka-chūṛṇṇi-śat-aikēna śtaśya kṣaparya-²
 21 kaśya kula-tāraṇa³-akhaṇḍa-dīpa-pra-⁴
 22 pradān-ārthō iha asmānvāsita-
 23 palli-dēva-pālita-ādihikāṛṇā[śh]
 24 [ha]stā pradattā⁵ a]śkē hi(pi) pu 105 [!]⁶
 25 [ā-chandr-ārka-kāla]-paryantaṁ sādhu-pu-
 26 [rūshaiḥ⁷] paripālaniyā⁸ ||

No. 7—BANGAON PLATE OF VIGRAHAPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 17

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTAMUND

Sometime about the beginning of 1951, Pandit Vishnūāl Śāstrī, a Research Scholar attached to the History Department of the University of Patna, kindly informed me that he had seen a copper-plate inscription at the village of **Bangāon** (P. O. Bariahi, Sub-district Saharsa) in the Bhāgalpur District of Biḥār and that Pandit Chhēdī Jhā, President of the Chhēdnārāyaṇ Club at Bangāon, and formerly President of the Bhāgalpur District Congress Committee, might be approached for further information about the inscription. I at once wrote to Pandit Chhēdī Jhā, requesting him to send me a pencil rubbing of the epigraph so as to enable me to have a rough idea of its importance. Pandit Jhā kindly complied with my request and, on an examination of the rubbings sent to me, I found that the plate was issued by king Vigrahapāla III of the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Biḥār. I was then eager to have the plate on a temporary loan for a careful examination of the inscription, and Pandit Jhā was good enough to send it to me about the beginning of June 1951. I am grateful to him for this act of kindness as well as for the following information regarding the findspot and discovery of the inscription.

The owner of the plate is Pandit Gungur Jhā, teacher of the Kalubati High English School, Bangāon. The village is an old one, situated on the bank of the Dhāmura, a tributary of the Kōsi. To the west of the rivulet, there stands Māhishmati, the *siddha-pīṭha* of the goddess Tārā and the native place of Maṅḡanamiṛa, famous in the Śaṅkarīchārya legends. To the north-west lies Kandaha where there is a temple of the Sun-god, said to be founded by a king named Bhavāditya, and to the north there is the Bāpēśvara Śiva-līṅga, installed, according to tradition, by the demon king Bāṇa. To the west of the village is a Gaḍh-Diḥ where some gold coins of the Muḡhal times

¹ Or, *tapasvinō* 'dhikṛī'.

² Possibly the intended reading is *kṣaparya*.

³ The rule of *anādi* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *pra* is redundant.

⁵ Better read *pradattam pañch-ādika-purāṇa-satam*.

⁶ The word seems to qualify *darī-dāḥ* undetermined.

were dug out some forty years ago. A poster still hangs at the place forbidding people to dig earth there more than three feet below the surface. There are also several *Gajhs* and *Diks* to the east and south of the village of Bongaon. The plate under discussion was discovered by Pandit Ghughur Jhā sometime in 1950 accidentally in the south-eastern part of the village, close to the Sharari-Dih. It was found buried in the earth with only the top of it visible above the ground. Pandit Ghughur Jhā dug it up and carefully preserved it in his house.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate measuring 13.4" in height, 12.2" in breadth and .15" in thickness. On the top side of the plate is soldered the Pāla seal (7" in length and .75" in thickness), shaped like 'the arc of spades' and known to have been called *Dharmachakramodra*. The legend on the seal runs: *Śrī-Vigrahapālādēvāḥ*. The copper plate with the bronze seal is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation and weighs 425 *tolas*. A portion measuring about an inch in length has, however, broken away from the lower left end of the seal on the obverse of the plate. There are 32 lines of writing on the obverse and 19 lines on the reverse. Considerable space (from 5.4" to 7" in length) in the central part of five lines at the top of both sides of the plate is covered by the lower bifurcated part of the seal, causing a break in the continuous writing of those lines. The seal is fixed to the plate apparently with the help of three knobs passing through holes made in the plate.

The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the eleventh century A.C., which I am inclined to call the Gaudīya script. In regard to palaeography, language and orthography the inscription under discussion closely resembles other Pāla inscriptions of the said age, especially the Āṃgāchhī and Belwā plates of Vigrahapāla III who also issued the present charter. The letter *g* is written in two different ways (cf., e.g., *samapagat-ā* in line 26 and *pariṇa* in line 31), one of which is commonly used and resembles the form of *ḡ* (cf. *samapagat-āśha* in line 26). The letter *ṛ* is also written both in the Bengali and in the Dēvaṇāgarī fashion (cf. *śutaḥ* and *śūḥ* in line 50). The superscript *r* is often a short horizontal stroke put below the top *mātrā* towards the upper left corner of a consonant (cf. *niryāta* in line 48) and is sometimes not easily noticed: but in a few cases it is put above the top *mātrā* (cf. *ś-ya-jvān* in line 49). The superscripts in the conjuncts *ṛ* and *ṣ* are often undistinguishable (*śvartāṣṭ* in line 25, *śrītātān* in line 30, *pariyānta* in line 32, etc.). Medial *ḥ* is usually of the Bengali type put to the left of the consonant (cf. *śha* in line 26): but in some cases it is put above the top *mātrā* of the consonant as in Dēvaṇāgarī (cf. *śhā* in line 31), while in a few cases it is indicated by a short downward stroke or curve put at the left end of the *mātrā* (cf. *śāḥ* in line 31, *śhāḥ* in line 32). Medial *ḥ* is sometimes without the top curve and is undistinguishable from the Bengali type of medial *ḥ* usually found in the record. The anusvara is written in both the Bengali and Dēvaṇāgarī fashions usually found in the record. The sign of *avagraha* has been used in several cases. The engraving is neatly done and there are only a few errors of language and spelling. The letter *si*, which is a contraction of *śabdaddha* meaning 'registered' or 'approved', is found both at the beginning and at the end of the first line on the reverse of the plate. This characteristic is also found in some other Pāla grants, including the Āṃgāchhī and Belwā plates on which, however, the signs are seen on the obverse. Similar endorsements on the copper-plate grants of the Varmanas and Senas of Bengal show that the two 'si's' refer to the approval of the king himself and of one of his high officials.²

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 293 ff.

² *Fungtzu Sādhya Porishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVI, pp. 60 ff. The inscription has since been edited by me, see above, pp. 2 ff.

³ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 64, 75, etc. For an absolutely wrong value attached to the sign, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1950, p. 107.

The charter under review is dated in the 17th regnal year of king Vigrahapāla III whose reign has been roughly assigned to the period 1055-70 A.C. in the latest authoritative work on the history of Bengal.¹ As will, however, be shown below, this dating requires modification in view of the evidence afforded by the present record.

The inscription begins, as usual, with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*, which are followed by fourteen verses (in lines 1-21). These verses are found exactly in the same order in both the known charters of Vigrahapāla III and have been fully discussed in our paper on the Belwā plates of Mahipāla I and Vigrahapāla III. Lines 21-23 quote the usual description of the Pāla *jaya-skandhāvāra* (possibly, temporary capital) whence the charter was issued. It is well-known that several of such *jaya-skandhāvāras* are already known from the Pāla charters, the same description (suggesting their situation on the river Bhāgirathi or Ganges) being applied to each one of them. Our record adds a new name to the list of the Pāla *jaya-skandhāvāras* so far known. Lines 24-25 of the inscription say that the charter was issued by the *Paramasangata* (devout Buddhist) *Paramēśvara Paramahatthīraja Mahārājādhirāja* Vigrahapālādēva, meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of his father, Nayapālādēva, from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at *Kāñchanapura* which is as yet unknown from any other Pāla grant. Line 26 speaks of the land to be granted as a part, yielding five hundred of the standard coins (called *Parāṇa*)² of the locality called *Vaṅkāvartta* in the *Hṣṛāya vicārya* (district) of *Tirabhukti*. The lines that follow (lines 26-31) quote the list of feudatories, officials and others, associated with the above piece of land. The same list is also found in other Pāla grants, including those of Vigrahapāla III himself. The charter then goes on to say (lines 32-40), in the well-known style of the Pāla grants, that the above mentioned portion of the village of *Vaṅkāvartta* was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with the specified privileges (including the right to enjoy the *pratyāgata* such as *bhōga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya* and others) in accordance with the *bhūmikṣhāra-nyāya* (i.e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who cultivated it for the first time) by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. Like many other Pāla grants, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *Vishuvat saṅkrānti*. As expected, this portion of the charter is almost a replica of the corresponding section of the Belwā plate already discussed by me. The donee of the present charter was *Ghāṇṭukāśarma* who was an inhabitant of *Ittāhāka* or *Ittuhōka*. He was the son of *Tuṅga* and grandson of *Yōgaśvāmin*. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been *Kolāñcha*. He is described as well-versed in *mīmāṃsā*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and as belonging to the *Sāṅghīya gōtra* having the *Sāṅghīya*, *Asita* and *Dēvala pravara*s. The donee is further said to have been a *śaṅkhaśālin* of *Narasimha* and a student of the *Āhhandōga śikṣā*. It is well-known that, in a similar context, charters of ancient Indian rulers usually speak of a Brāhmaṇa as a *śaṅkhaśālin* or *śikṣāgāmin*, i.e., a student, of a particular *śikṣā* or *charaṇa* of a *Vēda*.³ In later Pāla charters, however, we have often mention of the donee as *śaṅkhaśālin* of an individual. It appears that the word in such cases has the sense of 'a pupil'. Thus *Ghāṇṭukāśarma* was probably a pupil of *Narasimha*.

future rulers of the region not to confiscate the gift land. This is followed by the date of the charter: the 28th day, probably of the month of *Āṣvayuj* in the 17th regnal year of Vigrahapāla III. Next follow in lines 42-47 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The two verses that

¹ *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.

² The grants of the Senas of Bengal usually refer in a similar context to the annual income of the gift land in *Parāṇa* counted in *muṣa*-*śukla* (see *Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 83, 74, 87, etc.). The records of the rulers of ancient Assam, however, speak of paddy in the same context (*Kāmarūpa-śāśana-śukla*, pp. 78, 89). Thus our inscription may also refer to the annual yield in the standard measures of the principal crop.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, no. 87, 103, 105, 120, 179, 190, 248, 298, etc.

follow in lines 47-49 speak of the *dātā* or *dātaka* (i.e., the executor of the grant) and the engraver of the plate in the usual style of the charters of Vigrahapāla III. What is, however, very interesting in our record is that its *dātā* is said to have been the *mantrin* **Prahasitarāja** described as a son of the king. Why, in the name of this as yet unknown son of Vigrahapāla III, the ending *rāja* has been preferred to the expected *pāla* cannot be determined.¹ The engraver of the plate was the artisan Śaśidēva who was the son of Hridāva hailing from Pōṣaḥāḥ. We know that several engravers of the Pāla plates hailed from the same village. Indeed the same verse also occurs at the end of the Āṃgārhī plate where, however, Śaśidēva is called *Mahidharadēva-sūra* instead of *Śrīmān-Hridēva-sūra*. The passage in our record is, however, grammatically wrong and requires some modification. Whether the reading intended is *śrī-Mahidēva*² cannot be determined, although in such a case Mahidharadēva and Mahidēva may have been regarded as identical.

An interesting feature of the charter under discussion is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end (lines 49-50). According to this, the real donor of the land was not, as recorded in the grant, the king but one of his Brāhmaṇa officers, named Ghantīśa. This man is described as a *vidhāya* or servant of the lord of Gaṇḍa, i.e., the Pāla king, and as having friendship with several rulers. He is said to have made the grant out of his own *kula*, probably meaning the *jāgīr* under his possession. Ghantīśa was the son of Yōgēvara and the grandson of Vivada. This Vivada is said to have been born of Iddhahālā, daughter of Gōḥaṇaka and granddaughter of Kāchoḥha who came (to Tirahhukti or North Bihār) from Krōḍāṇcha. There is no doubt that Krōḍāṇcha is the same as Kōḷāṇcha mentioned earlier in the inscription as the original home of Ghāṇṭīkaśarmaṇ, donee of the grant. The nature of the present grant seems to be similar to that of such records as the Kailān (otherwise called Kailain) plate,³ according to which an officer of a king got a piece of land (probably by purchase) from his master and parts of it were granted in favour of certain learned Brāhmaṇas and of a Buddhist religious establishment. In the present case, the king merely permitted and ratified the grant making the gift land a permanent revenue-free holding.

Besides the mention of a new Pāla *jaya-skandhāsūra* and a hitherto unknown son of Vigrahapāla III serving as a minister of his father, and the interesting nature of the grant actually made by a private individual but represented as a royal gift because the king made the land a rent-free holding, a fact of considerable importance in the Bangaon plate is its date. So long, the latest definitely known date of the reign of this king was his 12th regnal year.⁴ Of course there were the Kurikūṭ image inscriptions,⁵ dated in the 19th regnal year of Vigrahapāla, and a manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣā* copied in the 20th year of his reign.⁶ But it was not known whether these dates should have to be referred to Vigrahapāla III or his great-grandfather Vigrahapāla II. The recently discovered Naulāgarh image inscription,⁷ dated in the 24th regnal year of Vigrahapāla, without any indication in regard to his identity, also did not solve the problem. Thus the position was that, while Vigrahapāla III was known to have ruled at least for about 12 years, either the same king or Vigrahapāla II may have ruled at least for about 26 years. Under the circumstances, some writers⁸ assigned to Vigrahapāla II a short reign of less than one year but to Vigrahapāla III a long reign of about 26 years, while others⁹ assigned the long reign-period to Vigrahapāla II. In

¹ Was it due to the fact that Prahasitarāja was born of a concubine of king Vigrahapāla III?

² I. H. Q., Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

³ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 174; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1632.

⁴ J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 36 f., 239 f.; *History of Bengal*, loc. cit.

⁵ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 179.

⁶ *University of Calicut Bulletin*, No. 1, pp. 1-16; J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XXXVII, parts 3-4, pp. 1-5.

⁷ Ray (H. H. N. I., Vol. I, p. 385) assigns Vigrahapāla II to circa 992 A.C. and Vigrahapāla III to circa 1055-81 A.C.

⁸ Majumdar (*Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., p. 177) assigns Vigrahapāla II to circa 960-88 A.C. and Vigrahapāla III to circa 1055-70 A.C.

the total absence of any definite date of the reign of Vigrahapāla II, the attitude of the former group of scholars would no doubt appear to be more reasonable. And the present record showing that Vigrahapāla III ruled at least for about 17 years goes considerably in favour of this view. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to think that it was Vigrahapāla III who reigned for at least about 26 years and that Vigrahapāla II had a much shorter reign.

The rule of Vigrahapāla III in Tirabhukti or North Bihar about the third quarter of the eleventh century has now to be reconciled with Kalachuri expansion in that area. Such facts as that the city of 'Banāras' belonged to the territory of Gang about 1034 A.C. when, according to Baihaqi, Ahmad Niyāltigin, a general of Ma'sūd I (circa 1030-40 A.C.) invaded it,¹ and that the Benares plate (Kalachuri year 793-1042 A.C.) of Kalachuri Karna (1041-73 A.C.) records the grant of a village in the Kāsi district² point to the inclusion of the eastern U. P. in the dominions of Karna and his father Gāṅgāyādēva Vikramāditya. The Karanab inscription³ assigns to Karna a victory over Gauda and the Bheraghat inscription⁴ speaks of his hostility with Vaṅga, while his Paikore pillar inscription⁵ points to his advance as far east as the Birbhūm District of West Bengal. Under these circumstances, the Nepalese manuscript of the *Rāmāyana*, completed in [Vikrama] Samvat 1076 (1019 A.C.) when Tirabhukti was under the rule of Gāṅgāyādēva,⁶ may be regarded as proving Kalachuri occupation of North Bihar in the first half of the eleventh century. It should, however, be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Mahipāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) from Sarnāth near Banaras (dated Vikrama Samvat 1083-1026 A.C.) in the eastern U.P., from Nālandā, Bodhgayā and Tetrawan (dated in the regnal years 11 and 31 or 21) in South Bihar and from Imādpur (dated in the regnal year 48) in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihar, while two inscriptions (dated in the regnal year 15) of Nayapāla (circa 1058-55 A.C.) come from Gayā in South Bihar.⁷ The Tibetan life⁸ of the Bengali Buddhist monk Atiśa Dipaṅkara Śai-Jhūna refers to an invasion of Magadha or South Bihar under Nayapāla, father of Vigrahapāla III, led by 'King Karna of the west', i.e., Kalachuri Karna. According to this tradition, Nayapāla ultimately succeeded in defeating the invader, while, according to the *Rāmachurita*,⁹ Vigrahapāla III defeated Karna and married the latter's daughter Yanvanairi. It has been supposed that this refers to a second invasion led by Karna against the Pāla empire. In any case, the present inscription shows that North Bihar was reconquered by the Pālas from the Kalachuris at least before the 17th year of Vigrahapāla's reign. Karna's son Yaśahkarna (circa 1072-1125 A.C.), however, claims to have devastated Champāraṇya (modern Champāran in North Bihar) according to the Bheraghat inscription.¹⁰ It seems, therefore, that the Pālas were struggling with the Kalachuris in Bihar, both North and South, for a considerable period of time.

Another interesting fact revealed by the Bangāon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmanas of North Bihar to their relation with a Brāhmana of Kōlāṅcha or Krōḍāṅcha. Ghaṇṭiśa, a Brāhmana of Tirabhukti, is found to trace his ancestry to a Kōlāṅcha Brāhmana named Kāchchha through the granddaughter of the latter. His partiality to the Brāhmanas of Kōlāṅcha is also indicated by the endowment made by him out of his own land in favour of

¹ Bay, D. H. N. L., Vol. II, p. 773.

² Ibid., p. 738; Bhandarkar, *List*, 1223; cf. the Sarnāth inscription (Kalachuri year 819-1039 A.C.; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1225) of the same king.

³ Bay, op. cit., p. 778.

⁴ Ibid., p. 784.

⁵ Ibid., p. 774; *ABORI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 392, note 2.

⁶ See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 174.

⁷ Bay, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 326.

⁸ *Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., p. 146.

⁹ Bay, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 787.

another Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇa. That Kōlāñcha, together with Tarkārī, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early medieval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place.¹ The identification of the locality is disputed. Some scholars locate it in the ancient Śrāvastī country, i.e., the district round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the U. P., while others are inclined to place it on the borders of the Dinajpur and Bogra Districts of North Bengal.² The suggestion of the former group of scholars appears to be more reasonable. Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of East Indian Brāhmaṇas towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlāñcha, as evidenced by the record under review, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in North Bihār and Bengal.

According to the *Kulojī* or *Kula-pañjikā*³ of Bengal, the Rādhiya and Vārēndra Brāhmaṇas, who now form the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa community of Bengal, are descended from five learned Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha (Kānyakubja according to some versions) at the invitation of a king named Ādiśūra because of the dearth of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vēdas in that country. Different and mutually conflicting genealogies of Ādiśūra are given in different texts. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, although some authorities include in his dominions Aṅga, Kalinga, Karmāta, Kērala, Kāmarūpa, Samrāshtra, Magadha, Mālava and Gurjara. His capital is placed by some at Gauda in West Bengal and by others at Vikramapura in East Bengal. Six different religious ceremonies are mentioned by different authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been invited. The date of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while no less than three sets of names are offered as those of the five Brāhmaṇas. The nature of the traditions points clearly to their unreliable character. The reference to the Śaka era shows beyond doubt that the stories were fabricated after the popularisation of the use of that era in Bengal about the twelfth century A.C.⁴ There is evidence regarding the rule of a Śūra dynasty in Bengal.⁵ But no genuine ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the Bengal sources. The only Ādiśūra known to East Indian history is a petty chief who flourished in North Bihār or its neighbourhood in the ninth century A.C. Maithila Vāchaspatimīra refers to this person in his *Nyāyakanīśā*,⁶ a commentary on Maṇḍanamīra's *Vidhivivēka*, in the passage: *nija-bhūja-viryam-āsthāya śūrān-Ādiśūro jayati*. Vāchaspatimīra composed his *Nyāyasarā* in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 898 (*vast-aṅka-casu-ratsarē*), i.e., in 841 A.C.⁷ Thus Ādiśūra, contemporary of Vāchaspatimīra, must also have flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Whether this Ādiśūra was a vassal of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihār cannot be determined; but most probably he was. In any case, he could not have been a mighty ruler. Since, however, the Pālas were Buddhists, this

¹ See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 479-80. Kōlāñcha or Krōḍāñcha is also called Kōlāñcha, Krōḍāñcha and Krōḍāñja.

² *Ibid.*, loc. cit.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 625-26.

⁴ See *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 80. Śridhara who wrote his *Nyāyasaṁgraha* in Śaka 913-991 A.C. was an inhabitant of Dakṣiṇa-Rājya; but there is no proof that the work was written in Bengal. The author's patron Pāṇḍudāsa seems to have flourished in an area where the Śaka era was popular (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, p. 588n). The case of Udayana who composed his *Lakṣaṇasāra* in Śaka 906-985 A.C. is more dubious (cf. *ibid.*, p. 312n).

⁵ *Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., pp. 210-11.

⁶ Benares ed., p. 290; *Vaṅgīya Śāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVII, p. 68.

⁷ See S. C. Vidyabhusan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 193. Recent attempts to refer the year 898 to the Śaka era (*J.O.J.R.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 346-53; *Vaṅgīya Śāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, op. cit., pp. 69-70) are unwarranted as the Śaka era was not prevalent in Mithilā and the neighbouring areas in the tenth century. It has to be noticed that years of the Śaka era are usually not quoted vaguely as 'the year' as in the *Nyāyasarā*, etc.

Brahmanical king, probably parts of Mithilā and North Bengal, became important in the eyes of Brahmanical writers like Vāchaspatimiśra. It is possible to think that this Ādiśūra, for some unknown activities of his, became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kōlāścha Brāhmanas in Bengal. If this suggestion is to be accepted, it is further possible to think that the institution of Kulinism in Bengal was originally at least partially borrowed from North Bihār. This is further suggested by the possible identity of Maithilā Brāhmaṇa families of the Gaṅgauli *māla-grāma* (the same as the *gāi* of the *kala-paṭṭikās* of Bengal) and the Rādhīya Kalina family styled Gaṅgopādhyāya (Gāṅguli).¹ There is a strong Maithilā element in the upper class Hindus of Bengal including Sylhet. The origin only of the Maithilā families that migrated in the late medieval period is, however, remembered; earlier migrations were apparently completely absorbed in the social groups of Bengal.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the location of Kōlāścha or Krōḍāścha has been indicated above. *Tirabhukti* is the ancient form of modern Tirhut in North Bihār. The district of Hōdrēya and the village of Vasakāvarita in it are difficult to identify. I have not succeeded in locating Kāñchamapura and the village called Ipāhāka or Iṭhōka.

TEXT²

[Metres: verses 1, 8 *Bradhārī*; verses 2, 3, 6, 13, 24, 25 *Śāntilāmikrīḍita*; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasanta-tīlakā*; verses 5, 22 *Āryā*; verse 9 *Indraojrā*; verse 11 *Mālinī*; verse 12 *Śikhariṇī*; verse 14 *Mandākrāntī*; verses 15-19, 23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 20 *Śloka*; verse 21 *Pushpitōgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham* Maitrīb kārūya-ratna-pranūḍita-l[ī]ḥ[ī]dayaḥ prōyasth sandadhānaḥ samyak-samv[ṛ]ṣṭ[ā]mb[ā]dhi-
- 2 vidyā-sarid-amala-jala-kahālit-ājñāna-paṅkaḥ | jivā yaḥ kāmakāri-ṇa-
- 3 bhavam-abhūbhavān āśvat[ī]r[ī] prāpa śānti[ḥ] sa śrīmān³-Lōkanāth[ā] ja-
- 4 yati Daśava(ba)llō-nyas-cha Gōpālādēvaḥ || [1*] Lakshmi-janna-ni-
- 5 kētanatī samakarō v[ṛ]ḍha[ḥ] kahamaḥ karmā-bhara[ḥ] pa[kṣa*]-chchhēda-
- 6 bhayād-upasthitavatām-ek-ārayō bhūbhūpātām(tām) | maryādā-paripālan-sika-nirataḥ [⁴ sau-(au)ry-ālayō-smād-abhūd-dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmapālō nṛpaḥ|| [2*] Rāma-
- 7 sy-ēva grīhita-satya-tapasas-tasy-ānur[ū]pō guṇaiḥ Saumittir-śatpādī talya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām-ānujaḥ | yaḥ śrīmān-naya-vikram-sika-vasat[ī]r[ī]-bhātāḥ sthitāḥ śāśnō ā-
- 8 nyāḥ śatru-patākinibhir-akarōd-ek-ātapatrā diśaḥ || [3*] Taemād-apendra-charitai[ḥ]-jagat[ī]r[ī] pūnānaḥ [pu*]trō vaḥbatbhūva vijayi Jayapāla-nāmā | dharmā-dvishā[ḥ] samayitā yudhī D-
- 9 vapālō yaḥ pūrva[ḥ]jō(jō) bhuvana-mūya-sukhāny-avai(nai)śhit || [4*] Śrīmān-Vigrahapālas-tai-śāsur-Ajātakatrur-iva jātāḥ | śatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilō[ḥ]pi-vimal-āsi-jala-dhārāḥ || [5*]

¹ *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1942, p. 89. Cf. Bidey, *People of India*, p. 215.

² From the original plate as well as its impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ According to rules of Sandhi the a here should change to the anant.

⁵ The *daḥ* is superfluous.

Obverse

1. ...
 2. ...
 3. ...
 4. ...
 5. ...
 6. ...
 7. ...
 8. ...
 9. ...
 10. ...
 11. ...
 12. ...
 13. ...
 14. ...
 15. ...
 16. ...
 17. ...
 18. ...
 19. ...
 20. ...
 21. ...
 22. ...
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 24. ...
 25. ...
 26. ...
 27. ...
 28. ...
 29. ...
 30. ...
 31. ...
 32. ...

Reverse

84	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ १ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ १ ॥	34
86	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ २ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ २ ॥	36
88	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ३ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ३ ॥	38
40	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ४ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ४ ॥	40
42	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ५ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ५ ॥	42
44	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ६ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ६ ॥	44
46	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ७ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ७ ॥	46
48	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ८ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ८ ॥	48
50	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ९ ॥	विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्रम् । ॥ ९ ॥	50

SEAL



From a Photograph

- 10 Dīrpālāḥ kṣhīti-pālanāya dadhatāḥ dāh[ā] vibhaktān-guṇān śrīmantāḥ janayāmva(mba)-
bhūva tanayāḥ Nārāyaṇāḥ sa prabhuh(bhum) | yāḥ kākūpātibhūḥ āro-maṇi-ruchā
āliṣṭy-āṅghri-
- 11 pīṭh-ōpala[m*] nyāy-ōpāttam-alamchakāra charitāḥ svair-ōva dharm-āsunam(ham) || [6*]
Tōyāśay[air]=jalādhi-mūla-gabhira-ga[r]bhā[r]-dēvālayais-cha kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kalbh-
aḥ | vikhyā-
- 12 ta-kṛttic-abhavat-tanayās-cha tanaya śrī-Rājyapāla iti madhyamalōkapālāḥ || [7*] Tasmāt-
pūrva-kṣhītidhṛān-nidhir-iva mahasūn Rāshtrakūṭ-ānvay-āndōs-Tuṅga-ōttuṅga-ma-
13 l[ā]r]-lūhitarī tanayō Bhāgyadēvyāḥ prasūtaḥ || [8*] śrīmān-ōpālādēvaś-chiratarām-avanēr-
ēka-patnyā iv-aikō bhartt-ābhūn- nāka-rutna-(dyu)ti-khachita-chataḥ-sindhu-chīte-śmāu-
14 kāyāḥ || [8*] Yadi svāmināḥ rāja-guṇair-anūnam-āsēvatō chārutay-ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-
prabhū-śakti-lakṣmīḥ pṛthivī[m*] sapatnīm-iva śūyanti || [9*] Tasmād-va(d-ha)bhūva
ān(sa)-
- 15 vitu[r]-vasu-kōṭi-varshī |¹ kālēna chandra iva Vīgrahapālādēvaḥ | nētra-priyā vimalēna
kalāmāyēna yēn-ōditēna dāitō bhuvanasya tāpāḥ || [10*] Ha-
- 16 ta-sakala-vipakṣah saṅgarē vā(hū)lm-darpād-anadhikṛita-viluptāḥ rājyam-āśāya pīṭyāḥ-
(tryam) | nihita-charaṇa-padmo bhūbhū(bhūbhū)jā[m*] mūrdhni tasmād-abhavad-
avanipālāḥ śrī-Mahi-
- 17 pālādēvaḥ || [11*] Tyajan-dōś-āsaṅga[m*] śirasi kṛita-pādaḥ kṣhītibhṛitāḥ vitau[vjan-sarvv-
āśāḥ prasabham-uday-[ā]drō[r]-iva raviḥ || [12*] hata-dh[vjāntaḥ] smigdhā-prakṛitir-anurāga-
(g-ai)ka-va-
- 18 satī[h*] eutō dhanyaḥ puṇyair-ājanī Nayapālō narapatih || [12*] Pīṭah sajjana-lōchanaiḥ-mara-
ripōḥ pūjāu raktaḥ sadā |² saṅgrāmē dhavalō-dhikāś-cha Haritāḥ
- 19 kālāḥ(lah) kulō vidviahām(chām) | chāturv-aruṇa(rṇya)-samāśrayaḥ ā(ni)ta-yasa(śa)ḥ-pūra[r]-
jjagad-raḥjayan |³ śrīmād-Vīgrahapālādēva-ōpātih puṇyā[r]-jjanānām-abhūta(bhūta)
|| [13*] Dēśō prāchi pra-
- 20 chura-payasi svachchham-āpiya tōyam svairmā bhṛāntā(utvā) tad-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-
chandaśōḥ | kṛitvā sāndair-Marusha jādātā[m*] śikarair-abhra-tulyāḥ Pralōyadrōḥ
katakam-abha-
- 21 jan-yasya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14*] Sa khalu Bhāgīratī-patha-pravaritāmāna-nāśvīlha-nau-
vātaka-sampādita-sētuva(ba)ndha-nihita-saila-sūkhara-śrōṇi-vibhramāt |⁴ nīnti-
- 22 āyū-ghana-ghanāghana-ghana-ghatā-syāmśyamāna-vāra-lakṣmī-samāravdhā(bdha)-santata-
jalada-samaya-sandēhāt |⁵ utōchin-ānēka-narapati-prōbhṛitīkṛit-āpramāya-āya-
- 23 vāḥini-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsaritā-dig-antarālāt |⁶ paramśvaru-sēvā-samśyāt-āśōḥa-
ja(mvūl)(bmū)dvipa-bhūpāl-āna*]nta-pādātā⁷ bhara-namad-avanōḥ |⁸
- 24 Kāśhānapura-samāvāsi[tā*]t śrīmāj-jayā-śkanībhāvarāt paramasagatō mahārōjādhirāja-śrī-
man-Nayapālādēva-pād-ānūdyātāḥ paramōśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭārakō
- 25 mahātājādhirājah śrī-Vīgrahapālādēvaḥ kṣhālī | Tīrahuk[t]au Hōdrēya-vaishayika-Vasu-
kāvaritāt | yath-ōpatyā(ttyā) pañcma-satik-ā[th]||⁹ ||

¹ The *dasya* is superfluous.² The *dasya* is unnecessary. Similarly the *dasya* further on, mostly in lines 25-41, are superfluous.³ A letter has been cancelled between *sa* and *āna*.⁴ There is a conventional floral design between the first two pairs of *dasyas*, while the space between the second and third pairs is left vacant.

- 26 'samupagat-āsēcha-rājapurushān | rāja-rājanyaka- | rājaputra-rājāmātya- | mahāsāndhi-
vighrahi-
27 ka- | mahākshapaṭalika- | mahāśānta- | mahāśāntāpati- | mahāpratihāra- | dauṣādha-
sādhānika- | mahādāṇḍanāyaka- | mahākumārāmātya- | rāja[th]ān-ōpari-
28 ka- | dās(śā)parādhika- | chaurōddharanika- | dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsi(ś)ka- | sau(sau)lka- |
gaulmika- kshētrapa- | prā[m*]tapāla- | kōṭa[th]āla- | aṅgarakaha- | tadāyukta-
viniyukta-
29 ka- | haaty-śv-ōshṭa(śhṭa)-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka- | kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvik-
ādhyaksha- | dūta-prēhanika- | gamāgamika- | abhivaramāṇa- | vishayapati- |
gā(grā)mapati- |
30 tarika- | Gauḍa- Mālava- | Khasa- | Ha(Hū)ṇa- | Kulika- | Karṇāṭa- | Lāṭa- |
chāṭa- | bhāṭa- | sēvak-ādīn- | anyā[m*]ś-ch-ākṛititān | rāja-pād-ōpajīvanah prati-
vāsinō
31 Vra(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān | mahattam-ōttama- | kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga- | Mād-Āndhra-Ohā-
dāla-paryanta(ntā)n | yath-āha(rhām) mānayatī | v[ō](bō)dhyati | samādiśti cha |
viditam=astu bhavatām
32 yath-ōparilikhitō-ya* grām-ārdīha-bhūh sva-sīmā-triṇa-pūti-gōchāra-paryanta[h](ntā) sa-talāh-
(lā) s-ōddhēh(śā) s-āmra-madhukah(kā) sa-jala-sthalah(lā) sa-garī-śchārah(rā) sa-
dā-śpachārah(rā)

Reverse

- 33 *sa-chaurōddharanah(nā) | pariṇṇita-sarva-piḍah(dā) | a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēśah(śā) | a-ki-
34 ūchit-pragrāhah(hyā) | samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāya-sa-
35 mētal(tā) | bhūmi-chehlūdra-nyāyēna s-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sams-kāle-
36 m mātā-pitrōr-ātmānā-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhividdhayē bhagavantah
37 Vu(Bu)ddha-bheṣṭārakam-uddiśya | Śāṇḍilya-sagotrāya | * |
38 Śāṇḍily-Ānita-Dēvala-pravarāya | Narasiṃha-savra(bra)hmachārīṇē | Chchha(Chha)ndōga-
śākh-ādhyāyīnē | mīmāṃsā-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vidyā-vidē |
39 Kōlāncha-vim[r]ggatāya | Itṭhāka⁴-vāstavyāya | Yōgāsā(evā)mi-pauttrāya | Ttu(Tu)ōga-
puttrāya | Śri-Ohāṭṭukaśarmamāṇē | vim(abu)vat-saṅkrāntyāyā vidhivat | Ga-
40 ṅgāyām⁵ anātvā āśanīkṛitya pradattō-(tt-ā)smābhih | atō bhavadbhih sarvair-ēv-
ānumantavyam bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhih bhūm[er]-dāna-phala-gauravāt | apaharaṇ[er]-
41 na cha mahānaraka-pāta-bhayā[t] | dānam-idam-anumōdy-ānumōdy-ānupālaniyam prati-
vāsibhih=cha kahētrakurāh | ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kālān sams-
42 [ch]ita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayāh kārya iti || o || Sam 17 Avayan
dinō⁶ 28 [er] bhavanti ch-ātra dharm-ānuś[er]ānah ślōkāh || Va(Ba)hubhih[er]-vasudhā
dattā rā-

* A space of about four inches is left blank at the beginning of this line.

² Read 'likhāt-ēyam'.

³ A little above the left and right margins of this line see respectively ai | and ai |. The akshara ai is written to resemble a without a circle. Ni is a continuation of nīkādha, 'registered' or 'approved'.

⁴ A little space is left blank between the two danda.

⁵ The reading may possibly also be Itṭhāka.

⁶ The expression Gaṅgāyām had been originally omitted and was later inserted. For want of space after y the medial ā sign of this letter is indicated above the top mātrā as in older inscriptions.

⁷ The medial ā in āi had been originally omitted and was later only imperfectly made above the top mātrā. For Avopas, Aśmopas (Sanskrit Aśmopas) seems to be the reading intended.

- 19 तिरोहीशं वधं चक्रेऽग्रहीद्भुवं । तोगाक्ष्यबालीसामुपावर्त्तराजेन कथितात् ॥२५॥ प्रास्तावं स्वगृहे चक्रे मेघ-
- 20 मंदिरनामकं । पीछोलाक्ष्यतटाकस्य तटे मोहनमंदिर(रं) ॥२६॥ जगत्सिंहा(ह)नुपाज्ञातो वा(वा)सवालापुरे गतः । प्रधातो भागवुं(चं)-
- 21 बाक्ष्यो रावलः सायलो गिरी ॥२७॥ गतः समरलोनामा ततो सशङ्खं वदो । बंड रजतमुद्राणां भूत्यभावं सदा वधे ॥२८॥ वृं-
- 22 दीपशत्रुक्षयस्य भावसिंहाक्ष्यसूनुवे । स्वकन्यां विचिना भूपो दत्ता(त्वा)वंशं वदो पुनः ॥२९॥ सप्तविंशतिसंख्यास्तु राजग्येभ्योन्यकन्य-
- 23 काः । एकलिंगालये चक्रे हेमकुंभचक्रादिकान् ॥३०॥ कत्तरेष्टनक्षत्राक्ष्ये शते वीरशके गते । दीपाक्ष्यसूनुवे बाई^१ राजजा-
- 24 बुक्ती व्यधात् ॥३१॥ द्वारकातीर्थपात्रां श्रीरणछोडस्य सेवनं । तथा कप्यतुलां चक्रे दानान्यन्यानि सादरं ॥३२॥ गोस्वामिधन्य-
- 25 मनुनाचसुतामुवेधं भूमिं हलद्वयमितां पुरं ब्राह्मदास्ये । तद्भुतंवीरमयुसूदनमनुनास्तां पत्रं विधाय च वदो जगतीशमाता ॥
- 26 ३३॥ राज्यप्राप्तेः समारभ्य तुलां कप्यमयी व्यधात् । प्रतिवर्षं जगत्सिंहो दानान्यन्यानि वातनीत् ॥३४॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सपुराक्ष्येभ्यो वृ-
- 27 चो । सुवंप्रहे जगत्सिंहः संपूज्यामरकटके ॥३५॥ ज्योतिर्लिंगं तु मांघानुसेष्यमोकार- मोद्वरं । सुवर्णस्य तुलां चक्रे ग्रधं प्रत्यब्धमातनी-
- 28 त् ॥३६॥ स्वजन्मदिवसे मोदान्महादानं पु[रा] व्यधात् । कप्यवृक्षं स्वर्णपुष्पीं सात- सागरनामकं ॥३७॥ विदधचक्रं कमा(मा)वस्मिन्वर्षे माता
- 29 जगत्पतेः । श्रीमज्जांबुक्तीबाई^१ प्रतप्ते लोवंदुष्टये ॥३८॥ कार्तिके मयुरापात्रां चक्रे मोकुलं(ल)वर्जानं । श्रीगोषर्द्धननाथस्य दीपाक्ष्यभक्त-
- 30 दयोः ॥३९॥ अपदयदुस्तवं तूर्जपीणंमा(मा)स्यां तु श्रीकरे । श्रेवं संगतटे चक्रे तुलां कप्यस्य वातनीत्^२ ॥४०॥ बीकानेरीशकर्म[स्य*] सुता रा(रा)मपुरप्र-

^१ This dialectal word is used here with aklitiā.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

^३ Here one of the two verbs *chakre* and *abhisheka* seems redundant.

- 31 भोः । हृदीतिहृत्स्य सत्त्वती¹ उदारानन्दकुवतिः ॥४१॥ मातामह्यं जांबुवत्याः संने
कप्य(ष्य)नुतां व्यधात् । पूर्ववर्षे जांबुवत्या आजगानन्दकु-
32 वरिः ॥४२॥ श्रीजांबुव(व)त्या यद्ये मां स्वात्मित्वा मुदा वदो । रणछोडाय मह्यं
सा दानं सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४३॥ प्रयागे राजतमुतां
33 काश्यपोध्याविदर्शनं । कृत्वा मुहे सा(स)माधत्ता जके कप्यनुतामर्षं ॥४४॥ वेणीमाकायं
गोस्वामितनयां मधुसूदनं । तत्पतिः श्रीज-
34 गत्सिहृत्स्विया सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४५॥ अद्याप्यकुतं दानं श्रीमन्जांबुवती यथा [१^०] राणा
अमरसिहस्य राज्ञीभिर्वसमावितः ॥४६॥
35 इदं दानं यथैवाभ्यामघावयि मिति(ति) वदे । त्रिशत्समितदानानि² आभ्यां लज्जानि
तत्कुटं ॥४७॥ अस्मिन्वर्षे पूर्णिमायां वैशाखे
36 श्रीजगत्पतिः । श्रीजगन्नाथे(ष)रायं सत्प्रासादे स्वापयन्बभौ ॥४८॥ गोसहस्रं महादानं दानं
कल्पलताभिधं । हिरण्याश्वमहादा-
37 नं ग्रामपंचकमप्यदात् ॥४९॥ मधुसूदनभट्टाय महागोदानमप्यदात् । कृष्णभटा(ट्टा)य सुधामं
भैरवदरत्नचैनुवं³ ॥५०॥ श्रीराजोदयसि-
38 हसुनुरभवत् श्रीमत्प्रापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीशमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिहोस्य वा । पुत्री
राजजगत्पति(ति)श्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिहोस्य
39 वा पुत्रः श्रीजगत्पतिहृ एव कृतधानस्तत्प्रासादलेखितं ॥५०(५१)॥ बीराकं रणछोडनद्वरवितं
द्राविशदाकयेन्दके पूर्णं सप्तदशे शते तपति वा
40 सत्पूर्णिमायां तिथौ । काप्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः श्रीराजसिंहेन वा सुष्टोत्सर्गविधेः सुवर्ण-
नमयं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५१(५२)॥ इति पंचमस्व(स्व)र्गः[]
41 'मजधर उरजण गजधर सुष(ष)देव सुजधर केसलाडा सुवर[र्जण]ज लालाजा[त]
सोमपुरा चतरा पुर[ष्य] — संवत् १७

Slab VII: Canto VI

[Metres : vv. 1-24, 26-31, 33, 34, 42, 43 *Anushpūh* ; v. 25 *Argā* ; v. 32 *Gā.* ; vv. 35, 36, 44 *Srajdhārā* ; vv. 37-41, 45, 46 *Paustatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे नवाल्पेव्देकरोत्तुतां ॥(१) कप्यस्य [माते]
वच्चेवा(ष) काप्युने कृष्णपत्रके ॥१॥ द्वितीया-

¹ *Sundhā* is not observed here.

² Instead of the first *śhi* was written and later the sign for medial *i* was scored out.

³ Read *Bhairavdhar* *Bhairavdhendak*.

⁴ With this list of masons compare the one given above, Slab III, lines 26-37.

- 2 दिवसे राज्यं राजसिंहो नरेश्वरः । राजो भूदिव्याकर्णनाम्नो ज्येष्ठाय सुसन्ने ॥२॥
अनुपसिंहाय इवो स्वसारं विधि-
- 3 मा नृपः । अर्धभ्योऽर्ध(डं)मुकन्या एकसप्ततिसंनिताः ॥३॥ कुलकं । शते सप्तदशे
पूर्णे दशाष्टमे [तु] पौषके । कृष्णकाव-
- 4 शिकापां तु राजसिंहनरेश्वरात् ॥४॥ पवारद्वंद्वमालास्वरावस्य तनया तु या । सदा-
कूबरिनाम्नी तत्कुलेजातो
- 5 जगत्प्रियः ॥५॥ जगत्सिंहान्वितः पुत्रः पवित्रदिग्बलेतिष्ठत् ॥(१) संजातो जगदाङ्गादचंद्रमाः
कीर्तिचंद्रयान् ॥६॥
- 6 भीमसिंहः पुत्र आस्ते गजसिंहः सुतस्तथा [१*] मुक्तसिंहान्वितः पुत्र इंद्रसिंहः सुतस्तथा
॥७॥ स बाहावुरसिंहः
- 7 श्रीराजसिंहात्मजास्तथा [१*] स न(ता)रायणदातो वाऽपरिणीताप्रियाभव[ः*] ॥८॥ आरभ्य
कीमारपदात्सय(वं)सुमुखलज्ज(स्व)ये । श्रीसर्व-
- 8 सुविजातास्य स्वाराजं कृतवाधूपः ॥९॥ आप्यां क्षीरनिधौ धन्यो तद्वनीयुक्तो विराजते ।
नारायणमुक्तो राणा नीला-
- 9 से(से)वकणाध्वजः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे एकादशे तिथि । अजमेरी साहि-
जंहा(जहरी)दिल्लीजं तं समागतं ॥११॥ श्रुत्वाच
- 10 राजसिंहो(सिंहो)दक्षिणकूटे समागतं । तं सादुल्लहखानाक्यं दिल्लीशहरमंत्रिणं ॥१२॥ प्रेषया-
नास तत्पाश्वे भट्टं तु मधुसूद[नं] । कं(का)ठोरोवंश-
- 11 तेजने(गः) स गतः खानसंनिधौ ॥१३॥ खानः पंडितसंयु(वु)ष्टया भट्टं प्रत्युक्तवान्कथं ।
गरीबदासो रायेन कथमाकारितस्तथा ॥१४॥
- 12 कालाख्यरायसिंहश्च भट्टनोक्तं सदावितः । जातम(मे)धं प्रतापाख्यरानाज्जाता रणोत्कटः
॥१५॥ शक्तसिंहो मेघनामा रावतो मेघ-
- 13 पाटतः । आपाती स्थापितो दिल्लीरायेन किल तौ पुनः ॥१६॥ नेदपाटे समापातो
अकार परमेश्वरः । इति स्वामिप्रमुक्तानां
- 14 राजन्यानां स्वसद्वयं ॥१७॥ खानेनोक्तं सत्यमेतत्पुनः[ः*] खानस्ततीवदत् । राजेश-
स्याश्ववारानां संख्यां [कच]न^१ पंडित ॥१८॥*

* There is a scored-out sign for medial *t* over *ga*.

* First *to* was engraved which was later corrected as *tas*—.

* This letter is not corrected into *mf*.

* This is *af* corrected into *sa*.

* There is a scored-out *na* between *ra* and *mf*.

* There is a scored-out sign for superscript *r* over *ga*.

- 15 सद्धिशतिसहस्राणि भट्टेनोक्तं स उक्तवान् । दिल्लीशस्याश्ववाराणां लक्षसंख्यास्तु तत्कथं
॥१६॥ कार्यं स[मा]ग[म]नं भट्टेन प्रोक्तं
- 16 ज्ञानं धनं स्फुटं । दिल्लीशस्याश्ववाराणां लक्षं राणामहीपतेः ॥२०॥ सद्धिशतिसहस्राणि
साम्यं सुविहृता कृतं । ज्ञानो-
- 17 तः कोपवान् ज्ञानो जयसिहस्तदोचतुः ॥२१॥ ज्ञानसंने साहिजहा(जहो)दशनं चेतकरोत्यहो ।
राणाकुमारस्तु तदा जयुवंश-
- 18 मिता मया ॥१२॥^{*} देशः दिल्लीश्वरादृष्ट्या विदरे मधुसूदनः । राणसेवां व्यधादेवं
स्वामिधर्मो महोक्तिहृत् ॥२३॥ दिल्लीश्वर-
- 19 कुमारस्य संगेऽस्मत्पूर्वजन्मनां । कुमारः मिलनं चक्र राजसिहो विचार्य तत् ॥२४॥
मुलतानसिहनामकमहाकुमारं तु ठक्कु-
- 20 रं सहितं । साहिजहा^१मुतवारासकोहसंगेच संग्रेथ्य ॥२५॥ एवं साहिजहानेन^२ मिलनं^३
कृतवाधुपः । राजसिहो भाग्य-
- 21 दानविक्रमेर्विक्रमार्कवत् ॥२६॥ जनादेनामजननीं चक्रे रूप्यं(प्य)तुलास्वितं । तया(या)
कारितवा[न्य]त्र गजवानस्य निष्कयं ॥२७॥
- 22 इ[व्यं] संकल्पितं रूप्यं(रूप्यं) मुवा पंचशतमितं । मधुसूदनभट्टाय दाने(ने)द्रस्तद्वदो धनं
॥२८॥ युग्मं । राठोररूपसिद्धारूपं स्वमंड-
- 23 लगडाड(ड)नं । वंश्यं राघववासाक्यं प्रेयगन्विद्रुतं व्यवात् ॥२९॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे
अयोवशमितेयवके । हेमनः सा-
- 24 डंडिशतक[प]लंबंहाडकं कृतं ॥३०॥ कार्तिक्या पूर्णिमायां धी^४एकस्त्रिगशिवसिक्के ।
इत्वा(त्वा) येदोक्तविधिना राजसिहो
- 25 विराजते ॥३१॥ पंचमहाभूतमयं व(व)ह्याडं मुज्जली(ला)डपलपु(पु)मूल्यं । मत्वा सुवर्णपूर्णं
कृत्वा व(व)ह्याडकं त्वया दत्तं ॥३२॥ हे-
- 26 मव(व)ह्याडरानेन बह्याडस्वाः क्षितीश्वर । वा(वा)ह्याणास्तोषिता दानं त्वया व(व)ह्यापणी-
कृतं ॥३३॥ हेमव(व)ह्याडरानेन व(व)ह्याड-
- 27 स्वां धियं भवान् ॥(१) स्वापयन्वा(न्वा)ह्यागृहे वारिधं दत्तवांस्ततः^५ ॥३४॥ व(व)ह्याड
जसिह प्रभुवर भवता दत्त एव द्विजेभ्यस्तदेवास्त-

^{*} The correct form is *salina*.

^१ Read *Sāhijahā*.

^२ The usual form is *Sāhijahā*, but its variant *Sāhijahānes* is here used obviously for the sake of ease in inflection.

^३ *Sandhi* is not regarded here.

- 28 इगृहे वा परतिजतनुभिर्गुजते भावुकं पत् । शंभुर्नृसिंहो नो विधिरपि व(ब)हुधा सृष्टि-
कार्यानिधीनो भानुर्वागीतभानुर्धरभि-
- 29 धरमणे¹ श्रुतिदुःखादिमुक्तः । [1^{*}] ३५ । [1^{*}] व(ब)ह्मादे राजसिंह प्रभुवर भवता वत्त एव
द्विजेभ्यः [की]द्वार्थं तत्सुतानां भवत इतिविषु कंतु-
- 30 कैतोलगोली । शारोहार्थं च नंदिदुहिण्यस्तिसहाहंसकी पंचवक्त्रचिचप्रादानेकनेत्रो भ[वति]
सुरपतिस्तर्जनाय गजास्थः । [1^{*}] ३६ [1^{*}]
- 31 श्रीराजसिंहनुपतिः कलिक(का)लमप्ये कर्तुं न योग्यमतुलं ह्यमेधकर्म प्राप्तुं समस्त-
मधुना ह्यमेधधर्मं पूर्णे तु सप्तदशके शतके मुच²
- 32 वै ॥३७॥ एकोनविंशतिमुतामि च पौधमाते ।³ एकादशीशुभदिने किल शुक्लपक्षे ।
मन्वादिदिव्यदिवसे मधुसूदनाय तैलंगसद्गुरुकु-
- 33 लस्यकठोडिकाय ॥३८॥ इवेतावमुच्यतममुच्यगुणातिगैयमुच्ये[⁴] श्वःसममहो विधितैव वत्वा(स्वा)
। पल्याणहेम[गु]णमेव[सम] च
- 34 भाति प्रायो हरिर्गुरुगुरोर्गुरुचर्चनेन ॥३९॥ संस्थाप्य तथ नवलादितुरंगधनस्कंधे सपुषितमधुरं
मधु[सू]दनाय⁵ । सत्सप्तविंशतिपदा-
- 35 ति ह्यस्य मछ(च्छ)प्रपे[स्थ]⁶ एव धृतवान् ह्यमेध(ध)धर्मं ॥४०॥ सिंहासने स्फुरितचामर-
वीज्यमाता(मधु)क्षत्रोपशोभितशिरा रजितावमेध[⁷] श्रीरामचं-
- 36 इ इव(व) भाति सुलक्षणावपः श्रीराजसिंहनुपतिनुपसिंह एवः । [1^{*}] ४१ । [1^{*}] नवलाव-
तुरंगस्य हेमपल्याणमेधं । कृतवानुचितं भूपो विबु(बु)धं म-
- 37 धुसूदन(नं) ॥४२॥ [मणजी]राजसिंहाव(वि)मुखापाठकमुच्यर्क[⁸] । अप्रेसरं जनेर्मुक्तो विमानि
मधुसूदनः ॥४३॥ इवेतावने दत्तम(भा)ने स्थति⁹ ह्यममसत्पु-
- 38 ष्यतो भास्वरोद्यन्तोर्क¹⁰ श्रीमेदपाटोमबदतिललिता से सभातो मुचर्मा । जिण्युस्त्वं सत्सहस्रेण
इह विबु(बु)धप्रातकागम्यदुष्टो तु-
- 39 यो जेतामुराणां मुक्तगुणमुक्तस्वापको युक्तमेतत् ॥४४॥ दानस्य चास्य नवदि[व्य]सहस्र-
[सं]ख्या दत्वा(स्वा) गुणजगुरोरेव मु-

¹ This *ai* is a corruption from *ai*.² This *daḍa* is not necessary.³ The letter *th* here looks more like *ch* ; compare *ch* in lines 32, 34 above.⁴ Better read *impa*.⁵ Better read *-jakaḥ*.

- 40 रुच्यमुद्राः । काशीनिवासस्य कारितवाग्रदः स्वस्यापि पुत्रा(ष्य)कृतये मधुसूदनस्य ॥४४॥
विश्वेशदर्शनविधौ म[णिक*]णिकाया[स्ती ?]-
- 41 — — — 'वृद्धति[म?]'सपदेवताया । [। पूजा?] सदाशिवमहो नृपराजराजसिंह-
वीरोनुभाय त वनो मधुसूदनाय ॥४५॥ इति धीधृष्टः [सर्गः ।]

Slab VIII : Canto VII

[Metre : vv. 1, 3, 4, 12, 20, 22, 25-28, 30, 31, 34-38, 42, 43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 14-18, 24, 29, 32 *Śrīgāhā* ; vv. 5, 31, 33, 39, 41 *Sārdūlanikṛīḍita* ; vv. 6-11, 19, 23 *Bhujāṅgaṣṭayā* ; v. 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 40, 44 *Upajāti* ; v. 45 *Prthvī*.]

- 1 ॥ धीगणेशाय नमः[*] । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुर्दशमितेवके । राधे^१ शुक्लदश-
म्या(म्या) तु जंत्रयात्रा(त्री) नृपो व्यधात् ॥१॥ मध्योद्यद्भानुकिवा(विवा) द्विजपतिविनु-
2 ता मंगलाद्या बुधातिस्तुत्या जीजातिल(व)द्याः कविकृतनुतपोऽमंरुच्यप्रकाशाः । विस्फूर्जत्सेहिकिया
विदधति चल[न] केतवः किं सहास्ते
- 3 [च]प्रे सोमप्रतापास्तव विजयकृते राजसिंहेति जाने ॥२॥ पादव(र्ध्व)स्वगोलकद्य(च्छ)-
द्यमुंडमाला धन(व)न्यताः । भानि स्वछा(च्छा)ः शत्रुभक्षाः कालिका[ः]
- 4 [कि]त नालि[का] ॥३॥ किं मृत्युदंष्ट्रा(ष्ट्रा)ः किं शत्रुप्राणसंस्थानकंदराः । किं बारि-
शोकभुचक्रव(र)क्तास्वानीह नालिकाः ॥४॥ किं वा वीररसा[व्ये](वि)रेव विलसत्क-
- 5 स्तोत्रमालो — किं वा विलसत्शोकदालपटलेनालंवि(व)तः शोक(स्वीकृ)तः । किं
बारैः स्फुटमेकलिंगमतिती नौलाज्यपद्मान्वितौ^२ रावेदः कवचं दधत्सुहृदिरं लो-
- 6 कंरिति प्रोच्यते ॥५॥ ततो बुधुभीना निनाशप्रतानंमहाकाहलानां च कोलाहलं दध । तथा
सेधवेश्वापि वादिवशब्दहंमानां च [जी]त्कारवारंर'पारैः ॥६॥
- 7 त्रिलोकीमहामंडल(लं) पल्लवंडं वनाः खंडखंडं च(व)भूवेत्यधीचः । धरित्री विवित्रीः^३
भवत्कंपनार्ता स्फुरद्दिगा(ग)जा[*] ।^४ कंदुकीभावमापु[*] ॥७॥ समुलोकमु-
- 8 श्यालिला ऊर्ध्वलोकस्तलाद्यास्तथा सप्त लोका दधत्वाः । सकंपाः समूद्रा[*] प्रशंपाः
सर्वापास्तदंडजे वभु(वभु)वृत्तवाना सशुभाः ॥८॥ जवेनोद्य(च्छ)लंति

^१ The lettering of this line is not clear on the impressions ; consequently the reading is very uncertain.

^२ That is *Vaiṣṇava*.

^३ *Śaṅkha* is not observed here.

^४ Perhaps the intended reading is *par-dhāt*. There is a superfluous *anuvāsa* over *śā*, if that was meant to be placed over *trā* then the reading would be *par-dhāt*.

^५ Instead of *śrair*—road *śrair*.

^६ *Vijaya* is superfluous here ; read *vickṣit*—looked.

^७ This *śāṅka* is not needed.

9. स्म सर्वे समुद्रास्तवाऽशुक्रपादव भद्रालम्बिनः । महोद्रास्तवाऽ[उ]दि(चि)लीभानुकाराः पत-
(तं)ति स्म वं(वृ)क्षाः सदृक्षाः शतार्गैः ॥६॥ अलं स्नेह(च)सीमस्थिताः*]
10. सर्ववीरास्तवा मानुषा मंश(क्षु) विभु स्थिताश्च । विदीर्णोक्तोद्वलोज्ज्वल(ज्ज)कर्णा वमन्ति
स्म रक्तं सुरक्तं मुनेभ्यः ॥१०॥ हृद्यालोचुरोद्भूतधूलौमधुली यथा-
11. स्प(लो)मवाद्वा(हो) च कर्णाशुभोत्वं(त्वां) । पिबं(बं)ति स्फ(स्फु)टं शत्रुपक्षाव(ब)लानां
गुडाक्षपतोत्तालकालिद्विरेकाः*] ॥११॥ महोदयपुरादप्ये भानि नाजवंप्रवेताः । त-
12. मन्मे त्वसुर(रं)गालोचुरैश्चूर्णीकृताविचरं ॥१२॥ रिगसुरंगसुरराजिरजःसमूहंनेहो जलाशयगणाः
स्थलभाषिभाषुः । दृष्ट्वा जगद्गतजलं तम-
13. यो महोद्रा(हो) ज्येष्ठेऽपि वर्धनमहो सहसा चकार ॥१३॥ युष्मज्ज्येष्ठप्रयाणध्वजनिगलितप्राण-
निःप्रा(निष्प्रा)णकानां स्नेहा(च्छा)नां छादनार्थं भवति ह्यसुरोत्पति(त्पत्ति)धु-
14. नीसमूहः । माद्वन्मातंगगलस्थलमलदनुलोद्गमवानावु(तां)वुधुव(दं) हिंदुकानां निधापात्रलितलि-
लकृते स्नेह(च)पक्षस्थितानां ॥१४॥ रिगहृतावता[तां] म(प)दभरवि-
15. गजदूमिसंभ(भू)तगर्ताः प्रोत्तोत्तकर्णवातेः प्रचलितविलसत्पर्वतानामजर्वाः । प्रावाणः प्राणहीन-
प्रतिभटकुटि(टि)तस्नेह(च)कानां तनूनां प्रक्षेपाद्या(व्या)-
16. दनार्थं स्वत इह नृप ते जंजवात्रासु जाताः*] ॥१५॥ खंगो जातप्रभंगो भवति भयभू-
तोत्संगरंगः कलिंगो खंगः पूर्वाति(ति)संगः कलकलकलितोप्युत्कतो
17. निःक(निष्क)सदृशः । शीघ्रित्वं मेधिलेपि स्फुरति भयमयकोद्रको गीहली(लो)को देशः पुष्ये
विगवं(वं)स्तव विजयक(कृ)ते प्रासपाणे प्रयाणे ॥१६॥ संकार्तकाकुलामू-
18. स्कारगस्तव(ब)लाक(कं)कणा कुक्काशा कर्णाटः सत्कपाटश्चत इह मलयो द्राविडो द्रावि-
तेज्ञः देशश्चोत्तव लोत्तश्चत इह भयात्केतुवत्सेतुवं(वं)-
19. यः श्रीरामारामसिंह प्रभुवर भवतो जंजवात्रोत्(त्त)वेधु ॥१७॥ सीराष्ट्रो हा(हो)नराष्ट्रः
प्रभवति सकलः बाह्य(कच्छ)देशोप्यनद्य(च)ष्ट(ष्ट)ट्टा हृष्टतिहीना वि-
20. गलति कलको रोमधर्ता — — — संचारः साधकारी धनदविगधुना विधंना
धावतेद्धा श्रीरामारामसिंह क्षितिधरा भवतो जं[त्र*]पात्रोत्तवेस्मिन् ॥१८॥ इरी-
21. बाजनास्ते इरीवा(वां)सभाजो जना मादिलस्थास्तथा स्थादिलस्थाः [।*] जनाः फूनिवायाः*
शिरोधूलि[या]सास्त्वदोषप्रवाणे सुमानेशरत्न ॥१९॥ राहुना-

* Sandhi is not observed here.

* These three syllables are missing.

* For the sake of the rhetoric embellishment Yasaka, we may, as in the original, read this syllable as da.

* There is a superfluous sign of anusvara over this letter.

- 22 यादिचवहेलाऽवीनच(वे)ताः सुघोषितः । सववेतासुघीरवेला भसुंहनाकुनोभवत् ॥२०॥ एवा
साहिपुरा प्रवाहितमुक्ता सा केकरी किंकरीभावं वा
- 23 विदधाति [मं]सु सभयाऽक्षिभरिः सांभरिः । आज्ञाज्जातपुराविवातनमहो दुःखावरः सावरः
धीरानामपिराजसिंह भवति तज्जेप्रमात्रे(प्रो)त्तये
- 24 ॥२१॥ गीडजातोपभूपाना देशः कलेत्रविशेषवान् । धनद्व(न्द्व)ः कद्व(न्द्व)वाहाना जंत्रया-
प्राप्तु वेभवत् ॥२२॥ रजस्तंभसंस्थाः रजस्तंभमुक्ताः प्रमत्ते-
- 25 रास्तेपि कलेपुरस्थाः । व(व)मानाजना दूरसंस्पृष्टपांना जमार्थं प्रवाणे खुमानेश ते स्युः
॥२३॥ मेरी सक्ष्माजमेरी विषय उदभय(यं) जायते स्कीतफेरी
- 26 कोडाद्या मं(मां)ति सोडाद्यवनिषु गलितत्राणमाना व(व)माना । धत्ते कलेपुरं न क्षणनपि
न गुलं दक्षमुडे तवाड(डा) धीरानाराजसिंह क्षितिप जयक(कु)तेऽमानमानो(ने)
प्रया-
- 27 मे ॥२४॥ पर्वमेवाजवर्गवेत्तु(वंगवैत्तु)दितं भवती भट्टः । दरीवा(वा)नगरं । सुन्यदरीभावं
समादधी(धी) ॥२५॥ मंडपास्ते साक्षितस्य(लेभ्य)क्षिता घोषस्तु तद्भूटाः । डावि-
(वि)-
- 28 शतिसहस्राणि कृष्णमुद्रावलेवंदु [ः^१] ॥२६॥ वनहेडास्थिता धीरा राने(ने)द भवत(ते)
वदुः । सडि(डि)शतिसं(त)हस्तो(सो)षड्प्यमुद्राः करं परं ॥२७॥ धीराः साहिपु-
- 29 राधीरा रानेद भवते वदुः । डाविंशतिसहस्र(सो)षड्प्यमुद्रा[ः^२] करे(रं) वरं ॥२८॥
तोडाया(या) प्रेषयित्वा भटपदतभूतो रापसिहस्य राजः कत्तेवं(वं)दं सहस्र(स)-
- 30 जयमित्तुभटञ्जाजमानं प्रवानं । वण्टि(ण्टि)स्फूर्जत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतसन्मुद्रिकासंशयवंदं तन्मात्रा
संप्रणीतं प्रहरवकास्तस्यं गृहीत्वा वि-
- 31 भासि ॥२९॥ सहो धीरमदेवस्य पुरं महिरवं पटं । राजन्वद्धौ जुहोति स्म कोपि कोयो-
ज्जुटी भटः ॥३०॥ मशान्मासपुरे राजतञ्जनीमातातिलुट-
- 32 नं । शीर्षाऽज्जोके रचितबालो(वैक्कलो)कनंवादिमावाधि ॥३१॥ युत्तमादि(दि)गतु(सु)रंगप्रनु-
रखुदपुदंश्चू[गितानं(नां)] पुरेस्मिन्पुर्वाणां शकंराणां पटुकरदिध-
- 33 टाकर्णतत्तप्रवातेः । उट्टीना[नां] समूर्हजंननिधय इमे पूरिताः क्षारभावं मुक्ता मिण्डावभाजः
क(क)त्^३ इति भ[वता] भूप विषो(वो)पकारः ॥३२॥ जाते साल-

¹ The sense as well as the reading of this verse is obscure. Compare the printed text.

² There is a superfluous sign of annexation over this letter.

³ This *kyāṭ* goes with *upakāra*.

- 34 पुरस्य लुटनविधौ सख(ख)कराणां पुरः कर्पूरप्रकरस्य वा हव्युरोद्धृतसूड रजः । उद्धीन
गगने विभाति भवतो भूयो मया तर्कितं श्रीरानामणि-
- 35 राजसिंहनुपतेः कीर्त्त[ः^१] प्रकाशः परः ॥३३॥ मुख(ख)वदमुख(ख)हारास्ते कनकं कन-
कोपमं । प्रवालप्रवालानां च प्राचुर्योलुटनेभवत् ॥३४॥ मुकुर्बुदाः
- 36 मुकुर्बुर्णाः^२ सहरिष्टाः प्रवालकाः । हृष्ट्य(भ्य)श्च गृहेभ्यश्च संप्राप्ता लुटने जनैः ॥३५॥
मुजातकपकं तीक्ष्णं श्वेतगोमं जलमृदुः । नानास्लेख(ख)-
- 37 मुखं दृष्टं पतितं पवि लुटने ॥३६॥ लुटने लुटनकरंलुटितं येन नत्त्वया । तस्मै प्रदत्तं
तद्दृष्ट्वा तद्योदारं(र)चरित्रता ॥३७॥ प्राप्ता भूयानता र-
- 38 का निःशंका घनलाभतः । लुटने पुरभूपस्तु ति(नि)र्धना रकता गताः ॥३८॥ लक्ष्मी-
सम्पत्तिकल्पवृक्षसुरभीहालाधनुर्वाजिनः शला-
- 39 श्वेदसुधागजेदमुमनःस्त्रीवैद्यविद्याया(ध)राः । लोकमालपुरोल्लसज्जलनिधेमयेषु रत्नागमलं लभ्या-
नोति विविधमत्र न विष(ध)क(के)नापि स-
- 40 खं(खं) तथा के(ख)चित् ॥३९॥ सुवर्णमूल्यस्य तु कप्यमुद्रिका सद्रस्तुनो मूल्यमभूद्विलुटने ।
सद्रूप्यमुद्रामितवस्तुनः पुनः कथोपि कर्पस्य(स्य) वरा-
- 41 टकं तथा ॥४०॥ स्त्रीयवा(वा)ह्यमंडलीकृतमहाहोमग्निहोत्रोष्टभियंतेभूरिभूतादिवस्तुरक्ताजीर्णस्य
शाल्यो(त्यं) मुजे । वहे(हे)र्नालपुरं
- 42 [शुभी]प(ध)धम्यं होमीकृतं मुष्टवान्मये सांख्यमेव पांडव इव श्रीराजसिंहो मूपः ॥४१॥
टोकं च सांभरिं ग्रामान्ता(माला)लसोदं च वाटम् । रानेदमुमदा जिं(जि)-
त्वा वंदयि-
- 43 [त्वा] ख(ब)भुर्भुशं ॥४२॥ रानाग्रमरसिंहोत्र व(व)नी ग्रामद्वयं स्थितः । राजसिंहः
स्थितस्तत्र विषं नवदिवायधि ॥४३॥ धनावु(धु)मुक्त्वाइनिनिम्नगाऽगता नवो भव-
- 44 स्वेव हि नीचगामिनी । विघ्न(घ्नो)कृतो नीचतया तथा ततः^३ श्रीराजसिंहः^३ स्वपुरे
समागतः ॥४४॥ मनोज्ञतदणीयमभितगवाक्षपक्षद्वये विचित्रपदघट-
- 45 नाविलसदद्रुहृष्टे पुनः । समुद्रुदभट्टयुक्ते करदिसद्वदाटोपके महोदयपुरे नवः प्रविशति स्म
वीरोधतः ॥४५॥ इति रातप्रशस्तिमहाकाव्ये सप्तमः^३ सर्गः^३

^१ Meaning 'undescribable'^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

46 [गज]वर कल्याणतत(त्)पुत्र र(रं)गन(ना)य आत्र उरन्ध्र तत(त्)पुत्रजातात्पत्न्याः जसा-
हरजीनततोमपुरागोत्र¹

Slab IX : Canto VIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 9, 12-16, 18-43, 46-52 *Anuṣṭuph* ; vv. 5, 6, 44, 45 *Upajit* ; v. 7 *Indravajr* ; vv. 8, 53, 54 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 10, 11, 17 *Bhujangaprayāṇa*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [1*] शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते चतुर्दशमितेऽवधे । शिशिरे आहनिनदी-
तीरस्थे स्वेष्ट(ष्ठ)भातके ॥२॥ आ(ओ)र(रं)गजेव(व) दिग्वीश(शं) वात(तं) धृत्वाण-
त-
- 2 स्मृते । अरिसिंहं प्रपि(हि)तवान् आतर(रं) नृपतिस्ततः ॥२॥ अरिसिंहः² सिंहनद-
पत(पं)तं गतवान्दशे । अरिसि(सिं)हाय दिग्वीशः स इ(ह)गरपुरादिकान् ॥३॥
- 3 देशाग्नजादि तत्सर्वं अरिसिंहः सम(मा)प्यवत् । श्रीरामसिंहचरणे सोऽस्मै योग्यं दरी मुदा
॥४॥ गते शते सप्तदे(द)शे तु वर्षे चतुर्दशाव्ये व(व)हुषा-
- 4 णवर्षे । सूनाक्षमोदयंवर(रे)ण युद्ध(डं) श्रीरंगजेव(व)स्य चित्तवृत्तस्य ॥५॥ मुने कुमारं
तिरदारसिंहं स जेवयामास नृपः पुरं । श्रीरंगजेव(व)स्य पुरः
- 5 स्थितोऽसी रणे कुमारो जयवान्स जात(तः) ॥६॥ श्रीरंगजेव(व)ः तिरदारसि(सिं)हवीराय
देशाग्नजाद्यदातः । री(रा)काङ्क्षितोऽप्येव(व) सप्त(वं) योग्य(ग्यं) स चास्मै
- 6 प्रदत्ते नृपत्रः ॥७॥ पूर्वं सप्तदशे शते सरपतिः सत्पौडशाक्षपेदके³ आकाशोत्तमठकुरेर्गिरिधरं
तं ईगराष्ट्रे पुरे । सद्राज्यं किल राजानं विदधता
- 7 कृत्वात्मनः सेवकं ।⁴ प्रेम्णास्मै प्रदत्तो मुपोग्रममङ्गलं सेवां व्यधाद्राजतः ॥८॥ शते सप्तदशे
पूर्वं वदे(वं) आ(ओ)दशनामके । आवणे तु वनाकाण्यदेवं इ-
- 8 ष्टं नृपो ययौ ॥९॥ भट्टं हृष्टं राजलाक्ष्यं(वं)लाक्ष्यः प्रच(चं)ड(डं)श्च वेत(तं)डकार्यपेता-
(ता) । गृहीत्वा महाबाहिनीं राजसिंहः प्रतस्थे जसादप्रद(दे)शेषणाय ॥
- 9 ॥१०॥ ततो दुर्धमिप्रोच्चगर्भं जिताम्बारवंः पाश्वदेऽस्थितानां जनानां । सिद्धीर्णानि वञ्चासि
यक्षो विविभं(भं) महाराज(ल)स्यापि मण्डप(ड)नस्य ॥११॥ भा-

¹ Reading of this line is not certain ; its language is not Sanskrit. The list of mssms giving here may be compared with that occurring towards the end of Slabs III, VI, IX and XXV.

² The correct form should be *arisaṇḍa*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 10 लीकलुवतानाख्यं चोहाणं तं महाबलं । रावं सबलसिंहाख्यं रघुनाथाख्यरावतं ॥१२॥
चोडापत(त्) मुहकनसिंह(सिंह) अष्टावतोत्तमं [१^०] एतानुरा(रो)य-
- 11 ताकृत्वा^१ एतेषां बा(बा)हुमथ्रयम् ॥१३॥ स रावतो हरासिंहो यमो देवलिप(या)-
पुरात् । बागत्वं राजसिंहस्य राजवंस्य पदेऽप्यसत् ॥१४॥ कन्दमुद्रामुपवाशत्-
- 12 ह्य्याणि मयैवपत् । मनरावतनामानं करिणं करिणोमपि ॥१५॥ अते सप(प्त)वशे पूर्ण
वर्षे प(प)वदशाभिषे । वंशाये(षे) कृष्णनवमोदिवते श्रीमवासरे ॥१६॥
- 13 महाराजसिंहस्य बांसबालेज्जगार्थं कतेचंदमयी प्रतल्पे । चम्पू प(प)धराजसहज्जद्वारमंहत-
कुरेर्गुडितां ता(तां) गृहीत्वा ॥१७॥ ततः समरास(रसि)-
- 14 हस्य रावलस्याय(ब)लस्य वै । लजस(त्)क्या रूप्यमुद्रा देशवानं च हस्तिनी ॥१८॥ यत्
वंडं वंशायां कृत्वाऽप्यस्यय(य)हिषु । राणे(षे) कतेचंदो भू-
- 15 स्य(स्यं) कृत्वैव रावल(त्) ॥१९॥ वंश प्रामाण्येशवानं रूप्यमुद्रावलेनृपः । सविंशतिसहस्राणि
रावलाय ददौ मुद्रा ॥२०॥ श्रीराजसिंहस्यचनात्क-
- 16 नेचंडः स ठक्कुरः । चके देवलिगार्जंग(मं) हरोसि(सिंह)ः पत्तायित(तः) ॥२१॥ हरिसिंहस्य
माता तु गृहीत्वा श्रीममागता । प्रतापसिंहं विदधे प्रसन्नं
- 17 राजवंशिणं ॥२२॥ रूप्यमुद्रासहस्राणि विंशत्याणां हस्तिनी(नी) । वंड(डं) प्रकल्प्य स्वल्पं
स कतेचंदो वयामप[ः] ॥२३॥ राणे(षे)द्वारभाभ्यर्णे 'शान(ना)यामा-
- 18 स तं व(व)लात् । प्रतापसिंहं जातस्तत्कतेचंडः प्रभोः प्रिय[ः^२] ॥२४॥ अषे(षे)राजं
[सि]रोहो(षं) रावं भवततम(मं) स्फुटं । प्रेम्णैव वरप(यं) कृतवानराजसिंहो महीप-
- 19 तिः ॥२५॥ अते सप्तवशे पूर्णं षोडशेवैव फाल्गुने । बंधूबारीमहापट्टे शैलशिलप्टे नृपो
व्यधात् ॥२६॥ द्विचक्रकरधराभ(भं) सा(लो)हृगप्रोच्चकील-
- 20 युक् । चैरियोपाटन(नं) प्रोच्चकपाटयुगलं वचत् ॥२७॥ अनगंलद्विचक्रितार्गंलरुपागंलायुता(तां)
सिंहप्रकोष्ठः(ष्ठं) सत्वोष्ठं द्वारं द्विद्वारवारणं ॥२८॥
- 21 कुलकं । अते सप्तवशे पूर्णं वर्षे सप्तवशे ततः । गत्वा [कु]लपट्टे विजय(ये) म[ह]त्पा
स(सि)नया धृतः ॥२९॥ दिल्लीशार्थं रक्षिताया राजसिंहनरेव-
- 22 दः । राजोडरुपसिंहस्य पुत्र्याः प्राणिग्रहं व्यधात् ॥३०॥ एकानावशात(एकोनविंशति) स्वयं गते
सप्तवशे अते । मेघर्षं देशवतनां(नो)त्सकापत(त्) धन(धनान्)नृपः ।

^१ Smudhi is not observed here.^२ First रं was engraved, but later on it was corrected into र by scoring out the right hand vertical stroke.

- 23 ॥३१॥ मीनाजिर्जंतमीनामान् रुवा(डा) बवा(डा)तिवक(दुष्क)रान् [१^०] ल(लं)इयामामुर-
धिकं मीनासे(सं)स्य महामदाः ॥३२॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहो मेवलं
- 24 स्वसितं वदी । स्वीपराज्यपथ्येभ्यो धासोहृषयानि [२^०] ॥३३॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते
विशत्याह्वयस्तरे । श्रीराजसिंहस्मात्तः सा(सि)रोही-
- 25 नगरे गतः ॥३४॥ रानावतो रामसिंहः सत्तम्यो रावमाकुल(लं) । पुत्रेणोदयभानेन रुद्र-
कऽमायचहुत्तात् ॥३५॥ अक्षेराजं तस्य राज्ये स्वा-
- 26 पयामास तत्सुष्टं । राणा मित्रारिराज्यानां स्वापकोत्पापका इति ॥३६॥ शते सप्तदशे
पुन^२ एकविंशतिनामके । वर्षे मार्गोऽसिताष्ट-
- 27 म्यां राजसिंहा(हो) महीपतिः[] ॥३७॥ अनुपसिंहमुपस्य वा(वा)धेलावाधवप्रभोः । भावसिंह-
कुमाराय कन्यामजवकुवार(वरि) ॥३८॥ संकल्प्य विधि-
- 28 ना वत्वा(त्वा) महाराजग्यपंक्तये । गोवजाष्टग्यकन्यानामष्टायां नवसिं वदी ॥३९॥ अथापं
पां(पा)कशाखायां राजसिंहो नरं(रे)श्वरः । भावसिंह-
- 29 कुमारार्धवीधवीपेस्तु वा(वा)हुजे^३ ॥४०॥ अस्पर्शभोजिभिः ताकमुपविष्टो विशिष्टभाः । कु-
र्वाणो भोजनं भाति वाधवीपेस्तदेरित(ते) ।
- 30 ॥४१॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य यदन्नमतिपायनं । तज्जगन्नाथरायस्य प्रसादात् न स(सं)शयः
॥४२॥ तदन्नभोजिग्ये(नो) ह्यष्ट वय(यं) प्राप्ताः १-
- 31 विजता । हृष(य)गजाम्बु(म्बु)षणानि वरेभ्योऽस्म(स्म)हीपतिः[] ॥४३॥ पुन^२ शते सप्तदशे
सुवर्षे तत्रैकविंशता(त्य)भिधे तु माघे । सुकन्यमुद्राद्विसहस्र-
- 32 हेमहता शुभोपस्कारपुरिता(तां) च ॥४४॥ सूर्योपराने तु हिरण्यकामधेनुं महादानमवात्स-
क्यां । व्याघात(सु)तां वा गजमीनिकाण्य(व्यं)
- 33 गजं वदी धीरव(रो) नरं(रं)[] ॥४५॥ शत(ते) सप्तदशे पुन^२ पञ्चविंशतिनामके । वय-
(वं) माघे राजसिंहो वज्रभ्यो(भ्यां) [शुक्लपक्षके ॥४६॥ व ?]दीधामे
- 34 तदग्न्योत्सवं कृष्यमुतां व्यधात् । नामाकरोत्तद[]गस्य जनाज्ञामर इत्ययं ॥४७॥ वदी
गरीवदासाण्यपुरोहितवराय सः । व(वा)मं
- 35 तु गृणहंशाय तथा देवपुराभिधं ॥४८॥ षट्(ष्ट) तथानि सहस्राणि^४ अष्टाशीतिमिताम्बहो ।
सप्तानि कन्यमुद्राणां तदग्रे भद्रदाय-

¹ The sign for *amgā* after *ka* is not required. The intended reading seems to be *rudāham=amgā yad=*
balah.

² *Sandha* is not observed here.

³ *Bāhujī* means *Kāhūtrijī*.

- 36 के ॥४६॥ जनावेनामपुक्तायाः स्वमातुः^[*] स्वर्गसंस्थितेः । अर्धय[ग]मास सुहृत् राजसिंह
इव नृपः^[*] ॥४७॥ तयोदयपुरे त्वस्मिन्नि-
- 37 ने राजनृपोक्षितः । महाराजकुमारश्रीजयसिंहो महाश्रिया ॥४८॥ उत्तरे^१ रंगसरसस्तडागस्या-
करोन्मुदा । महादानानि
- 38 कृतवान्वोरो वा(वा)न्येतिपुण्यकृत् ॥४९॥ श्रीराजोदयसि(सि)हमुनुरनवत्^२ श्रीमत्प्रतापः^[*] सुत-
स्तस्य श्री(श्री)प्रमदरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्ण-
- 39 सिंहो[स्य] वा । पुत्रो राजजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः^[*] श्रीज[य^{*}]-
सि(सि)ह एष(ष) कृतवान्वोरः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥५०॥ पूर्वे स-
- 40 तदशे शते सप्तसि वा सप्तुजि(र्ज)नाष्ट्ये दिने द्वाविंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः
॥(१) काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टज-
- 41 तयैरुत्तमैस्तद्वर्जनासंपूर्णं रणद्योदभट्टरचितं रावप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५१॥ इति श्रीसप्त(ष्ट)मः सर्गः ।
संवत्(त्) १७१८
- 42 प्रभरे संवत् सत्तरेतेष्वठारहोत्तरावर्ये माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तमीदीवसे बुधवारे श्रीराजसमु-
द्रो वा-
- 43 रंभरो भौहृत कीचोजी । संवत् १७२२ प्रभरे संवत् सत्तरेतेष्वतीताविरये माघमासे
सुकलपक्षे पुरणमा-
- 44 सीदिवसे बृहस्पतिवारे श्रीराजसमुद्ररी^३ प्रतोष्टा कीचोजी श्रीजीराजसमुद्रभो[डो]रोवीन ६ माहे
भो[डो]रोफेरेने
- 45 पा[छा]पधारेणेतुला सोनारीवितेने^४ समस्त ब्राह्मणभाटचारणने दान दीचोजी । भट्टरणद्योदजोपुत्रमु-
- 46 तलयभोनाथ ॥ गजधरकल्याणजी नजधरमोहनजी उरजणजी सुयजी केसोजी सुवरजी
जाताजी जातसोमपुरावास उर्वेपु[र] ॥५२॥

Slab X : Canto IX

[Metres : vv. 1, 14, 15, 34, 46 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2-13, 16, 18-32, 36, 38-40, 42, 43, 45, 48
Anuakṣubh ; vv. 17, 37 *Upajāti* ; v. 33 *Giti* ; v. 41 *Mandākrantā* ; vv. 44, 47 *Śrughurā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीमणेशाय नमः [१^{*}] वृत्तस्योदुपगोभितः प्रवितस्तत्पापज्जलोलवाग्रीन्लोलम्भकराद्य(च्च)-
कुंडलधरो राजीवराजाक्षयः । माणि-

^१ Sandhi is not observed here.

^२ From here to the end the language is the local dialect.

^३ This phonetic change of Hindi *ay* into *āy* in Rajasthani may be noted.

^४ *It* is the indicative of the genitive same as Hindi *us*.

^५ The sense is that it took 8 days to go round the lake, and when Rājāsūha returned, he performed the *śānti* ceremony.

^६ The names of the masons are also given above, towards the close of Slabs III, VI and VIII as well as below at the end of Slab XXV.

2. बभ्रोज्ज(रुत्त)लहीरकोत्तममहाभूषः प्रवर्तनसम(न्) भृ(भृ)गारामुत्तसागरस्तव भूदे गोवर्द्धनोद्धारकः
॥१॥ महाराजाधिराज-
3. श्रीजगत्सिंहे विराजति । वस्त्ररेष्टनवत्याख्ये शते षोडशके गते ॥२॥ श्रीकुमारपदे पूवे(वे)
राजसिंहे यथो प्रति । दुर्गे जैसल-
4. मेराण्य पाणिग्रहहते तदा ॥३॥ द्वादशाब्दव्या एव प्रवया इव वृ(वृ)द्धिमान् । द्वादशा-
त्मस्फुरतेजा इ(ई)दृशी मतिमावचे ॥४॥ ओषु(षु)दा स-
5. नषाब्दच सिवाली च भिगावै(दा) । मौचंना च पसो(व^१)च्च खेडी छापख(खे)दिका
॥५॥ तासील मेवाघरको भानो ग्रामो लुहानकः । बांसोल गु-
6. इत्ती^२ एषा^३ कांकरोली मटा^४ इति ॥६॥ ग्रामाणां सोमिन् हृष्टा व्मा तदागकरभोचिता ।
स्वमनः स्वापयामास व(व)द्धमत्र जलाशयं ॥७॥ यम-
7. कार्ये मतेयैसां शमोहैसां सदा रणे । यदा राज्यस्य कर्तायं भूवो भर्ताभवत्तदा ॥८॥
शते सप्तवसे पूर्व^५ अष्टादशमितेख्यके । मासे मा-
8. गे यथो इष्टं रुपनारायणं हरिं ॥९॥ तदनां बोध्य वमुषां तदायं व(व)द्धमुद्यतः ।
पुरोवसाकरोम्भं कार्यं स्यादिति सोषवत् ॥१०॥ अ-
9. डा पूर्णाऽविरोधित्वं दिल्लीशेन अयो व(व)द्धः । इत्यस्येति भवेत्वेत्स्याद्[र]जोक्तं स्मा-
रथं ततः ॥११॥ पुरो हितकर्त्ता^६ श्रीमत्पुरोहितपुर-
10. सरः । पुरोहितजयो राजा कार्यं कर्तुमथोद्यतः ॥१२॥ अक्षय्ययोः पर्वतयोर(रं)तरे गोमती
नदी(दी) । रोद्धुं ज(व)द्धं महोत्तं रामेन्द्रो वस्तमाव-
11. मे ॥१३॥ पूर्णे सप्तवशानिधे तु शतके स्वाष्टादशाख्येख्यके माघे कृष्णनुपक्षके कित वृषे
सप्तप्तमोवातरे । इ(ई)दृक्कसंख इहेव-
12. आह्वययुते कलि(काले) तु कार्यं कृते स(सं)ख्यातः खलु नामतोपि च समो मे बांछि-
ताथो भवेत् ॥१४॥ पुनो(णे)वेति च सप्तसागरवशावाष्टादश-
13. द्वीपकक्षेष्वा(ष्वा) स्वीयपशःप्रकाशकृतये भाग्यो मम स्यात्स्वचित् । कृष्णः पञ्चकरो नृपाः
स्तुतिकराः सप्तप्तमोविश्रुव(वं)
14. श्रीव्यार्धं तु जलाशयस्य कृतवान्भूपो नृहर्षप्रहं ॥१५॥ सेतुं व(व)द्धं व(व)द्धपर्वतचिजलनि-
बधेः । जनैः खननमारब्धं लुब्धैश्च य-

^१ The sign of *anundaka* over *sa* is meant to be over *ga*.

^२ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^३ Syntactically the word *śahas* should come after *iti* at the end of this verse.

^४ In this verse there is obviously a play on the numerals of the date the details of which are contained in the foregoing stanza.

- 15 नलस्वये ॥१६॥ तदोद्भूतः षष्टिसहस्रसंमितः समुद्रतमो^१ सगरात्मजयेषा [१^२] अकारि भूमेः
सत(न)नं तपामुभिं कर्तुं द्वितीयं^३ रचितं न-
- 16 कोटिभिः ॥१७॥ अन्तर्गते सनते तत्र जायमाने जनेः कृते । पुत्रिव्यां पुत्रयो जातौ
म(मु)त्तिकोपेन पर्वताः ॥१८॥ महत्कार्यं महाराणा
- 17 मत्वा साधारणैर्जनैः । न सवेत्तुस्यं स्थित्वा कारयन्माति युक्तता ॥१९॥ मत्वा^४ रानो
महा(ह)त्कार्यं सेतुबंध(बंधं) नृब(ब)धहृत् । स्वस्याग्ने^५ का-
- 18 रवाभास तपेव कृतवान्मनुः ॥२०॥ कार्यस्य महतो ह्यस्य कृत्वा भागाननेकाशः । राज-
न्यादिकधन्येभ्यो दत्तवांस्ताम्ररा-
- 19 र्णतः ॥२१॥ सेतुद्विधं कृते पुत्रव्याः पृष्ठे स्थापयितुं शिलाः । जलनिःसारणं कर्तुं प्रयत्नं
कृतवाधूपः ॥२२॥ शकं पराक्रमैः क(का)लमा-
- 20 युष[१] धनवं जनेः । जित्वापु(बु)धर्षणे राणा वक्ष्य(ण) जेतुमुद्यतः ॥२३॥ तदा अकम्पता
तत्र घटीयंत्र(धे)न मष्ट(लु)तं । युवयुक्तेन कार्यस्य
- 21 साह(हा)य्यमुचितं हि तत् ॥२४॥ क्रियमाणे घटीयंत्रैर्जलनिःसारणे जनेः । तेषां तत्को(त्का)-
यंकरणं सार्धकः स घटीगणः ॥२५॥ स्वतंत्रैश्च
- 22 घटीयंत्रैरस्वतंत्रैः स्फुरद्भूषैः । घटीमात्रेण घटितैर्भूरि निःसारितं जलं ॥२६॥ जलपत्रैर्ब(बं)-
हुविर्वरुणपरि कल्पितैः । लोकेभू-
- 23 पृष्ठनं नीरं सर्वं हृ(हृ)रीकृतं द्रुतं ॥२७॥ अस्मिन्नरतखंडे तु यावतः सीतं साग्रतं ।
जलनिःसारणोपाधस्तावतः कल्पिता इह ॥२८॥
- 24 गुणिभिः सूत्रधारैश्च पामरैरपि ये पुनः । जलनिःसारणोपाधाः प्रोक्तास्ते निर्मिता इह
॥२९॥ इतो निःसारितं नीरं सारणोत्तम-
- 25 रैः परैः । ग्रामे ग्रामे जलनैर्न(नं) ग्रामा नगरतां गताः ॥३०॥ यथा ज्योतिषसारण्या
वासा[रः*] श्रेष्ठस(सा)धनं । कृतं तपामु(बु)सारण्यावस-
- 26 रः श्रेष्ठसाधन(नं) ॥३१॥ एवं नानाप्रकारेण जलं निःसार्य सर्वतः । सेतुबंध(बंध)पृष्ठे
लोकेभू(भू)पृष्ठे प्रकटीकृत(कृतं) ॥३२॥ प्रथम(धे)-

^१ The way of writing the syllable *apṛ* is peculiar: one would read it rather *apṛ*.

^२ The annexed sign meant to be placed over *ya* appears as the following letter, i.e., *ya*.

^३ There is a superfluous annexed sign over *hai*.

^४ The expression *easy-hyd* is a literal rendering of the Hindi or Hindustani idiom *agar panna* 'dancing in one's own presence', which, however, literally means 'in front of one's own self'.

- 27 नीरवर्धो जित इन्द्रो गिरिधरेण कृष्णेन । वरुणाः परीक्षपुरितजलो जितो राम तस्व-
यो(या) चित्रं ॥३३॥ पु(पु)णं सप्तवशं शतेन उदिते दि-
- 28 व्यंकविंशत्यभिध्याप्ताख्ये दिक्से षष्ठोऽशिकाया दम्बाख्यया[स्ते] शुभे । वंशाखे सितपक्षके
खत्तु विधोवरे किलेतादृशे काले भा-
- 29 विमुक्तार्थसूचकसमानार्थद्वयज्जायते ॥३४॥ जंबूद्वीपवन्द्यसप्तवशानु द्वीपेषु कौट्यन्तिर्मे नि(नि)धी
कनि(प्रि)रयंकविंशतिमहा-
- 30 कुःखस्थलावृष्टये । पक्षेऽश्वत्थित्वयमे कुलमह(हा)शाखाविवृष्टे सदा लाभार्थं सितपक्षकस्य
व(व) विधुस्वाह्वावकत्वाप्तये ॥३५॥ धीराणा-
- 31 राजसिंहोयं सेतोः सत्यवपुरनं । कर्तुं मुहूर्तं कृतवानवपहव(व)नाम्बितः ॥३६॥ कुलकं ।
गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो
- 32 रणछोडरायः महाशिलां पंचसुरात्पुष्पांसावी एवं तत्र पदस्य पूरये(स्ये) ॥३७॥ वृद्धोपलप्र-
दानेन सुधाधानेन पत(ल)तः । सतोः पदस्या-
- 33 जलत्वमसरत्वं कृत(तं) जनेः ॥३८॥ महासेतोः प्रथं(वं)पेन्मिन्महाकार्यं महागजेः । सुधा-
पूर्णं समानीतं परिपूर्णं न चाद्रुतं ॥३९॥ सर्वतो
- 34 मुखकपस्य जलस्य मुखमुद्रणं । धीरावरकृता युक्तं राजसिंहं त्वया कृत(तं) ॥४०॥
शिखान्धेयी जलगण इह क्षमाप सर्वं सहोद्यमुद्भिन
- 35 स्त्रीयं वयस्त्रिषवं हृष्टमात्रं त्वया तु । गर्नवाप्रोचितमिति शिलाभेनिभिः क्षारचूर्णाऽऽपूर्णा-
भिर्वाक्तरतुलमुखोन्मुद्रणं सुष्टमेव
- 36 ॥४१॥ मूलं कामोति राण्डेय यत्र तत्रोचितय(य)नात् । शंबर^१ं मूर्धितं तन्वन् युक्तं
सेतुप्रथं(वं)युक्तं ॥४२॥ कव(वं)धनिकमजयी या^२वरद्वजपो-
- 37 यकः । रामकमानिरामोति सेतुं वक्ष्या(वक्ष्या)ति युक्तता ॥४३॥ गोत्रेणकेन यत्र
हरिरमितजगं दूरतः शक्यमुक्तं सप्ताहं श्रीम[ता] तद्वरण-
- 38 समुचितं कारि दुरीत(कृ)तं हि । धात्वात्तत्वं सुषोभातुलितभरभूता ता(स्या ?)स्त्रिषो(क*)-
प्रपु(पु)र्तिस्त्वत्कीर्तिः कृष्णकीर्त्तरेभि भवति परा कृष्णभक्तस्य वी-

^१ *Ghaṭṭaśiraṣya*.

^२ Again a play on the date mentioned in the preceding verse.

^३ The five conventional gems are : *śilāka*, *vajra*, *pramāṇa*, *śaṅkha* and *prasaḍa*.

^४ Note the double meaning here, *śambhar* = water and *Śambhar* = the name of the demon who was slain by Prahlada.

^५ *Kaṇṭha* = a demon slain by Rāma ; *ka-banṭha* = 'drowning of water'.

^६ *Vāra* 'monkey' ; *śa-śara* 'and man'.

- 39 र ॥४४॥ श्रीराजसिंहः प्रथमं शरीव(बं)धमकारयत् । महासेतोरतः पञ्चमसेभरो
व(बं)धन(नं) दुर्द्ध ॥४५॥ मत्स्याः पांडरवत्पतद्वधः सेतो-
- 40 स्त(स्तु) भा[ने परे पातालात्किल निर्गताः शुभतरं गर्भोदकं निःसृतं । तेनोत्तं त्विह
सूत्रधारनिपुणैरभोत्स्य]¹गाथं भवेद्रूपाताय निवेदितं नरपतिः धृत्वा स्मितास्योभयत्
॥४६॥ रामो नाभोपसायं जितिशिरसि न वा कारयामास सेतुं गोत्रं-
- 41 श्राव्यानरंवा(वां)दुद्ध इति धनुष(वा ?) दानरामु(रोमु ?) व(ब)भंज [1^{*}] दुरीकृत्यामु(वु)-
पृष्ठे भूय इह मुनरैः सृष्टवान्मूपलैस्त्वं सन्वृणं रामवंध्याधिकदुद्ध
- 42 इति ते तत्कृपातोस्ति सेतुः ॥४७॥ स्थले जलाशयः सृष्टो जले सेतो[ः] स्थलं त्वया ।
कांतारे नग[रं] सृष्टं वीर ते देवपुण्यता ॥४८॥ इति भट्टरि(ट्टर)-
- 43 पञ्चोदकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्तिकाव्ये नवमः सर्गः ।

Slab XI : Canto X

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 10-12, 16-19, 22-25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37-39 *Upejāli* ; vv. 5-7, 9, 13-15, 20, 21, 33-36, 40-43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 8 *Sragdhārā* ; vv. 26, 29, 32 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सुवर्णशतपुरमात्यमात्र² श्रीद्वारकायां धनभासमानः । चतुर्भुजो
राजसमुद्रतीरे श्रीद्वारकानाथ-
- 2 हरिः मुनीरे ॥१॥ श्रान्तीतमभः किल राजमंदिरौदुव(व) वृ(वृ)षाद्यंमहिषंजवज्रं । सत्कामंयमे
व(व)हृत्तस्तदीवि(नि)ती व्याघ्रे-
- 3 न दाना(नी)तमिव तद(द्रु)तं ॥२॥³ सुवर्णशैले किल जिष्णुकपः घोरगजसिंहः[ः] कुत-
जान्मनस्वी । जेतु(तुं) जगत्यामसुराणां युगं स्वाम(स्वमं)[दि⁴]-
- 4 रं सुंदरमद्वितीयं ॥३॥ पूर्ण(णं) जल(ले) सप्तदशे तु मार्गे वर्षेत्र शशि(र्षोद्)शतितान्मि
नूयः । पद्मे⁵दशम्या(स्यां) जितिसंविरे(रं)दः प्रासादमध्ये ह-
- 5 तवाग्रवेशं ॥४॥ शते सप्तदशोतीले वदिशतितमि[ले]वृ(वृ)के । ऊर्ध्वे⁶द्वितीयायो(यां)
राजसि(सि)हो महीपतिः[*] ॥५॥ ह्रस्वः पलगतः[*] मूर्ध्वे[*] पंच(च)-

¹ The portion within the square brackets, i.e., from *pf* to *the* was first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who afterwards added it at the end in the last line, indicating the addition by the *kākapada* sign.

² This *pāda* is short of one syllable. The letter *sa* appears more like *re*. Perhaps the intended reading is *dvārcakāli-puri bhāṭya-amānāḥ*.

³ *Padā-dāśamī* here is only the form in local dialect of *Pāda-dāśamī* in 1. 39, p. 51, and means the tenth day of the yellow month, i.e., Māgha. Mr. Shaktidhar Gaheri informs me that *padā-paṅchamī* and *padā-dāśamī* are observed as festivals in Kāngri on the 5th and 10th days respectively of the bright-half of Māgha.—N.P.O.

⁴ Read *Drjāh-trishar* ; the first word meaning *Nārāṭika*.

- 6 कल्पवृक्षंयुतं । हेमनः पलशतैः स(सु)ष्टं महाभूतघटाभिर्ब ॥६॥ हिरण्यश्वरर्बं रूप्य-
मृत्रावशतैः कृतं । इत्वा(त्वा) महादानमुग-
- 7 भैतद्विप्रानतोषपत् ॥७॥ विप्रैभ्यो राजसिंह प्रभुमुकुट घटः श्रीमहाभूतपूर्वा(र्वा) व(त्तो)
देवदुमाक्तः सकलसुरमयो
- 8 मेघरेव त्वया य(त्) ॥ तद्वेवाः स्थानहीनाः कृतमतप इतो वाह्वं(वाह्व)णेषु प्रविष्टास्ते
जाता भूमिदेवा [इ]षति युहण्ये मेघभोगं स(त्त्व)-
- 9 वीर्ये ॥८॥ एकादश सहस्रा(स्त्रा)णि घट् शतानि च सप्ततिः । लग्नानि लग्ना^१ रूप्यस्य
मुद्राणां वानघोरिह ॥९॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तव-
- 10 [शे]ष कर्बं चकार वट्टि(ट्टि)कतिनाम्नि राये । सितप्रमोदप्रमिषेद्वि सेतोर्नूपो मुहूर्तं पुरि
का(का)करा(रो)न्या ॥१०॥ ततोत्र सातो र-
- 11 चितः पुषिष्यां जनैर्विचित्रैः युचुभिः क्षत्रिणैः । महाशिलानिः समुधा(धा)भराभिः सेतोः
पर्वं पुरितमेव तु(तु)मं ॥११॥ पणै(पुणै)
- 12 शते सप्तदशेष कर्बं वा[वा]दमासाविक एव जाता । ज्येष्ठेत्र वट्टिशतिम्म(वा)म्नि नव्या
जलस्त्रितिवृष्टिभवा तदग्रे ॥१२॥ [वर्षे]वा-
- 13 वाडबहुतपक्षस्मैरतिथो(र्वा) रवो । व(र्वा)ष्टकेन वा पंचमासेः वट्टिनिर्दिनेः कृतं ॥१३॥
मुखसेतोस्तु मूपुष्टं शि^२मुधापूर्वशिला-
- 14 गणैः [१^३] प्रुरितनितिकपोच्चं सूत्रधारैर्ध्रुवं कृतं ॥१४॥ ईदृक्कालकृतस्यास्य दृष्ट्या
सिध्य(ट्ट)ष्टकं नृणां । पचेन्द्रियाणां पापांतः
- 15 वट्टिमिहरण(र्बं) भव(वे)त्^३ ॥१५॥ अस्मिन्न(म्)हावस्तर एव नव्य(व्यं) संस्थापितं ज(य)त्
जल(नं) तदग्रे । दु(द्व)रीकृतं तत्तु समस्तमेवं जनैरव-
- 16 तुष्कीकरणे प्रवीणैः ॥१६॥ आशाचतुष्कागतमानवर्गैर्वाचतुष्काः खनिता जलाशये [१^४]
वि(वृ)ष्ट्या चतुष्कीयुत एतसो^४
- 17 कृत नृणा(र्वा) पुमर्थोच्चचतुष्कवो^५भव(वे)त् ॥१७॥ ततश्चतुष्कीमपनिःसृ(सु)ताना(र्वा) मृदा
समूहा मनुजैपु(र्बु)षाष्टैः । सहस्त(स्त्र)संख्यैः सु-

^१ *Lagnāni* goes with *subasāni* and *śāśni*, while *lagnā* qualifies *saptati*. It may further be observed that the word *lagna* is used here in the sense of *vyagris* 'spout', which is more common in Hindi than in Sanskrit.

^२ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

^३ The meaning of the word *manu* here seems to be five from the conventional number of five assigned to the arrows of Kāma.

^४ The letter *śi* is superfluous.

^५ There is a play upon the numbers mentioned in this stanza with reference to those of the date occurring in verse 13 above. The six arms are enumerated as *śikha-māhas jarā-mṛtyu kṣat-pīṣāś śat-śarmayuk*.

^६ Perhaps we have to read *śikha śāśhātā*, referring to *śāśhā* or *jālāśā*.

^७ Again a play on the number four, *punarīth-śikha-chātuska manna parashakti-chātuska* : *dharmā, urīthā, kāmā, and mātaka*.

- 18 अतः प्रणीता मध्यस्य सेतोः परिपूरणाय ॥१८॥ मृदां यणैः कल्पितपर्वतीयाः सेतो
[वि]नीताः क्व व(च) नैव दृश्याः । यथा पुरा रा-
- 19 घवसेतुबंधे याता विलीनत्वमहो गिरीद्याः ॥१९॥ अते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तविंशतिनामके ।
अथै स्वजन्मदि-
- 20 अते हेमहस्तिरय(धे) शुभं ॥२०॥ हेम्नो विंशत्यप्रदशतततोत्तकनिमित्तं । महादानविधानेन
राजसिंहनुपो
- 21 ददौ ॥२१॥ पूर्णे अते सप्तदशे सुखे सप्तविंशत्यभिधे मूहतेः । आयाडमातिशयि-
तसत्त्वतुर्था(ध्या) नूपेने(ण) नोः(नी)स्था-
- 22 पनकस्य सृष्टः ॥२२॥ जनैस्तृतीयादिवसे तु नीकायोग्यं जलं नेति कृते विचारे ।
आगामिवर्ष(वे) तु वृ(वृ)हस्पतिः स्यात्सि-
- 23 हस्तिस्तत्त्वमुहूर्त्तं^१ एषः ॥२३॥ नागोत्रं वर्धेति तडागक(का)र्षे मुखस्तु री(रा)णा
वत रामसिंहः । तदा^२कृतवानस्ति हि चोक-
- 24 डीन(ना)^३ मध्य(ध्वे) जलं लेप्यमिहान्यद(द)मः ॥२४॥ नीकास(मु)हूर्त्तो(त्तो)स्तु महापुरोधा गरीव-
दासामिष उक्तवान(म्बे ?) । अथै प्रभोरेष जना
- 25 विचार(रं) कुर्व(र्वं)ति राजप्रति वा महा(हो)त(त) ॥२५॥ आहवर्षमेवा(वा) गम याति
चित्ते स्यात्कार्यमासीत्सुखवाद्युपस्तत् । धृत्वा द्विजा-
- 26 न्वाहणसूक्तमंत्र(त्रा)न्^४ जन्तुं त विद्वांश्चिन्तयपुरोधाः^५ ॥२६॥ शृंगारपूर्णां प्रविधाय नीकां
मूहर्तमागामिसुवासरे तु । नीकाभि-
- 27 रोहस्य मृदा विधातुं कृतप्रतिज्ञं नृपराजसिंहं ॥२७॥ समीक्ष्य शक्नोति सचित्त एवा-
भवत्तदस्मिन्त्य(म)ये मया चेत् ।
- 28 क्रियते वृष्टिर्न तदा मर्मव दोषं वदिष्यति जनाः समस्ताः ॥२८॥ इन्द्राप्रभुत्वं स्थिति
पञ्चपाठ(ठं) चित्तेवधार्येति मर्माश ए-
- 29 षः । पूर्णास्य कार्येति मया प्रतिज्ञा रक्ष्या द्विजानान(म)पि सुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) ॥२९॥
तत्तत्तृतीयादिवसे द्वितीये धामे यथर्पुर्जल-
- 30 वा मूहर्त्तो(त्तो) । नीकाधिरोहस्य चकार भूपो मंदाकिनीनीः(नी)न्मिश्रजकुल्यः ॥३०॥
उक्तं जनेः कर्तुमयं यदेव समुद्यतस्तत्पर-
- 31 केश्वरोत्र । करोति चापे सफलं सुकार्यं भविष्यतीत्यस्य तयो(या)भवत्तत् ॥३१॥ पूर्णे अते
सप्तदशे सुखेष्टविंशतिभ्राजि-

^१ Read *śod-śikṣāṇa*—^२ The word *chōkaṭi* is Marwari *chokri*, Sanskrit *chātukhī*, meaning here 'excavated square'.^३ *Sandhi* has not been observed here. For the *Vārūna* sūkt, see *Rigveda*, I, 25, 19.

- 32 तनामवेये । राक(का)तिवी नालविमुदणं द्राक्^१ ज्येष्टे(ष्टे) कृतं सूत्रपरं नृपोक्षया ॥३२॥
शते सप्तदशे पुणे^२ एकोनविंशद्विंशे ।
- 33 वर्षे विधुष्टे मावे वानं कल्पनतलमकं ॥३३॥ हेम्वः साद्वंशतद्विंश(प)ले सुष्ट(ष्टे) इदो
तथा । हेम्वस्तत्त्वशीत्यप्रशततोलकः
- 34 परिकल्पितः ॥३४॥ हलेस्तु पंचभिर्पुक्तं पंचलोपलनामकं । भावनीग्रामसंपुक्त(क्तं) महादानं
इदो नृपः ॥३५॥ अष्टाविं-
- 35 अष्टप्रदशशततोलकसंमितिः । हेम्वः समभवद्विंशदानधोरतयोरिह ॥३६॥ पूण(णं) शते
सप्तदशे सदेकोनविंश-
- 36 दाक्ष्यावमुफाल्पुनेत्र [१^{*}] कृष्ण(कृष्णो)सम(मे)कादशिकादिने वा श्रमे भवानीगिरिपादवेदेश(शे)
॥३७॥ सत्संगिकार्यस्य तु मुख्य-
- 37 सेतो नृपो मुहूर्तं कृतवान्कृतोदः । इत्यस्मीकृतः पांडुरवर्ण[युक्तः^{*}] सुधाभिसिक्तद्वंद्वसंविधयेः ॥३८॥
महोपलेः पेशलसुप्रधार-
- 38 विंस्त्यमान(विंस्त्यायमाणे) किल सगिकार्ये । भूते(शो)दये स(मे)गिनि कार्ययमे नृपस्य चित्तं
सुखसंगि ज्ञात ॥३९॥ शते सप्तदशोत्तीते^१ एको-
- 39 नत्रि(त्रि)शदाह्वये । ज्ये(ज्ये)ष्ठस्य शुक्लसप्ततया(न्या) राजसिंहो महोपतिः ॥४०॥ एकविं-
(ति)गालये त्विद(त्विद)स्तर आख्ये जलाशये ।
- 40 ससोपाने जोगंसेतो प्रतोलीनां चतुष्टय(यं) ॥४१॥ ज्येष्ठात्सुवर्णं सरकाय(यं) सुशिला-
गणरा(रं)चित्तं । अष्टादशसहस्रा-
- 41 णि कण्ठमुद्रावलेरिह ॥४२॥ सन्नानि राजवीरोक्त्या प्रशस्तिनिर्मिता मया । ध्रुवा तां
स रदावाज्ञा(ज्ञा) शिखायां
- 42 लिज्जनाय^१ म(मे) ॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्तिनाममहाकाव्ये रणछेडनद्विरचिते इत्त(ज)म[^२]
सर्गः ॥

Slab XII : Canto XI

[Metres : vv. 1, 13, 14 Upajiti ; vv. 2-12, 15-48, 51-57 Anushtubh, vv. 49, 50 Gāthā.]

- 1 [॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सेतोमितिः पंच शतानि वैश्वं मुख्यस्य च पंचदशोत्तराणि ।
तले गजानां च शतानि पंच से(से)कान्वशीति-

^१ Sandhi has not been observed here.^२ Better read *Uthasāya*.

- 43 [abhiḥ Sagar-ā[di*]bhūh [1*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīḥ-tasya tasya tadā phala[ḥ](lam) || [15*]
 Bhūmīḥ yaḥ pratigrihpati yas-cha bhūmī[ḥ*] praga-chibati | ubhantau puṇya-karmāṇu
 * niyatam svarga-gāmi-
- 44 nau || [16*] Gām-ākāṁ avarṇam-ēkaḥ-cha bhūmī-apy-ardham-aṅgalaḥ(lam) | hama-
 narakam-āyāti yāvad-āhu(bū)ta-samplavam || [17*] Shuab[ḥ]-va(r)ḥ-sahasrāpi sva(r)gō
 mūḍasi bhūmīḥ | ākshēptā ch-ānu-
- 45 mantā cha tāny-eva narakō vasiḥ || [18*] Sva-dattām paradattām vā yō harṣ[ta*] vasundharām
 | sa viśā(chhū)ṣā[ḥ*] kṛimī[r]-bhū[ḥ] pūṭibhiḥ saha pachyat- || [19*] Sarvān-ētān-
 bhāvināḥ pā[ḥ]r[ḥ]thivendrā[n*]
- 46 bhūyā bhūyāḥ pū[ḥ]r[ḥ]thayaty-āka Rāmā | sāmānyō-yau-āha(r)ṇa-ētq[ḥ]-nripāṇā[ḥ]
 kālō kālō pālanīyāḥ kramōḥ || [20*] Iti kamala-lal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-āḥ[ḥ]n[ḥ*] śriyam-
 anuchintya manushya-
- 47 jivitaḥ-cha | sakalam-idam-udāhṛtaḥ-cha vu(bu)ddhyā(ddhā) nahi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrtayō
 vilōpyā ti¹ Srimān Vīrakapūḥ ||² kshiti-patir-akurōt ||³ sva-dhajanmā-
- 48 nam[ḥ]nam || sa śrī-Prahasitarājā ||⁴ mantriṇam-āha āsanē dātad[ḥ](tam) || [22*] ||⁵ Pōshali-
 grāma-niry[ḥ]ta-śrīmān-Hridēva⁶-su(sū)nnu | uśa[m*] āsanam-utkīroga[ḥ]n[ḥ*] śrī-Śaśidhēva⁷
 śilpi-
- 49 nā ||⁸ [23*] || Krōḍāchhān-niriyāya Kāchchha ti yaḥ sad-Vā(d-Be)ḥhunapūnām sūhite-tasmād-
 āhapaḥō dvij-ōttama-griham⁹-viśrāma-bhū[ḥ]-ya-vanāśh(nām) | asmād-lōdhahat-āti
 yatra Viva-
- 50 dau(dō) Yōgōvarō yat-entā | khyātas-Tuṅga lō-pi nirmala-yaśā Ghāṭṭīa-nām-ātma[ḥ]
 || [24*] Yō Gauḍ-ādhipatēr-asīma-guṇa-bhū cājō¹⁰ vidhēyō dīśām-bhūpālēṣhu vidhāya
- 51 maltryam-asamanī sant[ḥ]n[ḥ]shā-chit-āchitāḥ ||¹¹ kṛtvā āsanatma(m-ātad-ātma-dbhā[ḥ])
 litaḥ kām-apy-avanya[ḥ]ndhya-sūhitaḥ viśrāmāya cha dīśa-duḥkhita-janasy-ābhūd-h-
 aiv-āśa[ḥ]ma[m*]m || [25*]

No. 8—KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

(2 Plates)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, MADRAS

The set of copper-plates which is edited below¹ was discovered at Kalidindhā, a village in the Kalikalur taluk of the Krishna District, by a farmer while digging for earth in 1938. It was handed over to me by the late Sri G. Ramabrahmam Chaudary, the editor of the *Prājñāmitra*, who had obtained it from the discoverer, for decipherment and publication. The set consists of five copper-plates of which the last is a broken fragment. The copper-plates measure

¹ Better read *śilpīyā* || [21*] ti |

² The *dasdā* is superfluous.

³ There is a small vacant space between the two double *dasdā*.

⁴ Read *śrīmād-Hridēva*.⁵ As already noticed, the *Āngāchhi* plate has the same verse reading, however, in the corresponding passage, *Mahādharmā*. If the reading intended in our record is *śrī-Mahādharmā*, it may be suggested that this *Mahādharmā* is the same as *Mahādharmā* of the *Āngāchhi* plate.

⁶ Read either *śrī-Śaśidhēva-śilpi* or *Śaśidhēva-śilpi* to suit the metre.

⁷ There is a floral design between the double *dasdā*.

⁸ Read *grāma* vs.

⁹ Originally *śak* was incised.

¹⁰ This is C. P. No. 8 of the *An. Rep. S. I. E.* for the year, 1937-38.

5" by 10" each, while the length of the broken portion of the fifth plate varies from 2" to 3½". They are all strung on a circular ring about ½" in thickness and 5" in diameter, the ends of which are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal about 3" in diameter with the rim raised all round. The set of plates with the ring weighs 292 *tolas*; and the plates alone weigh 200 *tolas*.¹ The ring had been cut before the plates came to my hands.

The **seal**: This is a very fine specimen of the seal of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The surface of the seal is countersunk on either side. The base of the seal is moulded into the shape of a four-petalled flower. On the upper face, it bears the legend *Śrī-Trishūvanāśukasani* in relief across the middle. Above the legend are represented in relief the crest of the Eastern Chālukya royal family, viz., the bear in a rearing posture facing the proper left, and other symbols of royalty: the elephant goad, the *damru* or the double drum, the *śankha* or the conch shell, two *chauris* or flywhisks and the royal parasol. The figures of the crescent moon and the sun are found at the top. Below the legend are seen three objects, a four-legged stool in the proper right, a four-petalled flower in the centre, and a lotus bud with a stalk in the proper left.

The **alphabet** is old Telugu, commonly met with in the inscriptions of the period to which the record belongs. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank; the other plates are written on both the sides. A peculiarity which is common to the copper-plate charters of Rājārāja I, the donor of the present grant, may be noticed here. Including the present grant there are three sets of copper-plate records of the king that have come to light so far; and they are all partially palimpsests.

Of the present grant the latter part is a palimpsest. Beginning with line 75 (10th line on the second side of the third plate), traces of earlier writing are distinctly visible up to the very end of the inscription; but the characters have been so thoroughly beaten in that it is almost impossible to make out any letter. The reasons which prompted the adherence to this practice by the secretariat of Rājārāja I are not quite obvious. The first two plates have perhaps been engraved by a different hand; but the form of the characters throughout the inscription is so much alike that it is not possible to lay any emphasis on this point.

The **language** of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, both verse and prose, 41 stanzas in different metres and 8 prose passages of varying length interspersed among them. However, a few Telugu words have crept into the text of the inscription, while describing the topography of the village granted, e.g. line 75, *Pollepa-Gudraśūtra-cishayana*; lines 108-9, *Tāmarakolani-Kroviṇḍipāṇa-bāṇa-Tullikroṇṇa-nāma nadi*. Several errors, mostly scribal, are found in the text and they have been noticed in the footnotes. The **date** of the record is either not given or lost in the missing portion. If the date were given, as in the Nandampūṇḍi grant of the same king, at the end of the record, it must have been lost with the major part of the fifth plate.

The text of the genealogy including the *prastuti* embodied in the inscription under consideration presents close textual affinities, with slight variations here and there with the other Chālukya charters of the period especially the Kōrūmelli plates² and the Nandampūṇḍi grant³ of Rājārāja I himself and the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant⁴ of his father, Vimalāditya.

¹ The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly furnished me, at my request, with the necessary details pertaining to the measurement, weight, etc., of the plates.

² The Superintendent for Epigraphy believes that the Kalidīṇḍi Plates were 'issued shortly after the king's (Rājārāja's) accession in Śaka 944 (A. D. 1022)'. See *As. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1937-38, part II, para 14.

³ *Iud. Act.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. and plates.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 300 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 247 ff. and plates.

The text of the present inscription falls into four divisions: I. the genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukyas up to Rājārāja I; II. the narration of the circumstances in which the grant was made; III. the description of the boundaries of the village which is the subject of the present grant, and IV. the imprecatory verses together perhaps with the names of the author of the *prastāvi* and the scribe.

I. This part further divides itself into two sub-sections:—(a) legendary, and (b) historical.

(a) The legendary genealogy opens with Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Atri, Chandra, etc., and proceeds without a break up to Udayana, the son of Śātānika. Then comes a hiatus which the composer of the genealogy bridges up with fifty-nine nameless kings who are said to have ruled at Ayōdhya. The sixtieth, Vijayāditya by name, migrated to Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, where, in an encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava, he perished. His posthumous son, Viṣṇuvardhana, however, restored the fortunes of his family and established his authority over the country between the Narmadā and the Śeṭu.

The first point that has to be considered here is the origin of the legendary genealogy. No traces of it are to be found in the numerous records of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs till we come to the time of Vimalāditya's accession. Certain features of this legendary genealogy are found in some contemporary records of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi.¹ The reign of Vimalāditya marks an important stage in the development of the *prastāvi* of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The records of the early monarchs of the dynasty from Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana to Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III embody, with some small variations, the *prastāvi* found in the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, and mention generally the immediate ancestors of the donor without giving any particulars about them. With the accession of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III there sets in a change; while the preamble retains its original form, the part relating to the donor and his parentage undergoes a change. The names of his immediate ancestors yield place to an elaborate list of all the past kings of the dynasty, in which are set forth the most notable of their achievements, the order of their succession and the exact duration of their reigns. With the passing of each generation, the list increases in length and the *prastāvi* is soon transformed into a family chronicle. This form was adhered to for a long time; and no further change is perceptible in the charters of the subsequent period until the accession of Vimalāditya, when, as pointed out already, a further change was introduced in the form of a long Puranic or mythical pedigree in place of the short preamble embodying their lineage and *gotra*. The circumstances under which this change was introduced are not known. It is not, however, unlikely that it was due to the Chōla influence on the Eastern Chālukya kings since the restoration to power of the main line in 999-1000 A. C. The latter had political as well as matrimonial relations with the Chōlas.

Another point that deserves consideration is the historicity of Vijayāditya, the ancestor from whom the Chālukyas are said to have descended in the later Eastern Chālukya records. It is believed by some scholars that this Vijayāditya was a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chōla;² but the evidence on which the belief is based is quite late and untrustworthy. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the parent stock from which the other families branched off, do not refer to Vijayāditya as the progenitor of their race. They trace, on the contrary, their origin to Jayasinhavallabha of whom very little is known. Similarly the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi make no mention of Vijayāditya in this context. The Kauthm grant, no doubt, mentions Vijayāditya, not, however, as the founder of the family, but as one of the two additional names or epithets

¹ The Kauthm grant of Vikramāditya V, dated 1009 A. C. mentions for instance the rule of fifty-nine nameless kings at Ayōdhya and the subsequent migration of the family to Dakṣiṇāpāṭha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21).

² The present writer who had subscribed to this view formerly finds it untenable on further investigation. See R. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Chōla Studies*, pp. 57-61.

especially peculiar to the Chālukyas, the other name being Vishnuvardhana.¹ And even among the Eastern Chālukyas the name of Vijayāditya as the founder of the dynasty was altogether unknown until the time of Vimalāditya. In view of these facts, it is not possible to accept Vijayāditya as a historical person and regard him as the founder of the Chālukya family.

(b) The historical section of the genealogy constitutes a family chronicle in which are embodied the most outstanding events of the Eastern Chālukya history. The history of the Eastern Chālukyas is traced from Kubja-Vishnuvardhana to Rājārāja I. It is practically identical with similar accounts found elsewhere. There is, however, a small variation with regard to a minor detail which may be noted here. In this as well as in the Kōrumelli grant, in the description of the succession of early kings from Kubja-Vishnuvardhana and Jayasimha, we have *tad-anuj-Endra-rāja-vandanu-sapta dināni* (line 33)² instead of the usual *tad-anuj-Endra-rāja-sapta dināni*.

The genealogical account, as embodied in the present charter, discloses certain facts about Rājārāja's reign, unknown from other sources. It refers, no doubt, like the Kōrumelli and the Nandampūdi grants to Vimalāditya's marriage with Kumāsvai and the birth of a son to them called Rājārāja as well as the coronation of the latter in Śaka 944 (expired) on Thursday, *ba. di. 2*, Uttarābhādra, when the sun was in the sign of the lion (lines 50-51, 53-55). The new information found is that Rājārāja, when still a boy, was invested with the necklace (*kaṣhikā*), the insignia of the office of *yuvārāja* (lines 52-53); and that his uncle, the Chōla emperor Rājendra-Chōla Madhurāntaka, having heard of his great qualities, bestowed on him with affection the hand of his daughter, the princess Ammaṅgā, who became his chief queen (lines 62-64). In this connection occurs an elaborate description of the greatness of the Chōla emperor, his supremacy over the kings on the earth, and the extent of the dominion subject to his authority (lines 56-62). The stanzas beginning with the words, *Śaṣṭyāśod-upi sa Himavān* and *Sa-drīpān chatur-amburāṣi-parakhān* (lines 58-62), probably allude to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangotri expedition and his transmarine conquests respectively.

Thus, four important events of Rājārāja's life are mentioned here: (i) his birth, (ii) investiture as *yuvārāja*, (iii) coronation, and (iv) marriage.

(i) The date of his birth is not known.

(ii) The investiture of Rājārāja as *yuvārāja* must have taken place duly without any obstacle.

(iii) His coronation, however, does not seem to have been performed without obstruction. For the date of this event which is stated to have taken place according to the present inscription in Śaka 944, Bhādrapada, *ba. di. 2*, Gaurvāra, corresponding to 16th August, 1022 A.C.,³ is nearly four years later than the last date, i.e., 1018 A.C., August, of his father and predecessor Vimalāditya.⁴ This reveals a gap of four years in the Eastern Chālukya chronology between the close of Vimalāditya's reign and the coronation of Rājārāja I, and the events of this interval are by no means clear. Several scholars who have attempted to bridge up the gap have been at great pains to

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21. *Sahasabharavanditraya-Sarvabhojālaya-Vishnuvardhana-Vijayaditya-dinā-vandanu-sapta-dināni-rāja-vandanu-sapta-dināni*. It may be noted that these two names are alternately assumed by the Eastern Chālukya kings and it may be suggested that these names were assumed at the time of coronation.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 52, l. 37.

³ The date is corroborated by his Kōrumelli and the Nandampūdi grants; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 53; above, Vol. IV, p. 307.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 258, 261. According to the Rapastipūdi grant, Vimalāditya, the father of Rājārāja I, was crowned on 10th May, 1011 A.C., and as this inscription is dated in the Śimha month of his 8th regnal year, corresponding to August, 1018 A.C., he must have been ruling until this date. How long his rule lasted subsequent to this date it is difficult to discover; but since in all the records of his successors a period of seven years (reckoned in round numbers) is invariably assigned to his reign, he must have died before the end of his 8th regnal year.

extend the reign of Vimalāditya up to the date of the coronation of Rājārāja, taking it for granted that Rājārāja's accession to the throne did not take place earlier than the actual date of his coronation as recorded in his grants.

However, there is good reason to believe that the reign of Rājārāja I began a few years earlier than the date of his coronation in 1022 A. C. Śaktivarman II, the nephew and immediate successor of Rājārāja I, ascended the throne of Vāṅḍī on Thursday, 18th October 1061 A. C.¹ Rājārāja is said to have ruled, according to the charters of his descendants, for a period of 41 years and this is corroborated by an inscription dated in his 41st regnal year.² This yields 18th October, 1020 as the starting point of his reign. The following inscriptions of Rājārāja I, which give both the regnal and the Śaka years, point to the same date.

<i>Ins. No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Starting point</i>
183 of 1893 (S.I.I., Vol. IV, No. 1008)	Śaka 969—regnal year 26	Ś. 943
663 of 1920	Śaka 980—regnal year 37	Ś. 943
671 of 1920	Śaka 983—regnal year 41	Ś. 942

These records seem to suggest two different starting points for the reign of Rājārāja. The apparent discrepancy has perhaps to be attributed to the practice of quoting the Śaka dates, either in the expired or in the current year, rather than to any fault in the chronological data given in these records. Of the three, the last one is surely dated in Śaka 983 expired, as shown by the cyclic year *Plava* corresponding to it. The dates of the other two are not capable of verification, as the corresponding cyclic years are not given. If, however, the Śaka year cited in them be taken to be current, all these three dates would yield Śaka 942 (expired) as the starting point of the reign of Rājārāja I and this is in agreement with the evidence of the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II which terminate Rājārāja's reign with Śaka 983.³ There is, however, one inscription which gives a different and an earlier date as the starting point. In the Pāmalavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII, it is said that after Mummadi-Bhima (i.e., Vimalāditya), his son Rājārāja ruled for a period of twelve years; then, Vijayāditya, Mummadi-Bhima's second son by a different mother, expelled Rājārāja, and having seized the kingdom crowned himself king on *Aditisantidina*, *su. di. 5*, Karkāṭaka, Kanyā, Sūryyabha (Uttara-Phalgunī or Pūrva-Phalgunī) in the Śaka year 953, corresponding to Sunday, 27th June 1031 A. C.⁴ If Rājārāja I, as stated in this inscrip-

¹ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 40.

² No. 671 of 1920 of the Mad. Epi. Coll.

³ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 44.

⁴ *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 284. According to the calculation of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the date of Vijayāditya's coronation given in the record corresponds to Thursday, 9th July, 1030 A.C. (*JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38), but he does not explain how *Aditisantidina* can be taken to denote Thursday and how the *śakabha* denotes *Hastā*. The date has been calculated afresh, at my request, by Mr. K. G. Sankar of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the details of his calculation as communicated to me in a letter dated 11-11-1941 are given below.

Śaka *trip-śha-nidhi-māṣe* = Ś. 952 = 1030-31 A. C.

Karkāṭa Karkāṭa-śukla = Śukla in Karkā (June-July).

śuddha-pamāṇam = *śu. 8*.

Aditisantidina = Sunday.

Sūryyabha = Uttara-Phalgunī (Aryamāsa) or Pūrva-Phalgunī (Bhaga).

Kanyā-lagnā = Kanyā-lagnā = 10 A.M. to 12 noon.

These details correspond regularly to Sunday, 27th June, 1031 A.C.: on that day *su. 5* ended at 37 of the day and Uttara-Phalgunī began at 48 of the day after the Pūrva-Phalgunī ended. At 10-12 A.M. the *śukla* and the *śuddha* current were *śukla 5* and Pūrva-Phalgunī.

tion, did rule actually for 12 years before Vijayāditya's coronation in June 1031 A. C., he must have begun to reign in June 1019 A. C. As Vimalāditya was still ruling at the time of the Rāṇa-stipendi grant in August 1018 A. C., Rājārāja I appears to have succeeded his father almost immediately. As the available evidence regarding the exact starting point of Rājārāja's reign gives two different dates, viz., 1019 and 1020 A. C., it can be safely stated that his rule must have commenced some years before the date of his coronation which took place, as stated in his own records including the present one, on the 16th August, 1022 A. C.

If Rājārāja began to rule either in 1019 or in 1020 A. C., as shown above, there must have been some cause for the postponement of his coronation until 1022 A. C. Although no such reason is disclosed by the Eastern Chālukya records, the contemporary Chōla inscriptions distinctly indicate the existence of political disturbance in Vēṅgi at this time.¹

(iv) The last point of interest to be noted in this section is the marriage of Rājārāja I with Ammaṅgā (lines 64-65), the daughter of his maternal uncle, Rājendra Chōladēva, a fact known hitherto only from the records of his descendants. The marriage was not merely the renewal of an old alliance between the Chōla and Eastern Chālukya royal families. It was also intended to serve a political purpose. Rājendra-Chōla aimed at providing a permanent bond by which Vēṅgi might be attached to his kingdom; therefore, he bestowed the hand of his daughter Ammaṅgā on his nephew.

II. The most important part of the present inscription is the passage which narrates the circumstances in which the gift was made. It states (lines 77-85) that the general Rājārāja Brahma-Mahārāja rose to eminence by the grace of the king Rājendra-Chōla Madhurāntaka and guarded his kingdom like a serpent protecting hidden treasure. No sooner did he receive the orders of his sovereign than he marched into the Āndhra country at the head of a vast army, accompanied by two other generals, Uttama-Chōla Chōlakōṇ and Uttama-Chōla Milādajaiyān. The three Tamil commanders, who were like the three firms bent upon the destruction of the forest which was the Karpāṣa army, became engaged in a fierce battle with the commanders of the king of Karpāṣa. The battle between the two armies is described vividly (lines 85-93). The engagement, however, seems to have ended indecisively or at any rate not in a victory for the Chōla forces; for it is said that the commanders of both the sides who participated in the fight perished with their forces (lines 93-96). It was in these circumstances that the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I set up, in memory of Rājārāja Brahma-Mahārāja, a temple dedicated to God Śiva called Rājārājēśvaram in the village of Kalidīpdi. Two other Śiva temples were also built in memory of Uttama-Chōla Chōlakōṇ and Uttama-Chōla Milādajaiyān respectively. For conducting worship in these temples, and for the maintenance of a choultry for feeding fifty students, etc., the village of Kalidīpdi renamed Madhurāntakanallūr, together with two other villages called Kaḍapaṅṅu and Āvakūru, was granted by the king (lines 96-103).

The place and date of the battle are not stated in the record. It would, however, be possible to fix them with some precision. It may be noted that the record states that memorial temples for the deceased Chōla generals were founded. Such temples are sometimes founded on the

¹ Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751 and 752 of 1917 of the Mad. Epi. Coll. These epigraphs of the reign of Rājendra-Chōladēva from the Madakasira taluk of the Anantapur District, all studied together, allude to an expedition sent by the Chōla emperor Rājendra I against Vēṅgi about the 10th year (c. 1021 A.C.) of his reign to overcome some trouble there, under the leadership of one of his generals, named Āreyaṇ Rājārājan alias Vikrama-Chōla Chōliya-varaiyaṇ. Of them No. 31 of 1917 refers probably to a battle which he fought with the Kalinga, Oḍḍa and Teluga, while another (751 of 1917) expressly declares that 'the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla king had ordered his general Sōliya-varaṇ to conquer that country'. These records which, as pointed out by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'obviously belong to the same time' (Colas, I, p. 279), allude to a military expedition sent by Rājendra-Chōla about the 10th year of his reign (1021 A. C.) to conquer Vēṅgi.

site, where the persons, to perpetuate whose memory they are built, are interred or cremated. As the memorial temples of the Chōla generals were erected in the village of Kalidindi, they must have been buried or cremated in the place; and consequently the battle in which they were killed might have been fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

The difficulty of fixing the date of the battle is great. However, certain facts mentioned in the record would help us in arriving at a probable date. The inscription contains the date of Rājārāja's coronation, i.e., 1022 A. C.¹ and alludes perhaps to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangetic expedition and transmarine conquests (vv. 19 and 20). Moreover, at the time when the battle was fought, Rājendra-Chōla (1012 to 1044 A. C.) was still ruling at Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram. These would indicate that the battle should have taken place between 1022 and 1044 A. C., the last date of Rājendra-Chōla. But no evidence is available from the Chōla records during this period of 22 years about any war between the Chōlas and the contemporary Western Chālukya king Jayasīma II, of which the battle at Kalidindi might have been a major event. The last we hear of the fights between them is in 1021 A. C., when Rājendra Chōla I's attack on Raṭṭapāḍi took place.² However, there is one Western Chālukya record at Hoṭṭār in the Bombay Karnāṭak,³ dated 1037 A. C., which mentions a *Devaṇāyaka* of Jayasīma II, Chāvaṇarasa by name who bears the title, "destroyer of the pride of the fort of Bijavadi". If this Bijavadi is taken to be identical with Bezvada⁴ in the Vēṅgi country, it would appear that sometime before this date, i.e., 1037 A. C., the Western Chālukya general invaded Vēṅgi and captured the city of Bezvada. The Karnāṭaka invasion of Āndhra (i.e., Vēṅgi) and the battle described in the present record may have taken place during the same Western Chālukya expedition under Chāvaṇarasa, especially as the distance between Bezvada and Kalidindi is less than 50 miles. As victory was not secured by the Chōla allies of Rājārāja, even as indicated by the record, it is not unlikely that the event may be connected with the disaster which overtook Rājārāja I in 1031 A. C., when he was deprived of his throne by his step-brother and rival Vijayāditya VII.⁵ Although evidence is lacking as to whether the *coup d'état* effected by Vijayāditya was with or without Karnāṭa help, a suggestion may be made that as Rājārāja was supported by the powerful Chōla emperor, his rival, Vijayāditya, secured the help of the Karnāṭa king. Such an alignment is consistent with the political background of this period, as the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas were always arrayed against each other in support of rival claimants in disputed successions.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Karoṇṭāḍhiśa may be Jayasīma II, as the date of the battle is about 1031 A. C. As explained before, the Dramiḷāḍhiśa is, doubtless, Rājendra-Chōla I who is mentioned by name at another place (line 59) in the record.

Much is not known of the Chōla generals who were killed in the battle. One of them, Uttama-Chōla Mūḍaṇḍaiyaṇ, figures as the ruler of the hilly tracts in the present South Arcot District in a record of the 4th year (-1016 A.C.) of Rājendra-Chōla, where he is spoken of as Yādava-Bhīma of the Bhārgava gōtra;⁶ but nothing is known of his subsequent career. Neither of the other two finds mention in contemporary Chōla inscriptions. A *Sēṇapati* called Uttamaśōla Brahma-Mārīyaṇ is mentioned in an epigraph at Kōlār, dated about 1033 A. C.;⁷ he, however, seems to be a nobleman quite distinct from *Sēṇapati* Rājārāja Brahma-Mahārāja of the charter under consideration.

¹ See above, p. 58, note 2.

² *Chōla*, I, p. 243.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 78.

⁴ Dr. Barnett identifies it with Bijavādgi near Hungund, *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵ *Pāṇḍurāka* plates: *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 334.

⁶ No. 20 of 1905 of the Mad. Ep. Coll.

⁷ No. 480 of 1911; *NC.*, Vol. X, XI, 108-a.

III. *The details of the donation*: For the maintenance of daily worship, celebration of festivals, etc., in the temples built in honour of the three deceased Chōla generals, three villages all situated in the Lower (Pallava) Guḍḍavāra *cisāya*, were granted by Rājārāja I. Though Kalidīṇḍi and Kaḍapaṛṇu are clubbed together and renamed Maḍhurāṇṇakanaḷūr, their boundaries as well as those of the third village are separately described. The boundaries of Kalidīṇḍi are given at first in lines 103-6; then follow from *Pallava-Guḍḍavāra* in line 106 to *śimā* at the beginning of line 110 the boundaries of the village of Kaḍapaṛṇu; and finally with *Pallava-Guḍḍavāra* in line 110 commences the description of the boundaries of the third village Āvakūru, which is unfortunately lost with the broken fragment of the fifth plate. The three memorial temples were perhaps given one village each for their upkeep, maintenance of daily service, etc. Of the three, Kalidīṇḍi was situated in the east; it is said to have been bounded by Pōtumbāṛṇu in the north and the north-east, Konneki in the east, ... Idogru in the south-east, Kōṭṭhama in the south, Vāvāka in the south-west, Kaḍapaṛṇu in the west, and D(Tā)ḍināḍu in the north-west. The second village, Kaḍapaṛṇu, was situated to the west of Kalidīṇḍi. Its boundaries, as described in the inscription, are: Kalvasaṇḍa in the north, D(Tā)ḍināḍu in the north-east, Kalidīṇḍi in the east and south-east, Vāvāka in the south and the south-west, Āvakūru in the west, and the streamlet Talikroṇṇa (a branch of Tamarakolami-Krevvāḍiḷḷu) in the north-west. The boundaries of the third village, Āvakūru, are not definitely known; of the villages that surrounded it, the names of only two, viz., Kaḍapaṛṇu and Konḍika-Muṇḍalūru, are found in the extant fragment of the fifth plate. In addition to these, another village called [Du]ḷḷiṇṇaḍu is also mentioned with Kaḍapaṛṇu; but the connection between these two villages is not quite clear.

Two of the three villages which form the object of the present grant, Kalidīṇḍi and Āvakūru, retain their names to the present day and are situated on the eastern fringe of the Colair Lake in the Kaikalur taluk of the Krishna District. The third village, Kaḍapaṛṇu, cannot be traced in the available maps and records, but must, however, be looked for in the same locality, as it is said to have been situated between Kalidīṇḍi and Āvakūru.

Among the villages mentioned as boundaries, Tāḍināḍu is identical with Tāḍināḍu which is situated, even as stated in the inscription, to the north-west of Kalidīṇḍi. Pōtumbāṛṇu is not, strictly speaking, the correct name of the village. The suffix 'ti' with which the name of the village ends is the inflexion of the genitive case meaning 'of'. Pōtumbāṛṇu therefore means 'of Pōtumbāṛṇu'. This must be identical with the modern Pōtumbāṛṇu in the same taluk. Similarly Vāvāka must be taken to represent the present Vaivāka. Neither the streamlet Talikroṇṇa nor the other villages mentioned among the boundaries can be traced at present.

IV. The names of the executor, the composer and the scribe are unfortunately lost; but the last line in the broken fragment of the 5th plate, which begins with *is Rāchiya-Peḍḍēri (Bhī) ...* is found to form part of the following verse that occurs in the Kōrumelli grant of Rājārāja.¹

Āḷḷapṭi Katakāṣa Rāchiya-Peḍḍēri-Bhīma-nāma-taṇḍiḷḷa |
kaṭṭā Bētana-bhaṭṭa kōṇḍānūṇ lēkkaṣ-ṣya Gaṇḍāchāryaḷ ||

It may reasonably be assumed that the present grant ended with this same verse and that the remaining part of it was lost with the missing portion of the plate. If so, it may be inferred that the *āḷḷapṭi* of the charter was Katakāṣa, the composer Bētana-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāchiya-Peḍḍēri-Bhīma, and the scribe, Gaṇḍāchārya. Katakāṣa, who is spoken of as the *āḷḷapṭi* in several Eastern Chāḷukya copper-plate charters, is not the name of an individual but that of an office. The term *ḷḷapṭi* denotes an army, a camp, a town, etc. Katakāṣa may therefore be taken to mean either the commander of an army or the governor of a cantonment. The verse cited above refers

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 55.

to four generations of the family of Bētana-bhaṭṭa,¹ the composer of the inscription. Though nothing is known of the first two members of the family, Bhūma or Bhūmana-bhaṭṭa was a scholar and poet who flourished under Vimalāditya. He was the composer of the new Eastern Chalukya *prastuti* embodied in the Raṇastipūṇḍī grant.² On his death his son, Bētana-bhaṭṭa, appears to have succeeded him in his office. In point of style and excellence of diction, the present record is superior to the Kōṇmelli plates. The passage in which the author describes the greatness of Rājendra Chōla is majestic and dignified; and his description of the battle of Kalidindi also is vivid.

In the preparation of this article, I have received considerable help from the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharia, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. V. Raghavan. I have also great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao and Mr. M. Venkatarumayya for their valuable help in this connection.

TEXT³

[Metres: Vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 28 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 27, 31, 32 and 33 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 4 *Uḍḡit*; vv. 8 and 18 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9 and 19 *Mundākrūtā*; v. 12 *Upajālī*; v. 13 *Mālinī*; v. 15, *Āryā*; v. 22 *Gītī*; vv. 26, 29, 30 and 35 *Āryāḍit*; vv. 34 and 35 *Saigatā*; v. 37 *Vaṇikastha*; v. 38 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 ⁴Śrīdhāmanah Purnashōttamasya mahatō Narāyaṇasya prabhōṛ-⁵anābhū⁶-paukārūhād-babhu[va
jagata]-⁷srashṭā [Svayam].
- 2 bhūna-tata[h] [[*] jājñō mā[na]sa-sūnur-Atrir-iti yas-tasmān-mundr-Atritas-Sōmō varu[sa]-
kuras-Sudhā[māur-uditas-Śrīka]ṇtha-chū.
- 3 dhāmagih [[1]][*] Tasmād-abhū⁸-Sudhā⁹śūtō¹⁰-bBudhō budha-nutas-tatah [[*] jātaḥ Purā-
ravā nāma chakra[vartī] sa-vikra-
- 4 mah [[2]][*] Tasmād-Āyus-tatō Nahmah¹¹ tatō Yayātīḥ chakravartī varhka-kartā tataḥ
Purur-iti chakra[va]rtī tatō Ja-
- 5 namajayō-¹²svamōtha-tritayasya kartā tataḥ Prōchīśah tasmāt Sainyayātīḥ tatō Hayapātīḥ
tatas-Sārvaabhan-
- 6 mah tatō Jayasēnah tatō Mahābhanmah tasmād-Aisānakah tataḥ Krōdhānanah tatō Dēvakīḥ
tasmād-Ribhu[cha].
- 7 kah tasmād-Rikshakah tatō Mativarah satra-yāga-yājī Sarasvatī-māli-nāthah tataḥ Kātyā-
yanah
- 8 tatō Nilah tatō Dushyantah tat-sutah | Chakravartī mahātōjā Bharatō yūpa-kānanah |
kṛtv-¹³śśvamōdhā.
- 9 n-akarōd-Gaṅgā-Yamunayōs-tatō || [3]][*] Tatō Bharatād-Bhūmasnyuh | tatas-Subhōrmah |
tatō Hastī | tatō Virōchanah [[*]
- 10 tasmād-Ajamīlah | tatas-Satvareṇah | Satvareṇasya Tapana-sutāyās-Tapatyās-cha Sud-
hanvā | tataḥ Pari(ri)kshat |
- 11 tatō Bhūmasēnah | tataḥ Prādīpanah | tataḥ Santanuh | tatō Vichitravīryyah | tataḥ Pāṇḍu-
(pḍu)rūjah || Putrās-tasya Yu-

¹ Rāchiya, Poddāri, Bhūma, Bētana-bhaṭṭa.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 358.

³ From impressions.

⁴ [The symbol in the beginning, possibly a lotus, stands for śrīdhāman.—Ed.]

⁵ Here as well as in several other places further on anābhū has not been observed.

- 12 dhaathi(dhishthi)ra-Bhim-Ārjuna-Nakula-Sahadēvāḥ | pañchenāriyavat-pañcha-sūrvvi-
sa(sha)ya-grāhinas-tatra¹ || [4*] Jitvā yēna Pura-
13 mūdarā hutana(va)hē havyakṛitam kākāḥṇjavam Yā-Sambhōr-labhatō anna-sanyati
bahūny-astrāgi divyāni cha | yēn-ādhyāsitā-
14 m-āsanāth Maghavataś-cha-ārdharā sira²-dvēshināḥ saṁpishy-āgamayat-Kṛitānta-nagarīm
yāḥ Kauravān-vidvishāḥ||[5*] tatō-rjunā-
15 d-Abhimanyuḥ | tataḥ Parikṣit | tatō Janamājayāḥ | tataḥ Keshāmukhaḥ | tatō Naravā-
hanaḥ | tataḥ Śatānikhaḥ | tasmā-
16 d-Udayanaḥ | tataḥ paratā tat-prahṛitishy-avichchinnas-santānēshy-Ayōdhyā-siddhāsana-
śāinēshy-ākānashashji-chakravartti-

Second Plate : First Side

- 17 shu gatōsu(shu) tad-vaśmāyō Vijayādityō nāma rājā vijigishayā Dakṣiṇāpatham gatrā
Trilōchana-Palla-
18 vam-adha(dhi)kshipyā kīlavasāl-lōkāntaram-āgamat | tasmīn-saṁkulō tasya Mahādēvi
garbha-bhār-ālas-āntaḥpur-ādhihri-
19 ta-vanitā-kamchukibhis-sārdham vpidh-āmātyaiḥ purōhitēna ch-ānyamānā kathahchūn-
[Mukhivēnu-nām-āgrahāram-ujaga-
20 mya tad-vāstavyēna Vishvabhaṭṭa-sōmayājinaḥ duhitṛi-niravi(rvvi)śēsham-abhiga(ra)kṣitā
sati nandanam Vishnudevārdhanam-a[sō]ta
21 sū tasya cha kumārasya Mānavya-sagōtra-Hāriti-putr-ādi-eva-kshatra-gōtra-kram-ōhitāni
karmāni(ḥi) kārayitvā ta-
22 m-avarddhayat || sa cha mātṛā vidita-vṛttāntas-san-nirgatya Chālukya-girau Nasādāni
Bhagavatīm Gaurīm-ārādhyā Kumāra-Nārāya-
23 ya-Mātrigaṇāni-cha saditarpya-ivēt-ātapatṛ-aika-ga(śa)mkha-pañcha-mahāśabda-pālīkōtana-
pratidhakkā-varāhalānchchha(chha)na-pim-
24 chchha-kumta-siddhāsana-makarātōraṇa-kanakadāṇḍa-Gaṇḍā-Yamun-ādini eva-kula-kram-
āgatāni nikshiptān-i-
25 va sāmājya-chihṇāni sū(sa)māsādyā Trilōchana-Pallavaḥ jitrā tat-satām-Uttamadānām-
apaya-
26 mya Kailāsha-Gaṇḍ-ādi-bhūmipān-nirjitya Sōru-Narmadā-madhyaḥ s-ārādha-sapta-lak-
ṣharā Dakṣiṇāpatham-pāla-
27 yāmāsa || Tasy-āśādi-Vijayādityō Vishnudevārdhana-bhūpatēḥ | Pallav-ānvaya-jātāyā Mahā-
dēvyāś-cha nandanaḥ ||[6*] Ta-
28 t-sūnuḥ Pulakēśi Vallabhaḥ | tat-putraḥ Kirtivarmanā | tasya tanayaḥ | Śrīmātāḥ sakala-
bhuvana-saṁstūjya]māna-Mā-
29 navya-sagōtrānāḥ Hāriti-putrāṇām Kausiki-vara-prasāda-labha-rājyānām Mātrīm(tri)-
gaṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Ma-
30 hāsēna-pādānuddhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāhalān[chchha]-
(chha) n-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-[va*]jī[kṛi]-
31 t-ārāti-maḥḥalānām-aśvamōdh-ārabhṛita(tha)-soṇa-pavitrikṛita-vapushāḥ(chhā) Chālukyā-
nām kuṭam-alarākarishṇōs-Satyā]-

¹ [The intended reading seems to be *pañch-āriya-ut-pañcha-avar-āriya-grāhinas-tatra*.—Ed.]

² The letter ra in *sira* has a horizontal stroke inside, which is to be ignored.



iii.a

50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54
56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62
64	...	64

iii.b

66	...	66
68	...	68
70	...	70
72	...	72
74	...	74
76	...	76
78	...	78
80	...	80

iv.a

82	...	82
84	...	84
86	...	86
88	...	88
90	...	90
92	...	92
94	...	94
96	...	96

- 32 ārya-vallabhēśvrasya bhrātā Kuja(bja)vishva(shva)varddhanō-shṭādāsa varshāgi Vēngi-
dāsam-apālayat-tat-sū(nu) Jaya[sin].
33 ha {vallabhas-trayas}trīṃśataṃ | tad-annj=Ēndrarāja-nāṇḍanaḥ(nas)-sapta dīnāni tat-put-
rō [Vishnuvarddhanō] nava va-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 34 rshāgi | tat-sūnur-mMathgi-Yuvarājaḥ pañchaviṃśatiḥ | tat-tanayō Jayasī[m]has-tra-
yōdasa | tad-a[nu]jaḥ Kō-
35 kilib shva-māsān | tasya jyēshthō bhrātā Vishnuvarddhanas-tam-ucchātya sapta-tri-
śatam-abdān | tat-sutō [Vijayā]di-
36 tya bhāṭṭārakō-shṭādāsa | tat-putrō Vishnuvarddhanah shat-trīṃśataḥ | tat-sūnur-nNarē-
śdra-mrigarājō {shṭa(shṭa)chatvāriṃśataḥ}
37 tat-sutah Kali-Vishnuvarddhanō-dhy-arddha-varshaḥ | tat-tanayō Guṇaga-Vijayāditya*]ś-
chatuśchatvā[riṃśataḥ] | tad-bhrātu-
38 r-vVikramāditya-bhūpatēs-sutā=Chālukya-Bhīmas-trīṃśatam | tat-putrō Vijayādityashe-
sha-māsā[n] | tat-s[ū]nur=A]-
39 mmārājas-sapta varshāgi | tat-sutāḥ Vijayādityaḥ bālam-ucchātya Tāḍaparājō māsam-
ēkan | {tam jivā}
40 Chālukya-Bhīma-tanayō Vikramāditya ēkādaśa māsān | tat-Tāḍaparāja-sutō Yuddhamalla=
sapta va[rshāgi] | ta]-
41 taḥ || Ammarāj-ānnjō Rāja(jā)Bhīmō Bhīma-parākramah | vijitya Yuddhamallāḥ tati
dvādaś-abdān-dha . . . ||7||*
42 Sat-putrayōr=dDaśaratha-pratimsaya tasya Bhīmasya Rāma-Bharat-ōpamayōh=kanīyān |
Dānārṇava[-Āmma]-
43 gripayōh khalu pañchaviṃśaty-abdān-arakshad-avanitalam-Ammarājah || 8||*. Tasya
jyēshthō gripatishu chatu[sh-sha]-
44 shi-vidyā-pravīṇō yah Karṇy-ādīn-sura-taro-nibhō bhūri-dānēna [itvā] lōkō-nvarttadh
sachitram {adadhān}-nāma Dānār[ṇava]-
45 v-ākhyas=sa trīn-abdān-avahad-avanitūn-arnṇava-kshauma-kāntām || 9||* Tataḥ {pa}rsh
patih labdhum-anurūpam-anā[yi]kā ||*|| [sa]-
46 ptavimati-varshāgi va{cha}chāt-śva tapah kshamā || 10||* Atha Dānārṇava(vā)-jātah
kalāvān dvij-tamō-haraḥ | rāja(jā) Chālu[kya]-Chā[m]-
47 drō yah khamā-tāpam-apākarōt || 11||* Balād-grihitvā Balitō dhariśriḥ(trīn) gīrvvāpa-
śatrō-iva śatru-vargg[āt] ri-
48 Śatti(ku)varinnū sa samās-Chalukya-nārāyaṇō dvādaśa rakshati sma || 12||* Tad-ann
tad-annjanmā Rājamārittaṇḍa-bhū-
49 pō viśada-ruchir-arāti-dhvānta-vidhvatiss-dakshah | sma vahati bhuvano-abdēn=sapta Sapt-
āya-tōjās=sa[kala]-va-

Third Plate ; First Side

- 50 sumati-bhṛin-mastaka-nyasta-pādah || 13||* Lakshmi bhartṛi²-nibhasya tasya Vimalādityasya
Bhō(Chō)ḍ-ānvaya-kshir-ambhōnidhi-
51 janmanah āriya iva śri-Rājarājādhīpaḥ | dēvyāś-ch-ābat(ja)ni Rājarāja-dhātuh Kuṇ-
dāmbhikāyās-sutō ya-

* [The missing letters may have been sūn-sūt. — Ed.]

* One letter between bha and tri was written and erased.

52. b. Kamdarppa iv-āparaḥ prativasan loka-trayē strī-hridi || [14]* Bālyō bhūṣaṅgam-ābhavad-
ratnamayī yasya ka-
53. m. bhikā kamthō | guṇa-lubdhay-ēva mālā dharayā dattā patihva[rayā] || [15]* Vāḍ-ān-
bhōdhi-nidhi-prāmāṇya-gaṇi(ni)tē Śā-
54. k-ābda-saṅghē Ravan Sindhasthō bahula-dvitiya-divasā vārō Gurō-śitagau | yuktē bh-
ōttarabhadrayādya(=py-a)ti-vagi-
55. j-yāmō tu {sarvva*}-khamādh trētudh pattam-ādhatta yō guṇa-nidhiḥ śrī-Rājārājō-nripah
|| [16]* Yasy-ōttamāṅgam-ābaddha-
56. m-ābhāt-paṭṭēna bhūyasā || [17]* bharitum viśvamābhātā-bhārātā janaiśa(r-ā)ṇopitah
yatō(thā) || [17]* Api cha || Khyāta-samasta-nara-
57. nātha-kirita-kōṭi-ratna-prabhā-pa{tala-pātala-pāda-pūṭah} | yā-tyāga-varsha-pariharahita-
sat-samājō Rājēn-
58. drā-Chōḍa iti Chōḍa-kul-aika-ratnadh || [18]* Ēkasy-āśid-api sa Himavān-Īśvara(rā)cy-
āpatadhbhir-mūrdhdhā Gāṅgā-
59. vimala-salilais-ucchyamānah pavitraḥ | Rājēndrō-yah(yah) kim-uta namatām-Īśvarāṅgām
bahū[nā]-
60. m. ratn-ālōka-prakāṣita-jagat-prāmāṇyō(yō)bhyaś-śirōbhyaḥ || [19]* Sa-dvīpān chatur-
ambudā(rā)śi-parikhām viśvamābhārām [R]-
61. tayā darppēn-aiva vijitya yō di(ḍa)śa-dīśi prātishṭhīpat-sarvvataḥ | svair-ōdbhrānti-nivāra-
ṇāya vijaya-śa-
62. m. bhūn-eva-nām-ānkitān-ālānān-iva badhlum-a{m*}dha-manasō darppēṇa dig-dantinah
|| [20]* Sa śra(śru)tvā paritushyā(ahya) vanśa-vinaya-
63. tyāg-ābhīmān-ōnatī(rā) prajñā-vikrama-satya-śau{cha}-paṭutā-śauryya-kham-ādīn-guṇā[n] |
Chōḍēśō Madhurā[nta]-
64. kah-eva-tanayām-Ammaṭiga-nāmānī satīn Chāluky-ābharaṇasya ch-āgramahishīm snēhēna
yasy-ākarōt || [21]*
65. Yasmin-rājani rakshati bhūchakram-avakram-uchita-mā{c*}ggēṇa | ābhavad-ābādham-
akalīnasham-a{dūshi}tam-a-

Third Plate; Second Side

66. matvarah {prajābharitah}* || [22]* Rājō rāja-Chalukya-vanśa-latik-ālāmbasya yasya
svayam āśvat-kirtti{r-ālāmbika}-
67. rōti mītarā{m} loka-trayī-ka(kā)minīn{ } | hāra(rā)l-iva sogaadhi-chandana-mayī — — —
[lālāmaki]-māl-ēv-āmala-[ā]-
68. ti-ja(jā)la-kalītā dānkūla-Lakshmi-iva || [23]* Yasya śrī-Paragaṇḍabhairava-vibhōr-ōdō-
dāṇḍa-{kauśhēya}ka-prōḍbhīm-āhita-ka-
69. eti-masti(eta)ka-galan-mastakka-{khād}-āśayā grīdhrāḥ paksha-putāc-viśāryya viyati vyā-
baddha-chakrās-chalat-picchhā-pa-
70. tra-chaya-śriyash vidadhatō vira-śriyas-samhyati || [24]* Ēkōn-aiva hayi hayēna bahusō
vāhā-sahasraṇ-ta-
71. thā kō vā vira-bhātō jayēt pratibhatam ch-āstr-ābhivandhais-tathā | kaś-śiuchōd-iti vidmtā
raṇa-mukhāśv-āścha².

* The letters within brackets are engraved over an erasure.

² The intended reading seems to be *prajā-charitam*. — Ed.]

³ The same requires *vapa-mukhāśv-āścha*. — Ed.]

- 72 ryya-paryyākulā yasy-ārātaya, ēva sauryyam-anīśam, etuvanti tanvanti [cha] || (25)*
Svasti [Sa*]rvalōkā-
- 73 śraya-śri-Vishguvarādhana-Mahārājābhīrāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāttāraka[h] Paramamāhā-
74 śvara[h] Paramabrahma[nyā]h mātō(tā)pitrī-pād-ānudhyātāh Tyāga-simha(hā)nan-[āśina]h
Gāḍevala-[nā]-
- 75 ma-vishaya-sahitāh Pallava-Gudravāra-vishayam-adhivasatah śāhtrakūṭa-pramukhā-
[n-kuṭu]mbina[h] sarvān-sa-
- 76 mādhyā mantri-purāhita-senāpati-yuvārāja-daivārīka-pravā(dhā)n-ādi-samaksham-[ttha]m-
[ā]hā-
- 77 pāyanti | yadhō(thā) | Khyātō-eti Rājārāja-Brahma-mahārāja. iti mahādasyāpati[h] ||*
yō Madhurā-
- 78 ntaka-bhūbhūti-karuṇā-rasa-sikta-varādhita-yasō-latīkah || (26)* Rājendra-Chōḍa-bhūpāla-
rājyulakshmi-mahā-
- 79 nidhēh ||* rakshaya-kshama-dakṣ-ōgra-mahābhūja-bhūjanāgama[h] ||(27)* Diktō
dakṣiṇatah purnakṛita-bṛihad-daṇḍah prachanda-
- 80 s-sa yō vidvi[ṭ-cho]ḍgita-pāna-grīdhour-aparah kālō na v-āt-ākahitah ||* Rājendra-
kshītipālakasya mahatō man-mātu-

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 81 lasy-ā(tu*)lasy-ādēsa[ni*] pratipadya tat-kshagata ēv-Āndhra-kshamām prāgamat ||(28)*
Anyō-pi daṇḍanāthō bhakti-klōsa-praru(hi)-
- 82 śhja-nija-nāthā(tā)h ||* anur-aiv-āgatavān-Uttama-Śōḍa-chChōḍagōn-iti vye(vya)-
pālīshṭah ||(29)* Uttama-Chōḍa-Mūḍ-udā(yā)-
- 83 n-ity-any-ōpi ch-ō(ch-ā)gatah purushah ||* yab patir-atha senāyāh pativratāyāh parē-
kshay-āsahanāyāh || (30)* Ka-
- 84 rnnāṭika-bal-āraṇyām(ṇyam) tā(da)gdhukāmam-āśēshatah | daṇḍanātha-trayo(ya)m dṛi-
shṭam-agni-trayam-iv-ōjvalam || (31)* Karmnō-
- 85 ta-Drumil-ādhīśa-daṇḍēśām-ābhavād-ragath ||* paraspara-chatur-ddanta-pratighaṭṭana-
bhīkaram || (32)* Mushtāmushtī kvachid-āṭri-
- 86 shṭam kōśākēy-abharat-kshagati ||* daṇḍādaṇḍi kvachit-prōkta[m] kuntākanti
nirantaram ||(33)* Jaghnirō nija-sarair-api [kō]chid-dhanvinō
- 87 yudhi samacādhita-sauryyāh ||* senayūr-api paraspara-bāḥ-āpāta-[jāta]-java-vāta-vivye
[tāt] ||(34)* Khadgi-khadga-āṭri-
- 88 dhā-ghaṭṭam-jātē viaphulidya-nivahē su(sa)labhā[h*] syuh | sud-bhaṭa(tā) bhaya-bhṛitah(tā-
cha)la-chittāh padma-sha-
- 89 ~ ~ ~ ~ padātyōh || (35)* Nṛityamti(nti) va* gaja-kabaḥ(n)dhās-turaga-kabandh-
ā-cha nara-kabandha-pramukhāh ||* [ri]
- 90 gam-ady-aiva viyu(mu)kta[ni*]nija-nāth-āvamdhya-pōshagasy-ēti mudā || (36)* (Ga)air-
ggaḥ vājibhir-ēva vājīnō nara-
- 91 r-nnarās-tatra samam vinākṛitāh ||* dvi-pakshayōh kāla-vasēna samvugē samāna-yōldham
samam-ēva

* Read *ōjāṇayati*.* [The latter half of this verse is in the *Arjūgiti* metre.—Ed.]* [This *va* is superfluous.—Ed.]

- 92 na[yati] [37]* Bhṛīṣam-avaṣara śha naḥ pragantam diyaṁ anochiṣṭya padāti-yagna-
mukhyāḥ [1*] divija-
- 93 ya[va]ti-saṅga-kāṁkṣay-āyaḥ sa(s)nam-atha dāya-durikayā [cha bhā]māḥ [38]*
Etad-Dramila-daṇḍanāthānā-
- 94 m Rā[ja]rāja-Rāja-Brahma-Mahārāja-nāmadhōyō aya-mātulasya Madhurāntakadēvasya-ā-
- 95 tulā(h)ay-ādēśa(h) (th) prāpya Kārvnā(rnnā)ṭaka-daṇḍanādhai(thai)r-yyudihvā t(ai)r-āva
sārdḍham diyaṁ gatavān-āyi[kē]-
- 96 [na] hastikēna cha tadēna [bā]hā-balēna cha sama-balatvāch-cha | tam-udihāya [Ka]lidiṇḍi-
grā[mē]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 97 Rājarājāvara[m-iti] Śivāyatanaṁ-akaravach | Uttama-Śōja-ohChōḍagōn-ity-Uttama-Chōja-
[Mī]-
- 98 lād-ujayān-iti pravuddhāv-anyāv-āpi ch-ādēśya Śivāyatana-dvayaṁ [karōmī]
matu[ga]-
- 99 i-śtunga-saṅgitaka-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navakarmma-baly-upahār-ādy-arttham pa[mchā]śch-
chhātrāpārū]
- 100 śāstrasya śrōtri(tri)gām sate-ārttham cha dvay-ādika-pachchāśad-vōyābhūḥ | Brāh-
maṇa-śātēna brāhma-ḥvā]-
- 101 dīnā huta-jātavēśasa(sā) vaiśya-śātēna cha Dhamad-ōpumōna śūdra-śātēna Brāhma-
pāda-kamala]-
- 102 sacchātē[na*] cha sārddham Madhurāntaka-Nallūri-nāmnā prasiddhaḥ [Ka]lidiṇḍi-
nāma-grāma[h] Māgaḍa[vara]-
- 103 grāmaṭikayā dattatḥ tasy-āvadhayaḥ [1*] Pūrvvataḥ Eonnekī sim-aiva simā āgnēya-
[taḥ] lidorru¹-ai-
- 104 m-aiva simā | dakṣiṇataḥ Koṭṭhama-simā | nairṛityataḥ Vōvāka-sim-aiva simā | pāchi-
mataḥ Kaḍa
- 105 sim-aiva simā | vālyas[ya]ta[h] Dāḍināṇṭi sim-aiva simā | uttarataḥ | Pōta[mhārti-
sim-ai]va simā | [tānata]-
- 106 h Pōtūmhārti-sim-aiva simā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Kaḍapaṭṭu-nāma-grāmaḥ [Da]ggīya-
[pū]ḍḍi [grāma]-
- 107 aya pūrvvataḥ | Kaluḍiḍi-sim-aiva simā | āgnēyataḥ | śch-aiva dakṣi[ga]taḥ | Vēvāka-
a]ḥ-aiva simā | na(nai)ri-
- 108 tyataḥ śch-aiva | pāchimatataḥ | Āvakūru-sim-aiva simā | vāyavyataḥ Tāmara-kolani-
Krovvinḍlētath-bāsi-
- 109 na-Tallikroyya-nāma nādi | uttarataḥ | Kalvasaṇḍa-sim-aiva simā | tāḍināṇṭi-
sim-aiva

Fifth Plate

- 110 simā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Āvakū-
- 111 ta[h] Kaḍapaṭṭu-[ai]m-aiva simā | āgnē
- 112 mataḥ Koḍḍika-Munjalūra-sim-ai(va)

* The final *śāsi* in *śāsiya-śāsi* appears to be superfluous.

* The name of the village may be Āldorru or Pūldorru.

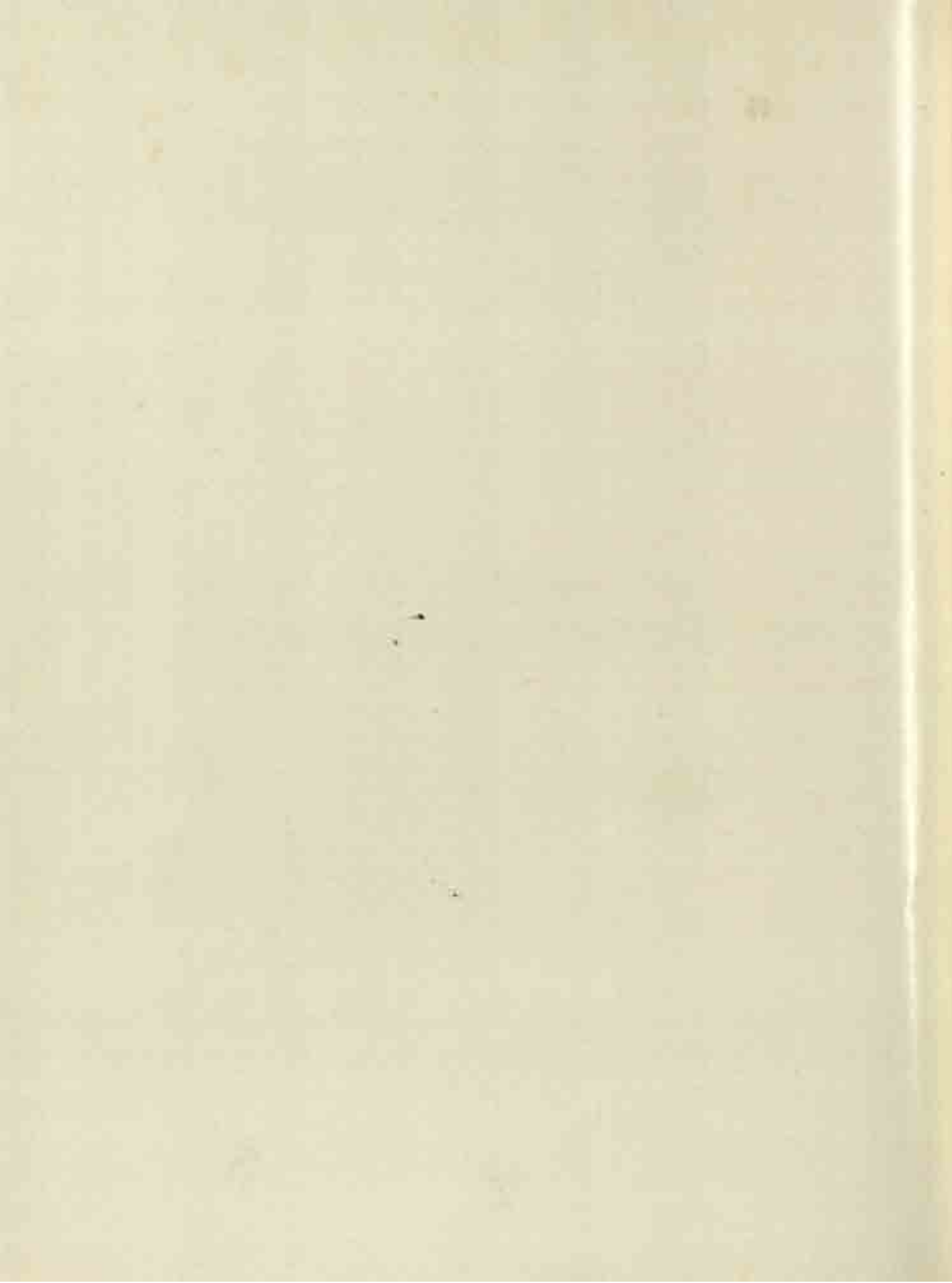
iv. b.



Seal



(From a photograph)



- 113 *ṣṭi-nīni=ṣ(m=ai)va-sīmā* | *lānataḥ Kaḍa*
 114 *sa paṇcha-mahāpātakaḥ-yyuktō bhā*
 115 *vā yō hacēta-vasu[nḍha]*
 116 *bahubhīṣ=ch=ānupā[li]*
 117 *mma=ētur=uripāgān kā*
 118 *bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha[dra]*
 119 *bhūpā yē pālayanti mama*
 120 *pām-śāhikaṭva-vidhinā śrī-Rāja[rā]*
 121 *st-ādrēr=aparāt=ad-āsta-vidhinā*
 122 *ś Rāchīya-Podḍēri [Bhī]*

No. 9—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF SADASIVARAYA : SAKA 1467

K. G. KRISHNAN, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the inner wall of the north side of the third *prākāra*, to the proper right of *Saṅgarāḍkal* in the Rāṅganāthaśvāmī temple, *Śrīrangam*, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. It is dated Śaka 1467, Viśvāsa, Phālguna, *śu* 7, Monday. The English equivalent of this date is A. C. 1546, February 8, Monday.

The importance of the record lies in that it contains a reference to a distinguished person known as *Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar* who had for a long time been associated with the administration of the Śrīnāgama temple and also mentions a descendant of *Śrīśailapūṇa*, who was a preceptor of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The scripts used are Grantha and Tamil and the language provides a good example of the typical *Vaiṣṇava* style with a fair admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words, better known as the *maṇipravāla* style employed by the great Tamil commentators. In fact, the expression *Idappāṇam uḍikkalāḷḷu paṇ perum* (i.e., this sin is highly valued) in line 7 conveys the same idea as contained in the Sanskrit quotation *[a]pā-namitta-kṛitām pāpam-āpi dharmamāya kṛtyatē*, cited immediately above and this Tamil expression is also found in the great commentary known as *Idu*². This is a clear testimony also to the fact that Vaiṣṇavaite commentators of the mediaeval period had achieved proficiency in rendering Sanskrit expressions into good Tamil.

The orthography of the inscription presents the following features. The *rēpha* is represented by a vertical stroke above the consonant to which it is prefixed as in *pūrēṣa*, *śāṅgēṣa*, *annarpitṭa* (lines 3 and 10). But if the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as in *annāṇḍila* (line 6), *dharmma* (lines 7 and 10) the sign for the *rēpha* is inserted in between the doubled consonants. In line 3 the Grantha letter *pa* is used in the purely Tamil word *peṇṇa*. This is only an exception since the Grantha alphabet is uniformly employed to indicate Sanskrit words or letters.

The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections are indicated in the foot-notes accompanying it.

¹ *ARSIE*, No. 13 of 1936-37.

² *Iḍa* 1, 4, 1. This commentary was written by Vaḍakkal-tiruvḍippaḍai in the name of his teacher Nambiyar.

The use of the ancient form *gāru* of the word *āru* in line 5, meaning river, is peculiar for a record of the 16th century and a similar example can be found in the word *gāru* used for *āru* meaning year. The word *kēka* is a dialectal variation of the original word *kēka* (*kē* + *ka* - *kēka*). The word *paṇḍāravāḍai* in line 8 is used in the sense that the income from the lands of this village had for sometime been enjoyed by the cultivators. There is a village today in Tanjore District named Paṇḍāravāḍai. The word *kaṭṭalai* has been used with two meanings, viz., 'water' in line 8 and 'arrangement' in lines 10 and 11. The use of the honorific plural pronoun is not uniformly applied in the latter part of the sentence in lines 9 and 10 as both *namakku* and *ēṇ* are used to denote the same person.

The donor of the grant is Śrīśailapūrṇa Tātāchārya alias Avuku Tiruvēṇḍagayyaṅgār. He received a gift of the village Chintāmani from Rāmarāja and Sōmakulaṭṭaka Sadāśiva Mahārāja and in turn granted the same, for the merit of both the Rāja and the Rāja,¹ to the temple for the expenses of offering four dishes of food to the god as was once arranged by Salantigaṇ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, allotting a share of the offerings for himself and his descendants. The village is stated to have been in former times given to the temple by a local Chōla king after settling a dispute over a stream cut from the main river. Then after a long time the village passed on to the ownership of the cultivators. Again the village was left uncultivated after a short period. Hence Tiruvēṇḍagayyaṅgār, the present donor who had himself received the village as gift, renovated the same and in his turn granted it to the temple.

The role that the members of this Śrīśailapūrṇa family played in the spread of Vaishnavism since the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Mallikārjuna, as also in the conversion of the royal family itself to the Śrīnīshagana faith, has been already discussed² in this journal and elsewhere. Two records at Hampi make mention of this Tātāchārya. One of them³ is dated Śaka 1465, i.e., about two years prior to the date of the present record. There he is stated to have granted a village, some fields and a garden to the god Viṭṭhaladēva. He is described as the son of Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Since no specific mention is made of this teacher as a *guru* of the king, it is probable that he became the royal preceptor only two years later, i.e., about the time of the present record. The other record,⁴ of Śaka 1478 at the same place, states that Aṇbalarāja, son of Rāmarāja Kōṇṭayyarāja, raised a shrine for Tirumaṅgai Ālvār, granted a few villages for various services to be conducted for the Ālvār, and placed the endowment in the hands of Tirumaṅjanakālam Rāmāṇḍayyaṅgār⁵ and his disciples who were required to conduct the services for the merit of Aṇbalarāja's preceptor Tirumala Avuku Tiruvēṇḍagadāchārya. The latter is evidently the donor of the present record. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa⁶ alias Periya Tirumalainambi, the maternal uncle of the great Viśiṣṭādvaita teacher, Śrī Rāmānuja. In the records about the descendants of Śrīśailapūrṇa that are available from the various places to the north and south of Tirupati, the names of the places where they settled are prefixed to their names, as in *Ēṇṇi* Sītgarāchārya, *Sottai* Tōḷappayyaṅgār, etc. Here the name *Avuku* or *Aṇ* indicates likewise the place where the donor had settled. His father is also called Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Hence it is clear that

¹ There are a number of inscriptions where both the Rāja and the Rāja are mentioned together though in a different manner; e. g., ARE, 246 of 1904; *Tirupati Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No. 63.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 161 ff.; Vol. XIII, p. 2; *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, p. 312.

³ 707 of 1922, 817, Vol. IX, pt. II, No. 607.

⁴ ARE, No. 51 of 1889, 811, Vol. IV, No. 250.

⁵ *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI, No. 1.

⁶ The earliest reference to Śrīśailapūrṇa in the traditional Vaishnava hagiographies occurs in the history of Rāmānuja in the *Goswamiparavāḍānam*. Under the direction of his guru, Āṇḍavāṇḍi, Śrīśailapūrṇa (Periya Tirumalainambi) migrated from Mēṇḍam to Tirupati.

a branch of the Śrīśailapūrṇa family had already settled there one or two generations earlier.³ Avuku is a village in the Koilkuntla taluk of the Karnool District. About the period of this record, Avuku was the seat of a powerful line of chiefs⁴ under Sadāśivarāya and this Avuku Tiruvēṅga-jayyaṅgār seems to have wielded great influence over these chiefs and the members of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The interesting history of the village Chintāmaṇi is narrated in the inscription. It is in this part that the name of the eminent administrator of the Śrīraṅgam temple, Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar occurs. He is well known from other sources. He was first known as Kūraṇārāyaṇa Jiyar and began his life as a devotee at Śrīraṅgam and rendered many services⁵ to the temple, one of which may be noted here. When a member of the group called *viṣṇuppaṇṇa śeyvār*⁶ became impure and consequently unfit for the service in the temple, Kūraṇārāyaṇa Jiyar was called upon to purify him and the Jiyar composed a work known as *Sudarśanaśatakam*⁷ and chanted it to purify the person and make him fit for service. In recognition of this and many other services including the one mentioned in the present record, he seems to have been given the name Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar,⁸ i.e., Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who was eminent in doing good (*naḷam + tigiḷ*), and some of the devotees raised him to a new pontifical seat with the designation of Śrīraṅganārāyaṇa Jiyar and it continued to be held in regular succession by devotees chosen from time to time.

The present record deals with another but more benevolent act done by this same Jiyar. The frequent floods of the river Kāvēri south of Śrīraṅgam proved to be almost a permanent problem baffling solution. They were encroaching into the soil of Śrīraṅgam towards the direction of the temple. Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar took some steps to prevent the erosion. Some of the measures he took as detailed in our record were spiritual and the rest were methods pertaining to flood control.

The Jiyar fixed a *ganṭa*, i.e., a disc or plate with the powers of a *mantra* at Āṇaikāttāy Kamaḷ facing west and also consecrated the deity called Śiśṭā.⁹ A stream was newly cut out, branching

³ Similarly, Singarāchārya (Narasimhāchārya) and Raṅgāchārya, of this line migrated from Tirupati to Ēṭṭār in search of better fortune by engaging in skilful exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Yet dissatisfied with their position the family went to Vijayanagara where they converted the royal family to the Vaiṣṇava faith. Dodaḷayāchārya, a descendant of Singarāchārya settled at Sholinghur, N. Arcot District, and Tātāchārya Ayyavayyaṅgār of this family lived at Ēṭṭār, Tirumala (i.e., Tirupati) and also at Kumbakōṇam. Again mention is made of one Soṭṭai Tōḷapparaṅgār in a record at Cojjevaram. In the record under study the family is stated to hail from Auk. In some later records at Kōvilāḍi in Tanjore District, Śrīraṅgam Tātāchārya and Śrīraṅgam Tirumala Tiruvēṅgaḷa Tātāyayyaṅgār figure as donors. Lakṣṇmīnāra Tātāchārya is well known for his activities at Cojjevaram and Tirumalirūḷḷaimalai (i.e., Alagarkōḷ, Madurai District). Thus it may be seen that this great family spread itself to preach and propagate the Vaiṣṇava faith. (*Preparandum*, Chapter 126.)

⁴ Tirupati Denathāraṇa Epigraphical Report, pp. 308-309.

⁵ *Kōḷḷōḷaṅga* (1909, Ananda Press), pp. 108-115. In these pages, there is a confused account of the services done by the various Jiyars of this line, services so distinguish which one has to proceed with caution. For example it is stated that the renovation of the shrine of Chānda Nāḍachāryār was undertaken by Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. It is stated that the renovation of the shrine of Chānda Nāḍachāryār was undertaken by Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. Chānda is identified with the Muslim princess of Delhi who plied away for the Haṅganātha idol carried away by the Muslim hordes in 1314 A.C. from Śrīraṅgam and later on recovered by the Vaiṣṇavites from the Delhi Sultan. It is highly improbable that Kūraṇārāyaṇa Jiyar lived till 1314 A.C. the lower limit of his life being 1157 A.C., the year up to which his teacher Kūraṇārāyaṇa lived. Hence only a successor's action is meant here.

⁶ This class of servants at Śrīraṅgam are engaged in the recital of the hymns before the deities on specific occasions, with music, dance and drama. Their duties are well defined in *Kōḷḷōḷaṅga*, vide p. 27.

⁷ Published in the Kāvyaṁālā Series, part VIII, Nirayanaṅga Press.

⁸ *Kōḷḷōḷaṅga*, p. 115.

⁹ This deity is considered to be the son of Viṣṇu in the form of Māhīm and Śiva, on the occasion of Āmṇā-mathana. He is called Aḷṅgār and Śiśṭā. This deity is believed to control all the evil spirits. See also *ŚII*, Vol. II, p. 40, fn.3.

off the right bank of the southern branch of the Kāvērī¹ so that a large volume of water might flow out and the effect of erosion into the soil of Śrīraṅgam, i.e., on the north bank of the Kāvērī, would be minimised. A coarse grass of the pentstemon type was planted on the left bank. The grass served as a good protection to the boundary on that side. The waters of the Kāvērī were partially dried up along the south bank. Owing to the cutting of the stream² to the right of the Kāvērī, water encroached upon the cultivated fields belonging to the Mahājanas of the village, Chintāmaṇi. They seemed to have raised objection to this step. The Jiyar gave them lands in the Kolakuttai village in exchange for the lands flooded on account of the cutting of the stream. But the Brāhmaṇas were dissatisfied and appealed to the Chōla king. The case was taken up and when questioned by the Chōla king about the injustice done to the Brāhmaṇas, the Jiyar, in the course of his arguments justifying his action, is stated to have quoted the Lord's own words: . . . *animitakṛitam-pāpam(pam)-api dharmamāya kalpatē* as occurring in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.³ The Chōla was much pleased with this representation and exclaimed that if that was the motive the sin was as valuable as pure gold and approved of his action.⁴

The *Kōyilolugam*, a chronicle of the Śrīraṅgam temple, gives with a few differences the details of the same events recorded in the inscription regarding Nalantipa Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, a free translation of which is given below:

'Every year when the Kāvērī is in spate, the *Tirukkuṇḍalappan-munidi* used to be submerged under the waters flooding into the temple. In order to avoid this the Jiyar having informed the lord of the regions consulted Śrī *Sēnāpati* Dharmadharaṇa Kandāḍai Tēlappār and excavated a channel to the south of the Kāvērī at the end of the street leading to Punnāga-Tīrtha. The Brāhmaṇas of the village Chintāmaṇi obstructed the operations by lying down across the boundary. The Jiyar told them that it was a sacred service to the Perumā and hence they should not obstruct. But they did not listen to him. The Jiyar looked down upon them. He went on with his work and raised embankments to the channel on both sides after erecting an avenue called *ai-arangan-ōḍal*. He made his follower Karuṇākaradāsa stand guard at a point of the breach at the south east of Punnāga-Tīrtha and sacrificed him.⁵ To the north he consecrated the *Kaṣṭhadrāvatā* (i.e., *Śāstā*) and the village goddess known as *Tiruvattāgachohelvi* and took similar steps in

¹ It may be noted here that the undivided (*ekakṣepa*) Kāvērī divides itself into two, just above the town of Śrīraṅgam. The north branch is called *Koḷḷiṇam* and the south Kāvērī. The present record calls the southern branch 'Tēṭṭirukāvērī'.

² A *Chintāmaṇi-ōḍal* is spoken of in the Trichinopoly District Gazetteer, p. 148. But the stream of our record cannot be identified with it because the *ōḍal* is said to fall into the *Koḷḷiṇam* and this stream flows to the right of the Kāvērī.

³ This is only one half of the verse of which the first letter is missing as the stone is pooled off here; and the verse is not found in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Evidently the missing letter may be *sa* or *ma* yielding the meaning *harmless or done in my (God's) name*. The following instance of another irregular quotation may be noted: *Tirumāḍai Āṭṭar* raised several structures around the shrine at Śrīraṅgam with the help of many architects. They demanded payments of their dues. Luring them with the prospects of treasure treve on the opposite bank, he took them in a boat across the Kāvērī. He had given secret instruction to the ferryman to capsize the boats in the middle of the river in justification of which the following stanza was said to have been quoted by him as the lord's own words: "Sēnā-kāryam mahāpāpa-hēttam n-āramanyatha | Purā Bhagavatsaiv-ōktam aṭṭama-dharmam-anūtanam | Man-nimittamūlam pāpam-apī punyāya kalpatē | Man-anāḍriya paṇyam vā api pāpāya kalpatē ||" *Vaṇa, Propagandāritam*, p. 375.

⁴ *Idam aṅgira-dāsa itārp-pāram aṭṭi-beloḍa paṇam*. The idea of value is conveyed by the word *beloḍa* a standard measure in gold and the word *aṭṭi* adds the idea of the fineness of the material and thus the *śāḍ-ghatā* of the action is indicated.

⁵ The corresponding expression *kalpi-tiya arap-pāṭi* as it occurs in *Kōyilolugam*, is not quite clear. In the other context it indicates that Karuṇākaradāsa was sacrificed. It is highly improbable that the Brāhmaṇas of Chintāmaṇi were sacrificed. And our record too tells a different tale.

the east end and thus saw that there was no room for Kshudra elements to interfere and mounted a *yantra* so that nobody could live within the temple.¹

This account has omitted to mention the important act of compensation arranged by the Jiyar and other technical measures adopted by him. Otherwise it corroborates some of the details given in our record.

About the date of this Jiyar our inscription does not give any indication except that he was a contemporary of a Chōla king. However, the following facts may be stated here. We know of one Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who flourished in the 13th century A.C. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.² This Jiyar was first known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the early years of his career when he composed the *Sudarśanastotamam*. He was also known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Kavi. His original name was Nārāyaṇa. He is stated to have received his initiation from Kūraṭṭālvār³ at Tirumālirunḷōlai-malai. Hence he was called Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. The *Kōyilolugu* places the date of this *Sudarśanastotamam* in about the same period as that of Naṇḍiyar.⁴ The facts stated about this Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the *Kōyilolugu* and those mentioned in our inscription concerning Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar would render it quite possible that the two persons are identical. The date of the events recorded about Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must lie during the period of Kandāḷai Tōlappar,⁵ called Sēnāpati Dhurandharar, who was a contemporary of Nambiḷḷai, the successor of Naṇḍiyar. Hence Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar *alias* Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must have lived as a contemporary of both Naṇḍiyar and Nambiḷḷai who were great *āchāryas* in the line of Rāmānuja, and even lived further on. His long association with the administration of the temple had made him very popular and his admirers and friends ventured to establish a new pontifical seat named after him in rivalry with the established line of Rāmānuja and succeeded in making him the first Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar with special honours. Though the dates of these religious heads have not been settled accurately, it can be safely asserted that Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar of our record lived from the middle of the 12th century up to the middle of the 13th. This inscription does not unfortunately give us any clue about the identity of the Chōla king who is stated to have settled the dispute.

The technical expressions in which the ideas about the methods to prevent erosion are couched deserve special mention. The words *kīḷi-yāru* and *malaḍu-yāru* and the cognate verbs from which these nouns are derived are very aptly expressive of the operations involved. The word *kīḷitta* embodies the sense of force conveyed by the action. The expression *malaḍu ieyvitta* is both literary and technical. The use of the word *malaḍu* is quite in keeping with the literary tradition of personifying rivers as women. At the same time the ineffectiveness of that section of the river and barrenness of that part of the land are precisely indicated. The names *kīḷi-yāru* and *malaḍu-yāru*⁶ remind us of the small rivulets and channels in the vast distributary system of the Kāvēri and also of their names like *koraiyāru* (*kuraiyāru*), *petūru* (*perūru*) and *caḷappāru* (*caḷarppāru*). Perhaps *Kūpalāru* is the name of one such kind of water course. *Palāru* in this name may be a corrupted form of *pillaiyāru*, just a variant of *perūru*. The divisions named after this *yāru* came to be known as *Kūpalāru* and *Mēpalāru* according to their directions from this *yāru*.⁷

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 289.

² *Kōyilolugu*, p. 108. Kūraṭṭālvār was a junior contemporary of the great Rāmānuja and lived till about 1157 A.C.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108 *et. seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵ There is one *malaḍu-yāru* in the island of Srīraṅgam. This flows out from the Kāvēri and runs to the left of and parallel to the main river: *Srīraṅgam Town Topographical Map*, Reg. No. 25 (1946).

⁶ *STI*, Vol. IV, No. 424. In line 5 of this inscription, both *Kūpalāru* and *Mēpalāru*, i.e., *Mēpalāru* are mentioned as belonging to Pichukūḷ-kūṛram in Rājādīya-vaṣṇaśāla, while *Dēvadāman* of our record belongs to *Kūpalāru* of Uṇḍiyūr-kūṛram.

The expression *adikkalaṇḍu poṇ perum* is found in the commentary of Nambīṭṭai, a contemporary of this Jiyar. Most of the expressions in the *Vaiṣṇava* parlance have been frequently used by the *śāhṛayas* in their discourses and then incorporated into their commentaries.

The village Chintāmaṇi is situated on the southern bank of Kāvēri opposite to and facing Śrīraṅgam on the other bank. Regarding the other geographical names in this record, Dēva-dānam which is said to belong to Kūpalāra (division) is evidently the village still bearing the same name. The mud fort of Tiruchchirāppalli referred to as the southern boundary of Chintāmaṇi must have been once raised around the main rock before the date of this record and the lines of these outer defences are marked by scattered remains of the works and the ditch (now filled up).¹

The western boundary of Chintāmaṇi is said to be the road (*ceṭṭi*) from Kṛishṇarāya Alavandapuram to Uraiyūr. This road can be traced on the map as leading to the south through Uraiyūr from the small ferry station of Ammanandapuram on the Kāvēri. Ammanandapuram is probably the Alavandapuram of our record and Kṛishṇarāya may be an addition to the name probably due to some association with Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagar, which cannot be traced in the present state of our knowledge. Kolakuttai may be the modern Kalakattaiṇḍi a village due south of Chintāmaṇi on the bank of a tank near Koraiyār river.² Lands in this village which is more than twelve miles from the river might not have been so fertile as those that were encroached by the stream and hence the Mahājānas of Chintāmaṇi had raised serious objection necessitating the interference of the king.

TEXT*

- 1 Sētvandyē Śakasy-ābdē Śrīmān-Vēṅkaṭadēśikāḷ | Chintāmaṇi-mahāgrāma[m*] Śrī-Raṅ-gōḷāyī(ya) dattavān ||
- 2 Subham-astu [||*] Svasti [||*] Śrīmān-Mahā-irā. . . Irāja-Irāja[pa]ramēśvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrīmat-Saḍāśiva-Irāja-Mahā-irāyar pṛithuvi-irāyāṁ-paṇṇi arulāṇṇa Śakābdam 1467 idaṅ mēl śellāṇṇa Viāvēyāṁ-samvatsarattu Phālguna-māsattu śukla-pakṣaḥṭṭu sapṭami yam Sōma-
- 3 vāramum perṇa Rōḥiṇi-nakṣatrattu nāḷ tēṇ⁴karai Pāṇḍikūḷāsani-vaḷanāṭṭu Vijāvarā-yīdīvidī⁵-vaḷanāṭṭu Tiruvaraṅgantiruppālī-Śrī-Raṅganāthadēvar-Śrī-baṇḍārattukku Śrīśailapūrṇāchārya-Tūtāchāryar-āṇa Auvukku-tiru⁶ṇāḍayaṅgār śilāśāsanam paṇṇi samarpitta-
- 4 paḍi [||*] Tēṇkarai Irājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu Taḷiāḍr-nāḷvaḷi Uraiyūr-kōṭṭattu Kūpalāra-Dēvadānattukku māṇku Tiruchchirāppālī maṇkōṭṭaikkū vaḷakku Kṛishṇarāya⁷-Alavandapuram Uraiyūr-veṭṭikkū kīlakku tiruk-Kāvērikku tēṇku iṇṇāḍ-ellaikk-ūḷpattū muṇṇāl Tiruvaraṅgan-tiruppadi pūḍāgai-
- 5 y-ākki pinbu Nalantigai-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar Tiruvaraṅgan-tiruppadiyai yāru koḷḷigiradu kaṇḍu mēlmugam āṇakāttāṅ-karaikkū yaṇṇa-athāpanmum paṇṇi Śāstāvaiyum pratisṭhī-tta Kijiyāru⁸-giṭṭu tēṇ-tiruk-Kāvēri malaḍa-ḥeyvittu malaḍaṅ-āru kēḍa vaḷakarni nāḷ naḍavum Kijiyārukku tēṇkarai nāḷ!

¹ Vide *Tričinopoly District Gazetteer*, p. 326.

² Vide No. 129 of *Madras Survey Map*.

³ From impressions.

⁴ After a a seems to be written, but this is redundant.

⁵ The second *vīdī* is redundant.

⁶ Read *Kṛishṇa*.

⁷ The letter *p* is a mistake for *n*.

- 6 naḍāmaḥ Chintāma[ṇiyl*] iḍaṅgoḍukka[vum] kaṭṭalai iṭṭu Chintāmaṇi-mahājanāṅgaḷukku-
Koḷa[k]uṭṭai grāmam parivartanaḥ paṇṇikkoḍuk-kaiyil Sōḷaḥ alaippittu sanniyāiy-
āpavaṇ sarvabhūta-suhāridam-uḍ[āy] irukkavēṇḍi irukka ippaḷi brāhmaṇa-himsai
paṇṇalāṇḍ¹ eṇṇu kēḷka² brāhmaṇa-himsaḷukku ā-
- 7 jñai iḍugira parādēvatai tāṇē. ³nnimitta-kṛitam pāpam(pam)-api dharmāya⁴ kalpatē
eṇṇu Śrī-Bhagavad-Gitaiyil sōṇṇadu kaṇḍu seyḍōḍḍāṇum-eṇṇa udu kōṭṭu sōḷaḥ santōḷuttu
iduvō nīṇaiv-ānāl inda-ppāvam aḷikkulaḷaḷu pon perum-eṇṇu Śrī-Iraṅganāḍa⁵-dēvarku
dārai- vāttu ko-
- 8 ḍuttaduḷukku pinbu nedu-nāḷaḷukku mōḷ-āga-chēḷ[i]kālām⁶ paṇḍāra-vāḍaiyāy tīrandu-pōṇa
Chintāmaṇi-grāmam-1 kku⁷ dāna-māniyam nilam⁸ māḷe nilam⁹ 7 1/10 paṇṇe nilam [7]¹⁰
āga nilam 14¹¹ 1/10 idukku poṇ¹² 146 Chintā[maṇi*] nattam sey-ttalai-ttiḍar vāstu
vāstu-āham āru-peṭā[ṭ]ṭi vākkāḷi-prāṭi Veḷḷāḍuḍi-iruppu
- 9 []¹³ matram eppēṭṭai sakala-samudāya-prāptiyum oṭṭaḍa nidhi-nikahāpa-jala-pāshāṇ-
ādi aṣṭa-bhūka(ga)-tāja-svāmyuḷgaḷum uṭṭaḍa namakku namuḍaiya priya-śāhyanāya
svasti []¹⁴ śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalāśvara Sōmakulaṭilakāyamāṇan-āṇa Irāma-IrājarSadāsi-
varāya-Mahā-irāyar
- 10 kaiyil śkabhōgyamāy dhārai vāṭṭittu¹⁵ taṇṇaiyil nāṇ pūrvan-Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Ṭiyar
iṭṭa kaṭṭalaiippaiyil¹⁶ perumāḷukḷē polūṭṭāga Irāyaṅku¹⁷ Irāḷavukkum dharmam-āga
samarpittu inda kḷiḷōḍḍhārapam paṇṇiṇa grāmattil udaiyaḷ-gōḍu
- 11 perumāḷ dinam nāḷu taḷigai amudu seyḍaruḷi idil nīḷadḍhik-kaṭṭalai aru-paḍi viṭṭavaṇ viḷu-
kkāḍu caturthāmsam nāḷu taḷigaiyil¹⁸ oru taḷigaiyum [Aukku Tiruveṇḍaḍayaṅgār
santāna-paramparaḷ āga chandr-āditya-varaiyum aḷubavittu]¹⁹
- 12 kkoṇḍu Śrī-Vaiṣṇavargaḷ amudu seyḍaruḷumbāḍikku naḍakku-kkaḍaval-āḡavum ippa-
ḍikku inda śītāsāsana[m-e]uḍiṇa²⁰malukku kōyil-kkaṇakku Śrī-Raṅganārāyaṇa-priyaṇ
eḷuttu []²¹ Dāna-pāṇasyū[r-mma]ḍhyē²² dānāt-chihārē(ch-chhārē)yo-ṇupāṇanam dānāt
svargam-avā[ṇō]-²³
- 13 ti pāṇāṇāt (nāḍ-)achyutam padam []²⁴
- 14 Aḷukku Tāttai-Ayyaṅgārē santāna-parum[pa]rai-āga aṇubavittu-kkoḷa-kkaḍavar-
āḡavum []²⁵

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) In the Saka year (indicated by) sētuvandya²⁶ Śrīman Veṅkaṭadēśika gave the village,
Chintāmaṇi, to Śrī-Raṅgēśa.

¹ The syllable *ma* is written with one *a* below the other.

² A corrupt form of *kēḷka*.

³ The stone is mutilated here. *Sa* or *ma* may be the intended letter.

⁴ The sign for *vēḷka* is inserted in between the two consonants.

⁵ The usual prothetic vowel *u* has been replaced here by *i* in *Iraṅganāḍa*.

⁶ Read *āchēḷāḷām*.

⁷ Represented by a symbol.

⁸ Either 7 is a mistake for 6 or 14 is a mistake for 15.

⁹ The figure 1 seems to have been written later at the beginning of the line.

¹⁰ The letter *r* is a mistake for the ordinary *ṛ*.

¹¹ This portion is written over an erasure and hence illegible; nevertheless it can be read on the impression. This erasure and the last line of the inscription raise some suspicion about the genuineness of this portion. Usually this share is given to a nominee of the donor. Hence it is called *vīṭṭavaṇ vīḷukkāḍu*. It is highly improbable that a royal preceptor would have thought of nominating himself or his descendants to receive the share. This portion may be a later interpolation.

¹² The length of the *o* medial sign is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

¹³ Line 14 seems to have been written later after the engraving of the main inscription was completed.

¹⁴ This chronogram yields the number 1467.

(lines 2-3) Be it well ! Hail, Prosperity !

In the **Saka year 1467**, corresponding to the (cyclic) year, **Viśvāvasu**, in the month of **Phālguna**, on Monday which was a day of the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight, with **Rāhigī-nakshatra**, when **Mahārājādhirāja-Rājapāramitōvara-Śrī-Vīrapratāpa-Śrīmat-Sadāśivādēva-Mahārāya** was ruling the earth, **Avukū Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** alias **Śrīśailapārṇa-Tātāchārya** respectfully conveyed the following deed of endowment (*śilāśāsanam*) to the treasury of (the temple of) **Śrī-Rāṅganātha** at **Tiruvanaṅgam-Tiruppadi** (situated in) **Viḷavarāvidi-vaṇaṇḍu** in **Pāṇḍikulāṣam-vaṇaṇḍu** on the southern bank (of the **Kāvērī**) (to wit)

(lines 1-7) (whereas) the village, **Chintāmaṇi** (lying) to the west of **Kiḷṇāḍu-Devadāgam** in **Uṇaiyūr-kōṟṟam** in **Taḍjāūr-nāvaḷi** in **Iṇḍagambhira-vaṇaṇḍu** on the southern bank (of the **Kāvērī**) to the north of the mud-fort of **Tiruchchirāppalli**, to the east of **Krishṇarāya-Alavanampuram**, on the **Uṇaiyūr** road and to the south of the **Kāvērī**, had been, in former days, made into a hamlet of **Tiruvanaṅgam-Tiruppadi** (and),

(whereas) later, **Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar** seeing the river encroaching (on the land up to) **Tiruvanaṅgam-Tiruppadi**, fixed a *ganṭa* on the bank at (a spot called) **Āṇikōttāy-karai** facing west, consecrated (the deity) **Sūktā** there, cut out a stream (called) **Kiḷiyāru** (thereby) drying up the southern (branch of the) **Kāvērī** and in order to permanently dry it up planted *nāḷal* (grass) on the northern bank (of the southern **Kāvērī**) while not doing so on the southern bank of the **Kiḷiyāru**, (thereby) causing (some) land in **Chintāmaṇi** (to be) inundated (by the flow of the water), and issued a decree (granting) the village of **Koḷakuttai** to the **Mahājanas** of **Chintāmaṇi** as exchange (and).

(whereas) the **Chōḷa** (king) invited the **Jiyar** and questioned whether a *saṅgāsā* (like him), who should have compassion on all living beings, could thus do harm to the **Brāhmanas**, and (who) on the (**Jiyar** replying) that he had done the deed, since the same God who had (the authority) to give such an order causing suffering to **Brāhmanas** had Himself stated in the **Bhagavad-Gītā** (thus), "Anything done for the sake of good (or in devotion to my cause) though sinful, is ordained as proper (in the interest) of dharma" was pleased (with the answer) and said that, if this was the motive, the deed though sinful was as valuable as fine gold and granted the village (**Chintāmaṇi**) to God **Rāṅganātha**, (and).

(lines 8-9) (whereas) a long time after (this grant) the village came under the *paṇḍāraṇḍai* (tenure) for a short while and then was left uncultivated,

(whereas) our loving disciples, Hail ! Prosperity ! **Mahāmanḍalōvara Sōmakulatilaka-Rāmarāja** and **Sadāśiva-Mahārāya** were pleased to grant to me on *śubhāḥḡya* (tenure) this village (of the extent of) *nāḷai* (land) $7\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*) and 2 *mā*, *paṇḍai* (land) $7\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*), (i.e. in all) 14 (*vēli*) and 2 *mā* (yielding an income of) 146 *poṇ*, inclusive of settlement, fields, mounds, buildings, building-sites, river-(inundated) areas, canal-(occupied) areas, *vēḷḷēṅguḷi-eruppa* and all rights over the incomes of the village, as well as over treasure-trove, waters, etc.,

(lines 10-13) I, (**Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** alias **Śrīśailapārṇa-Tātāchārya**) do hereby grant this renovated village in the same way as was endowed formerly by **Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar**, to the God (**Perumāḷ**) as interest-bearing endowment for the daily offering of four dishes (of food) out of the produce of the village for the merit of both the **Rāja** and the **Rāja**; (and do hereby stipulate that) of the four dishes of food, one-fourth share is to be given to **Avukū Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** and his descendants as long as the sun and moon endure, the rest of the offered food being distributed among the **Śrīvaishnavas** ;

in attestation (of the above deed), this is the signature of the temple accountant **Śrīrāṅgamā-rāyaṇapriyaṇ**.

(Imprecatory verse)

(line 14) May **Avukū Tātāyaṅgār** and his descendants enjoy this !

written for medial *u* in lines 3, 8-9, 11-15, 22-23, 26, 35-36), but also of practically all Orissan inscriptions of about the same age. The form of medial *u* in *lū* in line 11 is different from the one usually found here. As usual, *o* has been indicated by the sign for *u*. *N* has two different forms; see *nivāsi* in line 3 and *manasi* in line 4. Final *m* occurs in line 16 and final *t* in line 19. *Ta* for final *t* occurs in lines 3 and 18 and *nah* for final *n* in line 28. Initial *u* has been employed in line 23 while the sign for *avagraha* is found thrice in lines 32 and 37. Medial *ri* has different forms. Its sign in *brīta* and *sad-driśi* (line 4) and *hrīdaya* (line 6) is not the same as in *brīśā* (line 7). Note also the sign of the same vowel in *śhrīta* (lines 6 and 9). The symbols for 200 and 80 are employed in writing the date in line 37.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The introductory portion of the inscription (lines 1-25 containing fifteen stanzas) is in verse with the only exception of a small prose passage in line 3. These verses are also found in the Bāṅpur plate, although there are a few omissions in the two Gañjām plates. It is interesting to note that the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found at the end of charters are conspicuous by their absence in the record under notice. In point of orthography, the present inscription closely resembles the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates. There are some errors such as *ae* for *āe* and *ā* for *ī* (line 1), *vi* for *bhi* (line 7), *ṣṭha* for *ṣṭa* (line 14), *ṣri* for *śri* (line 16), *vi* for *vī* (line 17), *ṭi* for *ṭi* (line 23), *ni* for *nī* (line 34), *ni* for *nī* (line 37), etc. In some cases, *anusaṃ* has been written for final *m* (see lines 4 and 19). In line 9, it substitutes final *n*.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 280 of an unspecified era. The symbol for 200 is a clear *lū* and we know from Nepalese and Bengali manuscripts that, while *lu* indicates the figure 100, *lū* signifies 200.² But the difficulty in regard to the date of the present record is that, in the Gañjām plate (A), as rightly pointed out by Kielhorn,³ "the symbol for 100 is something between *lu* and *lū* just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāṅgaṅghāṭi plate (of Raghavāṇja) is *lū*." The case is the same with the first symbol in the date of the Bāṅpur plate. Now the problem is while the first symbol in the dates of the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates have to be read as 100 and while the second symbol indicating 80 is the same in those records as well as in the present charter, the first symbol in the date of the record under discussion is clearly to be read as 200. It can hardly be normal to read the date of one record of a person as 180 and that of another record of the same person as 280, as one is not expected to date one's different records in two different eras with epochs separated exactly by one century. The first symbol in the date of the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates as well as of the present record thus seems to have the same value, either 100 or 200. There seems, however, to be strong evidence in favour of the reading 100 instead of 200. It has to be remembered that all the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family used the same era in dating their documents and that there is no doubt about the reading of many of the dates. The Dhauī inscription* of Śāntikara I is undoubtedly dated in the year 93. The date of the Hindol plate* of his son Śubhākara III is also clearly 103. This king was succeeded by his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī I, the date of whose Bhīmāgarīgarh plate* is probably the year 120. The first symbol in the dates of the records of Śubhākara III and Tribhuvanamahādevī I is a quite clear *lu*. Now, as will be clear

¹ In this case, the *visarga* may have also been intended to be a part of the mark of interpolation that follows.

² Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (translation); *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 77.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 153. Bhattacharya seems to be wrong in interpreting the symbol as 200 (cf. *Lit.*, No. 14137).

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 294.

⁵ *JBOIS*, Vol. XVI, p. 77. The recently discovered Termodik plate of Śubhākara II, cousin and predecessor of Śubhākara III, is dated in the year 100. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff. This plate has been registered as C. P. No. 19 of the *A. R. I. S.* for 1950-51.

⁶ *Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 121. The second symbol in the date of this record looks like *śam* which would ordinarily be interpreted as 80 (cf. Ojha, op. cit., Plate LXXIII). But dates in the later records of the family and the possible confusion between the *ś* and *l* symbols suggest 20 in this case.

from the following discussion on the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas, Śubhākara III who ruled in the year 103 and probably died before the year 120 was the great-great-grandfather of the issuer of the record under discussion; that is to say, only three generations intervened between Śubhākara III and the issuer of the present charter. As is usual, we may count three quarters of a century for these three generations. This will show that we have to read 180 as the year of the issue of the present charter and certainly not 280, because in that case more than one century and a half for the three intervening generations would be preposterously abnormal. Thus the symbol *lū* in the date of our record actually stands for *lu* indicating 100 and this mistake may be due to the confusion between the medial signs for *u* and *ū* in the present record as well as in others, to which attention has already been invited above. It has been suggested that the Buddhist dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas was accorded a feudatory position in Orissa by Harsha Śilāditya during his Kōśāgōda expedition about 643 A.C. and that the Bhauma-Karas used the Harsha era of 606 A.C. The present record would thus be dated in the year 180 of the Harsha era corresponding to 786 A.C. Attention may be drawn to the mention of a solar eclipse as the occasion of the grant in line 36 of the charter. There were actually two solar eclipses in the year 786 A.C., one on Monday, the 3rd April, and the other on Wednesday, the 27th September.¹ But as will be seen from further discussions on the Bhauma-Kara chronology below, the above date of the charter under discussion is not free from doubt. It has also to be admitted that the palaeography of the record seems to suggest a much later date.

The charter begins with a verse containing the description of the city of Guhēśvarapāṭaka, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately following. This verse as well as most of those which describe the Bhauma-Kara genealogy is also found in some inscriptions of other members of the family.² The city, otherwise known as Guhadēvapāṭaka, was the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa and is actually mentioned in many of their documents. It has been referred to as a place where the victorious *skandhāvāra* of the reigning monarch is said to have been situated. The word *skandhāvāra* originally indicated 'a camp', but later also 'a royal city or capital'.³ Verse 2 introduces the illustrious king named Unmattasinha. From other inscriptions of this family, which is called Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in later epigraphs, we know that its progenitor was a *paramāpāsaka* (i.e., Buddhist) named Kāśhēmaṅkara or Lakshmīkara.⁴ His son and successor was a *paramatāhagata* (i.e., devout worshipper of the Tāhāgata or Buddha), Mahārāja Śivakara I, also called Unmattasinha (or 'kēśarin') and Bhārassha. This king is said to have married, according to the Rākshasa form of wedding, the lady Jayāvalī who was the daughter of a ruler of Rādha in the valley of the river Ajay in the Burdwan region of South-West Bengal. Verse 3 of our record speaks of the illustrious king Gayāḍa and others who were born in the family of Unmattasinha. Other records of the family represent king Gayāḍa I as the grandson of Unmattasinha. We know that Śivakara I-Unmattasinha-Bhārassha was succeeded by his son, the *paramasaugata* (devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) Śubhākara I, who is called Mahārāja in his own Neulpur plate,⁵ but is endowed with full imperial titles in the record of his successor. He is represented as the lord of the Utkala country, as the subduer of the Kaliāga people and as a grantor of land in Uttara-Tōsalī. He married Mādhavadēvī who gave birth to Mahārājajūṣhīśas Śivakara II and Śāntikara I. King Śāntikara I was also known as Gayāḍa I and Lalitabhāra (or 'hāra') I and was probably the founder of Gayāḍapura mentioned

¹ L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 174-75.

² See, e.g., the Taltail plate of Dharmamulādēvī, which has all the verses with slight changes in a few of them (*IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 247-50).

³ *Successors of the Śāstrikas*, p. 47.

⁴ Some scholars are inclined to take Kāśhēmaṅkara and Lakshmīkara as two different members of the family.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1 ff. The date of this record written in one symbol is uncertain, but may be the year 70.

Śubhākara I seems to have been the first imperial ruler of the Bhauma-Kara family.

in a later record of the family. We have referred above to his Dhauhi inscription dated in the year 93 and to his queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who is described as a *paramamahārāṣṭrī* and as the daughter of a Nāga chief of the southern country, named Rājamalla. Verse 4 of our record mentions a king named Lōgabhāra as born in the family of Śāntikara I. It is known, however, from other records that Lōgabhāra (or Lavaṇa) was actually the grandson of Śāntikara I. The son of Śāntikara I, surnamed Gayāḍa and Lalitabhāra (or 'bhāra'), was Śubhākara III otherwise called Kusumabhāra (or 'bhāra') and Simhadhvaja (or 'kōṭa').¹ This king is known to have granted lands in both northern and southern Tōsalī in the year 103.² The grant of land in Uttara-Tōsalī was made at the request of his feudatory, Pulindarāja (either indicating a personal name or less probably signifying 'the king of the Pulindas') in favour of the god Vaidyanātha-bhattāraka (Śiva) enshrined in the Pulindēvara temple. The land granted in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī was actually situated in the Kōṅgōdamandala *vishaya*. This king was probably succeeded first by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi I *alias* Sindagaurī I and then by his young son Śāntikara II.³ Tribhuvanamahādēvi is said to have been requested by the feudatories to assume the reins of government in the same way as an ancient queen named Gōsvāminī had done.⁴ As noticed above, a date in Tribhuvanamahādēvi's reign probably falls in the year 120. Śāntikara II, who succeeded his grandmother, was also known as Lōgabhāra (or Lavaṇa) I and Gayāḍa II. We know that Śāntikara II *alias* Lavaṇabhāra *alias* Gayāḍa married Hīramahādēvi, daughter of Śimhamāna, and begot on her two sons, viz., Śubhākara IV (surnamed Kusumabhāra or 'bhāra II') and Śivakara III (surnamed Lalitabhāra or 'bhāra II') both of whom became kings and are mentioned in our record in verses 5 and 6. By this time the Bhauma-Karas were no longer adherents of the Buddhist religion. *Mahārājadhīrāja* Śubhākara IV (Kusumabhāra II) is called a *paramamahārāṣṭrī* in his Talcher plate⁵ of the year 145. His younger brother and successor Śivakara III is known from his records dated in the year 149.⁶ The sons of Śivakara III (Lalitabhāra II) were kings Śāntikara III (surnamed Lavaṇabhāra or Lōga II) and Śubhākara V, both of whom are mentioned in our record in verses 7 and 8.⁷ Śāntikara III married Dharmamahādēvi, while Śubhākara V had two queens, viz., Gaurī and Vakulamahādēvi. Both of these kings apparently died without leaving any male issue and, after the death of Śubhākara V, the throne passed to his queen Gaurī who is mentioned in our record in verse 9. Queen Gaurī was succeeded by her daughter, the *paramamahārāṣṭrī* *Paramabhattārīkā Mahārājadhīrāja-Paramēsvarī* Daṇḍimahādēvi who issued the charter under discussion in the year 180. One of the two Gaṇjām plates was issued by the same queen in the same year, but the Bāṇpur plate was issued by her in the year 187. We know that this queen was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādēvi who was the daughter of a Bhaṇja king.⁸ The throne next passed to Dharmamahādēvi, queen of Daṇḍimahādēvi's paternal uncle Śāntikara III (Lavaṇabhāra II). We offer below the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas in a tabular form for easy reference.

¹ We have now the Terupdi plate of Śubhākara II, son of Śivakara II, who ruled between Śāntikara I and his son Śubhākara III in the year 100.

² *JBOBS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 77 ff.; B. Misra, *Oxoni under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 14 ff., 22, and line 25 of plate F.

³ According to the recently discovered Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II *alias* Sindagaurī II, Gōsvāminī (i.e., Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) ascended the throne because her son Śubhākara III had died without leaving a son. This fact suggests that Śāntikara II was adopted as son by the chief queen of Śubhākara III some time after the death of her husband. The Baud plates have been registered as C. P. Nos. 20-21 of the A. E. I. E. for 1930-31.

⁴ The Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II suggest that Tribhuvanamahādēvi I called herself Gōsvāminī II.

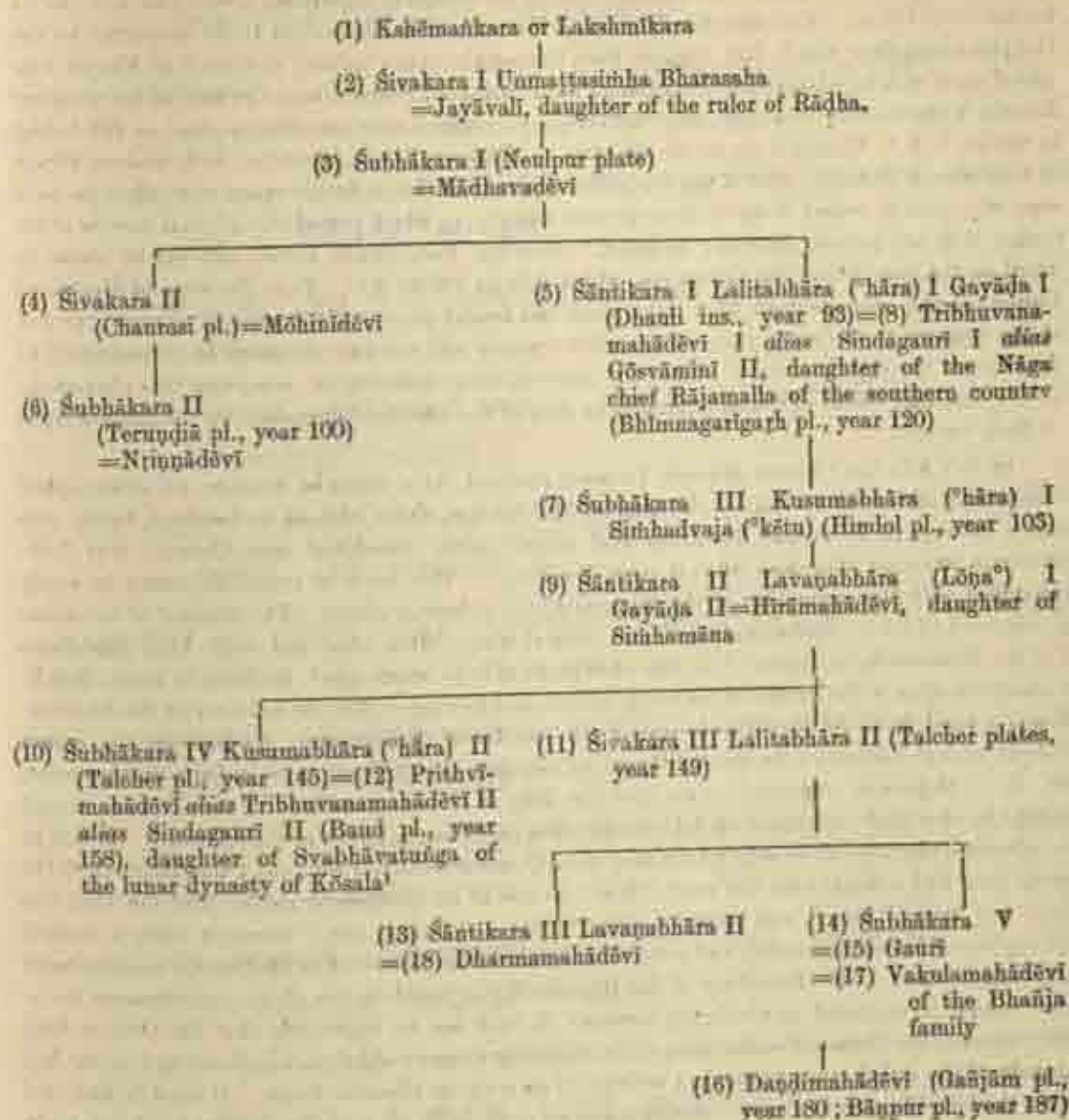
⁵ B. Misra, op. cit., Plate II, line 42; Misra reads the date as 141.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Plate I, line 30, and Plate J (reverse), line 6. The figure read here as 9 has a rather peculiar form.

⁷ The Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II, dated in the year 108, say that her husband, Śubhākara IV, and the latter's younger brother and successor, Śivakara III, both died without leaving sons, and therefore she herself ascended the throne. This shows that this queen and her supporters did not recognise Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V as sons of Śivakara III. It seems that there was a struggle for the throne after the death of Śivakara III between his sons and the queen of his elder brother and that queen Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was ultimately overthrown in favour of Śāntikara III.

⁸ *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20.

GENEALOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS



Before entering into the details of the grant made by means of the present charter, it is necessary to refer to an important point in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings. The dates of the Bhauma-Kara records would suggest that the family ruled for about two centuries.

¹ The recently discovered Baud plates of the queen say that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatunga, who belonged to the race of the moon and was the lord of Kōśala (apparently South Kōśala), from queen Nṛtīmahādēvi, daughter of Yaśovṛddhi. The grants were made at the request of Saṁlekḥā (wife of Mahāmāṇḍalāśīpaṇi alias Mangalākālāsa), who was born in the Virāṭa family and was married into the Vṛgṣḍi family, for the merit of the deceased father of the lady, in favour of the Nāṇḍāvāra temple (named after the dead man). The gift land was situated in the Tāmāśkhanda village within the Daṇḍabhukti mandala (about the present Danton in the Midnapur District of West Bengal). The temple in question, which was a Śaiva institution, seems to have been situated in the same area which was probably being ruled by the husband of Saṁlekḥā.

Elsewhere¹ it was suggested that Śivakara I-Unmattasimha-Bharasaha, the second ruler of the family, was probably installed by Harsha during his Kōṅgōda expedition about 643 A. C. as his feudatory in Orissa. This date for Śivakara I Unmattasimha was taken to be supported by the Gañjām inscription² which may suggest that Unmattakēsariu ("simha), stationed at Virajas, conquered parts of Kōṅgōdamanaḍala from Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvātaka with the help of his feudatory Rāpaka Vishavarjaya sometime after the Gaṅga year which may possibly be read as 120 falling in 616-18 A. C.³ Virajas is no doubt the same as Viraja or Virajā, identified with modern Jāipur in the Cuttack District. One of the Parlakimedi plates⁴ of Gaṅga Jayavarman was taken to be a copy of a genuine record of the sixth or seventh century, to which period the original records of the Gaṅga king are palaeographically assigned.⁵ Now the Parlakimedi record referred to above is dated in the year 100 of the Gaṅga era, which falls in 596-98 A.C. Thus the reign of Śivakara I Unmattasimha was assigned to a date about the second quarter of the seventh century, the end of the dynasty to the early years of the ninth century and the rule of queen Daṇḍimahādēvi to the close of the eighth century. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this chronology of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa especially in view of the late date suggested by the palaeography of their records.

In 793 A.C. the Chinese emperor Te-tsung received, as a token of homage, an autographed manuscript addressed to him by the king of Wu-cha (i.e., Ōdra, Orissa) in Southern India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion."⁶ This piece of evidence cannot be easily reconciled with the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas indicated above. The original of the name is supposed to be *śrī-Subhakaradēva Kēsari (Simha)* who is often identified with king Subhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. If this identification is to be accepted, we have to assign Daṇḍimahādēvi's reign to the middle of the tenth century and to suggest that the era used by the Bhauma-Karas started from the regnal reckoning of the founder of the dynasty. As however the names *Subhākara* and *Subhakara* are quite different in meaning, it is difficult to be definite on this point. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested to me that the king of Orissa mentioned in the Chinese record should be identified with Śivakara I Unmattasimha (or "kēsari), father of Subhākara I. It has to be admitted that this is the only known king of early-medieval Orissa who was a Buddhist and at the same time had a name with the word "lion" as one of its component parts. But the word *śrī* does not mean "pure" and *unmatta-simha* means a "furious lion," *unmatta* being a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *uṣmatta*, and none of these words can be traced in the Chinese translation of the Indian name. The chronology of the Bhauma-Karas based on the above identification therefore cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. It may not be impossible that the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records belonged to a different dynasty of rulers, who flourished in the last decade of the eighth century but had nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It must be admitted that the identification is a mere conjecture and we shall have to wait for further evidence to be definite in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and the identity of the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records.⁷

¹ Cf. *Journ. Ind. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

² *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

³ See *JKHS*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21; Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 268-69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64. Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes to me: "A more literal translation of the king's name and title would be 'the auspicious lion pure-doing-lion king.' The literal Sanskrit restoration looks more sensible: *śrī-tisra-Subhakaravimha-rāja*. The name was evidently understood in Chinese as *Subhakara*."

⁷ For new evidence regarding the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era about 820-25 A.C., see our article entitled "Two Grants from Dasapalla" to be published in this journal.

- 2 अमिताति मूर्द्धन ॥१॥ विस्तरे पंचपंचादन्मिता निम्नमिता गजाः [१^{*}] दशोपर्युदये सति
द्वाविंशतिमिताः किली ॥२॥ निम्नाया(या)
- 3 [प]ञ्चमुक्तिश्रुद्धं तत्र कमं वदे । भूम्युद्धमाष्टगजकं पीठं(ठ)मेकोद्धयुगजः ॥३॥ येन-
सात्रयमानं त्वासाद्धंदादशसद्व-
4 ज(जाः) ॥४॥ तिलकप्रयमप्रय जयोदशगजविधि ॥४॥ चत्वारः संगिकार्यस्य स्वर^१ एकस्वरं
प्रति । सोपाननवकं त्वेवं षट्त्रिं-
5 शे(श)त्प्रमितिः स्फुटा ॥५॥ सोपानानामित्युदये पंचत्रिंशद्गजैर्मितिः । सप्तपंचाशदित्येवं गजाः
सर्वोदयस्त्रिंशती ॥६॥ अथ
6 बुरिज^२कोष्ठानां कोष्ठे प्रासादविनिष्पत्ते । देध्वं गजास्तु पंचाशन्नियमे पंचविंशतिः^३ [१^{*}] ७॥
सत्पंचसप्ततिवृत्ते त्रिंशदेवोदये
7 गजाः । गर्भकोष्ठं संव(ब)तायां पंचसप्ततिका गजाः ॥८॥ साद्धंसाप्तकत्रिंशन्नियमे
वृत्तकपके । शतं साद्धंद्वादशकं ग-
8 जानां च तथोदयं ॥९॥ पंचत्रिंशद्गजाः कोष्ठं तृतीयं पूर्वकोष्ठवत् । पंचचत्वारिंशद-
पञ्चतमानं गजा मूढः [१^{*}] १०[१^{*}] भू-
9 ती सेतोस्तु पाश्चात्यभागे प्रोक्तास्ति संव(ब)ता । गजसप्तशतीमाना विस्तरे निम्नभूतले
॥११॥ गजा अष्टादशकोद्धं(द्धं) पंचवम्-
10 दये तथा । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यास्तु सर्वा सेतोरियं स्थितिः ॥१२॥ षट्त्रिंशदुद्यन्मिति-
शोभमाना सोपानमाला महतो हि सेतोः । वि-
11 भाति कोष्ठत्रितयं तदेतद्भूपालपालव(ब)नकारि नूनं ॥१३॥ यमौवचा(वी) तत्र महास्मृती-
नामुपस्मृता(ती)नां विदधत्सुसं । वेद-
12 अथ वात्र करोति वासं कलिप्लुतां म्लेच्छ(व्य)भुवं विमुच्य ॥१४॥ राजमंदि[रदि]-
श्रयस्ति स्थानं तु चतुरस्रकं । सेतो तत्रायवैणायो
13 वेदस्तिष्ठ(ष्ठ)ति मंत्रवान् ॥१५॥ जलहट्टमयं तत्र शोभतेत्रारहट्टकं । तत्रात्रमंदिरा[रुपे]-
स्मिन्मुसं वाप्या जलाशयं ॥१६॥^४
14 आस्ते नवचतुष्कोयुद्धमंथं त्वत्र सुंदरं । जलदशगि(ग)वाजास्तमतिचित्रकरं नृपां ॥१७॥
महासेतो संगिकार्यव्यं विजय-

^१ Meaning 'layer'.

^२ Meaning 'bastion'; Hindustani *burj*.

^३ 'Ganges' is engraved above the line.

^४ This sign of ascription is not required.

- 15 ते परं । युक्तं भवत्तुष्कीनी राजमंडपं(१)युग्मकं ॥१८॥ तत्राष्टदशलीङ्गानां दर्शनाच्चित्रकारकं ।
षट्चतुर्ध्वजित्तमेकं वा
- 16 भाति मंडपं ॥१९॥ पञ्चोद्गाणे महासितोर्मंडपत्रितयं तथा । सभामंडपमेकं हि महा-
सेतोरियं स्थितिः ॥२०॥ निवसेतुप्रभा-
- 17 ये तु वक्ष्यामि क्षितिपाल ते । दैर्घ्यं गजानां द्वाविंशदधं शतचतुष्टयं ॥२१॥ विस्तारे
पंचदश वै निम्नभूमी गजास्तथा । पंचोद्गमूद-
- 18 ये चैव दशापी भद्रसेतुके ॥२२॥ चतुदशत्वारिंशदधं गजानां दैर्घ्यतः शतं । विस्तारे
द्वादश गजास्तने पंचैव मस्तके ॥२३॥ त्रयोदशोद-
- 19 ये भद्रं सुभद्रं चतुरस्रकं । कौष्ठकं विंशतिगजा मूर्द्ध्नाविति संस्थितिः ॥२४॥ कांक-
रोलाग्रामसेती दैर्घ्यं निम्नधरास्तने । पंचाशच्छुक् पंच-
- 20 शती गजानां मूर्द्ध्ना सप्त वै ॥२५॥ शतानि षट्पंचाशच्च पंचविंशच्च विस्तारे ।
निम्नभूमी सप्त गजा मस्तके तूदये तथा ॥
- 21 ॥२६॥ निम्नभूमी सप्तदश गजा उपरि वा भुवः । गजा अष्टविंशदेव कौष्ठ(६८)कत्रितयं
त्विह ॥२७॥ सभामंडपविष्णुसंस्थको-
- 22 ष्टंष्टाविंशतिगजाः । विस्तारे निर्गमे माने चतुर्दश तकोदये ॥२८॥ सादृष्टद्विंश-
देवाय सुभद्रं मध्यकौष्ठके । ष(द्वि)-
- 23 शद्विस्तरे पंचदशा(श) निर्गमने गजाः ॥२९॥ उदयेष्टविंशदेव तृतीये पूर्वदिक्स्थिते ।
कौष्ठंष्टाविंशतिर्माने विस्तारे निर्गमे]
- 24 गजाः ॥३०॥* द्वादशोदये सप्तविंशदेव मूदो भूती । पंचचत्वारिंशदधं गजानां शतक
ततः ॥३१॥ ३०(३१) ॥३२॥ पाश्चात्यभागे सेतोस्तु गजानां तु [स]-
- 25 ह्यस्रकं । दैर्घ्यं विस्तारतः पंचदश निम्नक्षिती गजाः ॥३३(३२)॥ दशमूर्द्ध्नाप्यदये स्व
द्वाविंशतिमिता गजाः ॥३४॥ अत्रोदयस्तु(स्तु) भवित-
- 26 *अष्टविंशद्गजावपि ॥३२(३३)॥ अयोध्यारेणुकाशं त्रजलेभ्यो स्नेह(चङ्क)भीततः । भारवाग-
स्थाध्यात्मकपेन्द्रिरामो कौष्ठकत्रय ॥
- 27 ३३(३४)॥ भूती जीर्णानिलयमागतं स्थापितं हि तत् । भार्गोस्य स्थापितस्तस्य दर्शनं
जायते सदा ॥३४(३५)॥ रामसेती यथा भाति [श्री*]-

* This is written in smaller character below the line

* The intended reading is *saumati*

* *Sandhi* is not observed here *subscriptum*.

- 39 ईर्ष्यविस्तारयोः समाः । द्वादशौषधये त्वेत्तच्छतुरस्रं सुषड्वक्त्रं ॥४७(५१)॥ सुषड्वक्त्रं सारहृष्टं
सारहृष्टतदीचिती । मध्यकोष्ठे द्वादशौष वैर्ष्यं निर्गमयो-
40 र्गजाः ॥४८(५२)॥ उदये सप्तदश वा षड्वक्त्राकृति त्वेवं षड्वक्त्राद्वक्त्रप्रान्तिबु-
द्धिर्वा^१ गले ॥४९(५३)॥ अष्टावकोष्ठं(५४) कमलचूरिजाह्वयम-
41 न्न तु । ईर्ष्यविस्तारयोस्त्रिंशद्गजा नव तन्त्रोदय(ये) ॥५०(५४)॥ अष्टान्व(बोन्व)लोप-
लसत्समंङ्गं सेतुमंङ्गं [१^२] इष्टाष्टपुत्रिकाष्टकीदाष्टिमनोहरं ॥५१(५५)
42 [एता^३?] राज[स^४]मुर्वं(३) हि रत्ता(त्ता)करमिहाङ्गुलि । स्थित्वाष्ट षट्पराशीस्ताः पश्यन्
कि र[म]ति हृदि ॥५२(५६)॥ अत्र सेतोरग्रभागे राजते मंङ्गप्रथमं ॥(१)
43 [इ]ति राजसमुद्रस्य वीरेदोक्त(क्ति)मया स्थितिः ॥५३(५७)॥ इत(ति) श्रीराजप्रशस्तो
भट्टरी(र)णद्योडविरचिते^५ ऐ(ए)कादशः सर्गः[२^६] ॥५१॥
44 आलाटिप्रास्वसेत्कवचभागे सम्मंङ्गप्रथमं^७ ॥ जद्य

Slab XIII ; Canto XII

[Metres : vv. 1-17, 19-23, 29-31, 37, 38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 18, 32, 33, 39, 41 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ;
vv. 24, 25, 28 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 26, 27, 35, 36 *Upajāti* ; vv. 34, 40 *Śragdhara*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओटा^१ त्वेकात्र मंङ्गत्वे सार्द्धद्विशतसंमिताः । गजा दश च
विस्तारे सार्द्धकमुगजोदया ॥१॥ ओटा द्विती-
2 या विस्तारे ईर्ष्यं पूर्वसमोदये । सार्द्धद्विगजमानास्ति स्रु(त्)तीयो(यो)टा तु ईर्ष्यतः ॥२॥
गजद्विशतमानास्ति विस्तरेत्र गजा दश । उदये
3 सगजद्विगज मंङ्गप्रथमत्र हि ॥३॥ ओटात्र^२ममिव भाति यावद्वज्रमुविस्तरं । तावद्वज्र-
मगणं वीरे(रेः) पूर्णं वितमूले ध्रुवं ॥४॥ मोर्वणा-
4 ग्रामसौम्यधस्ति तटाकतलंघुगिरिः । भृंगेस्य मंङ्गपो दृष्ट्वा पश्चिमैर्षदमपतेः^३ ॥५॥
वद्व्यं(स्त)भो मंङ्गपोस्तत्र गोष्ठौ पत्यंक्-

^१ This syllable has apparently not at all been engraved, but the space for it is left blank on the stone.

^२ Being followed by a conjunct consonant, this syllable is long, while metrically a short one is required in its stead. Therefore better read *gajāśatatra na=daya*.

^३ This reading is extremely doubtful.

^४ Read : *vīrocitāyām*.

^५ See notes 5 and 6 on p. 43 above.

^६ *Ōṣ* is a Bājaśāli word meaning 'a dam'.

^७ There is a cancelled sign of superscript *r* over *tra*.

^८ The form *arhadam*, being an adjective of *mandapa*, ought to be *arhadāḥ*. The following word is *Appati* meaning perhaps 'Varuṇa' and not 'ocean'. We may read *paśchimā-rthapradī-ppatiḥ*.

- 5 लेखकाः । कुर्वन्ति मंडपास्तत्रेत्येकत्रिंशतिमंडपाः ॥६॥ ग्रामास्तत्राग्रेऽप्रायताः सिवाली च
भिगावदो । भाणो लुहाणो वा-
- 6 सोल गुडलीत्यस्त्रिंशत् इमे ॥७॥ मोचेंना च पसौवद्व चोडी छापरेलेडिका । तासोल
एषां ग्रामाणां सीमा मंडोवर-
- 7 स्य च ॥८॥ तत्राग्रेऽप्रायता नद्यो गोमती तालनामयुक् । केतवास्थनवी सिधौ गंगाद्या
विविशुर्वचा ॥९॥ कां-
- 8 करोती लोहाणाख्या सिवालीनां जलाशयाः । निपानवापीकूपाश्च त्रिंशत्(विंश)त्संख्या इहागता-
[ः*] ॥१०॥ सर्वे-
- 9 तुभित्विष्ये चतुःषष्टि(षट्)शतानि च । त्रयोदशास्त्राणि तथा गजानामपरं वदे ॥११॥
श्रीराजसिंहनृप-
- 10 तेरवे गजवरैः कृता । गालाग्योर्ध्वेन दीप्येष्ट सहस्राणि गजावलेः ॥१२॥ विद्वकर्मोत्तवानेवं
तदा-
- 11 गानां तु संबता । कर्तव्या यदुत्तमोद्यद्गजमानावधिः वरा ॥१३॥ तावत्संख्यामितं कोपि
तद्वर्गं कृत-
- 12 वाञ्छवा । स्वया सप्तसहस्रोद्यद्गजसंख्यो(बो) जलाशयः ॥१४॥ सेतुं कृत्वा विरचितो
धर्मसेतुर्धरापते । श्रीरा-
- 13 मसेतुप्रतिमः कीर्त्तसेतुः प्रभाति ते ॥१५॥ कोष्ठानि द्वावशाश्रितवृष्ट्या नृणां कर्म भवेत् ।
पाठस्य द्वावशस्रं-
- 14 ययुक्तभागवतस्य सत् ॥१६॥ एकत्रिंशतिसंख्यानि मंडपानि तदोक्षणात् । एकत्रिंशतितुःशाना-
मनामो भवितां
- 15 भवेत् ॥१७॥ चत्वारिंशदवाष्टमुक् समभवन्सेतौ महामंडपास्तेषवावो व(व)द्वमूल्यवस्त्ररचिताः
सहास्रमुष्टास्ततः । पाषा-
- 16 णैः समुपाभरं विरचिताः केचित्तु तेषु स्थितः स्वाज्ञां कार्पकृते दिशन्विजयते श्रीराजसिंहो
नृपः ॥१८॥ वस्त्रकाष्ठदम-
- 17 सुष्टाष्टचत्वारिंशन्मितेषु हि । मंडपव्यवशिष्टौ द्वौ शिलाकल्पितमंडपौ ॥१९॥ तद्वर्शनकराणां
स्पाद्वनधान्य-
- 18 भवं श्रवं । इति राजसमूहस्य प्राक्ता सर्वा स्थितिर्मया ॥२०॥ श्रीराजोदयोसहैः
स्थानेस्मिन्कृतवान्मुरा । से-

- 19 तु व(व)ङ् महायन्त्रं(त्वं) निःक(निष्क)लं तदभूद्विह ॥२१॥ ततो जलाशयं चक्रे श्रीमानुद्रव-
सागरं । तत्राकरोत्सेतुर्ब(व)धं संघ(व)धं घ-
- 20 मपद्धतेः ॥२२॥ अस्मिन्स्थले राजसिंहो राज्ञो[दो] राजराजकृत् । यत्तद्व्ययं चित्तवानः सेतुं
चक्रे तद्वद्भुतं ॥२३॥
- 21 सेतौस्तु अर्त्ता रघुवंशकेतु रामयच राजोदयसिंहदेवः । श्रीराजसिंहो नृपतिस्तर्ध्वमग्नौ न
भूतो भविता न
- 22 नास्ति ॥२४॥ पूर्वं शते सप्तदशे सुवर्णे त्रिंशन्मिते भाट^१ इहागता द्राक् । वेताल-
सुत्तानजवाय तातना-
- 23 म्नी नदी तालगभीरनीरा ॥२५॥ संप्लावितं नीरभरः पुरं द्राक् तथा गृहान्य(व्य)व
विनाशितानि । चकार ब(व)धं नृ-
- 24 पतिस्तदस्या न्यायेन युक्तं भुवि नीचगैयं ॥२६॥ तथात्र वर्षे त्विष^२ आगता द्राक्^३
निशोयकालेभित्तये तडाये
- 25 श्रीयोगतीर्थन्यूनदीजलं वा व(व)भूव हस्ताष्टकमात्रमुत्त^४ ॥२७॥ तद्वर्जितं राजनृपेन(ण) गंगा
स्पृष्टाकराद्यं भुवि
- 26 कर्त्तमाना । श्रीगंगया साङ्गेमहो तुलार्चं संप्राप्तवाष्पी(व्पी) न्यपतत्तडाये ॥२८॥ शते सप्त-
दशोत्ते त्रिंशदाव्यावमा-
- 27 घके । पुर्णिमाया(मां) हिरण्यस्य पत्तर्पचशतः कृतां ॥२९॥ ददौ सुवर्णपुष्पिणीं महावान-
विधानतः । श्रीरा-
- 28 णाराजसिंहाख्यः पृथ्वीनाथो महामनाः ॥३०॥ अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यानि कप्यमृदावलेरिह । सहस्रा-
- 29 णि क्षिप्तगानि महावानस्य भूपतेः ॥३१॥ दत्तायां कनकक्षितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य
एव(वा) गृहे कर्त्तं सि(मि)क्षु-
- 30 मवेऽयं निष्कगणो दिग्बतिनामष्टकं । हिखी ज(ज)तुघयश्च विष्णगरुडं नागवज्रो जेचसं
भूतोऽथो म-
- 31 यवान(यन्त्र)मेवमहितो दूरं प्रयाति दुर्ल ॥३२॥ दत्तायां कनकक्षितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य
एव(वा) गृहे श्रीराणामक्षिरा-

^१ *Bhāṭa* appears to be the local term for 'flood'; Hindi *bāḍ* from Sanskrit *bāḍ* to 'overflow'. The word is here used in the feminine gender as it is in Hindi.

^२ *Yaka* is *Ārya*.

^३ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 32 अस्मिन् सकल(सं) कुलं प्रवष्टं शुभं । बह्वैः क्षीतनवं तमोभवमिनाम्नात्मिण्यज चाप्यते¹द्वं-
द्वाष्ट्रीण्यमभवं रजोऽजम-
- 33 नितान्तच्छ्रेष्ठं दुर्मिक्षं ॥३३॥ इत्याद्यां हेमपुण्यां प्रभ(भु)वर भवताराद्विजेभ्यस्तु सर्वं कार्यं
कुर्वत्यगर्वं निजि-
- 34 तमुत्कृते तद्गुहे राजसिह् । गोविन्दो दुग्धदोग्धा पशुपतिरपि वा रक्षकः सत्पशूनां
जीवो² वा(वा)तप्रपाटी रिपुग-
- 35 भविष्ये धम्मसुखः संमुखोभूत् ॥३४॥ पूर्वं शते सप्तदशोऽयं एकविंशन्मिते धायणशुक्लपक्षे ।
सुपंचमी
- 36 दिव्यदिने तदागे जहाजसंज्ञा विदधुः सुनोकाः ॥३५॥ लाहोरसमुज्ज्वरगुरनिष्ठाः सत्सुख्यारा
वध-
- 37 गन्धं भन्धे । स(स्वर्)द्वितीये जलपी तु सितं द्रष्टु(ष्टु) सुहार्देन समागतस्य ॥३६॥ शते
सप्तदशोतीत एक-
- 38 विंशन्मितेऽवधे । स्वजन्मदिवसे हेमपलपंचशतेः कृतं ॥३७॥ विश्वचक्रै(कं) महाद(दा)नं
विभिनादात्त श-
- 39 क्वत् । भूचक्रे राजसिंहोस्ति विश्वचक्रै(स्ति) तद्यदाः ॥३८॥ इत्ते हाटकविश्वचक्र
उचितं विप्रैभ्य ए-
- 40 वा गृहे³ उच्चै(र्वा)ति तदभंका निशि रवि पृथा विपुं वा दिने । तत्राग्री दिनगङ्गा
रात्रिरधुना कर्माणि कुर्युः कुतो
- 41 विद्या धर्मकुला त्वया कथमयं स्थाप्योऽयं धर्मः प्रभोः ॥३९॥ सोवर्णे विश्वचक्रे क्षितिधर
भवता इत्त एषां
- 42 द्विजेभ्या(भ्यो) मेहेल्लेकत्र दामं विदधति विश्व(वु)धास्तस्मिन्ना बाह्यानि देवानां त-
स्मिन्नानि स्फुटमिभ्रवदनी धे-
- 43 तयो राहुरिदुः सुयो वा वीषं श्रावुः सुरगज इति वा शंभुनंदी विचित्र ॥४०॥ इत्ते
हाटकविश्वचक्र उचितं विप्रै-
- 44 स्य एषा गृहे दारिद्र्यं खलु सर्वथैव विगतं धीराजवीर त्वया । धनतन्मीः किल
कल्पपूषधनदी चिंतामणिः

¹ As regards the meaning of *Appati*, see above p. 44, note 8.

² That is *Bishnupati*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 45 कामगीर्णैः स्वर्णमणिः क्षुद्रिच निषयो रत्नाकरो[र्व] ततः ॥४१॥ इति श्रीराजप्रवास्ति-
काण्ये द्वावि(व)शः रा(स)मैः ॥

Slab XIV ; Canto XIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, 8-13, 15-21, 24, 26, 31-35, 37, 38 *Upajām* ; vv. 5, 14 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 7, 25 *Indravajrā* ; v. 22 *Vamīasthavāla* ; vv. 23, 30, 36, 39 *Upajāti* of *Vamīasthavāla* and *Indravamī* ; vv. 27-29, 40-42 *Anuśubh.*]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ एवं प्रतिष्ठाविधिप्रयोगरूपे कृते तदानीं क्रियमाणकार्ये । उस्ताहपूर्णे
नृपरा[त्र*]सिंहो निर्मलवर्णः
2 ने(त्रे)वितवान्पुत्रेभ्यः ॥१॥ पुत्रादिरं कुर्म[म*]शेखरेभ्यः स्वर्णोन्नमूषेभ्य उतापरेभ्यः । यद्यो
यथायोग्यमहो महाश्वान्¹
3 रथास्तथा मारविषययुक्तान् ॥२॥ शिवोपधानाः ।² शिविकावलीस्ताः संप्रेषयामास तं
मुहस्तिनीन्च । विश्वातयोगयान्मनु-
4 जान्तिजादीन्विशयवेत्तानयनाय तेषाम् ॥३॥ कुलकम् ।³ यद्यो विशालेषु महामूर्हेषु राजाभिः
कार्यकरनरैस्तैः । पट्टाव(व)रा-
5 णां च पट्टावजो(जा)नां⁴ सुवर्णमुद्रोत्तमवात्सलां च ॥४॥ खल्वकुतानां विलसत्कुतानां प्रयत्न-
नीतामुलरत्नकानाम् । मनो-
6 [त्र]मुक्तावलिपुष्परागप्रज्वालगात्तमहीरकानां(णां) ॥५॥ गोमेदवैदूर्यकनीलकानां कण्डूष्य हृन्म-
था(द्व) महासम्-
7 हः । सुवर्णमुद्रा रजता[वज]मुद्रा निरिगुहदिवजमुपावसंघः [॥६॥*] कस्तुरिकाशस्तवयो
गुरुणां कर्पूरपूरद्वय गणोऽगुरु-
8 णां । काश्मीरजानां निकरः सुगंधद्रव्यस्य नय्यो वि[वि*]धः प्रब(व)धः [॥७॥*] संस्था-
पितः स्थापितपुण्यकीर्तनपर्युषणैव धनप्रयुक्तैः
9 ॥(१) ॥ ॐ ध्यान्वाविहृद्वाः शिवि(वि)राणि वालाः कृताः पुनस्तैर्विविधा विशालाः ॥८॥ कुलकं
॥ अमुष्य वस्तुप्रसरस्य लोकैः पु-

¹ After this occurs the sign of *anugraha* six times repeated, possibly only to fill up the blank space and other-
wise meaningless.

² *Danda* is unnecessary.

³ This letter was wrongly engraved and is scored off.

⁴ This *danda* appears above the line.

⁵ The word *sat-dvaja* perhaps means 'tent'.

⁶ The three *anugraha* signs are superfluous.

- 10 श्री कदाप्यातधनं न दृष्टं । पुष्पकतया तेन वितर्कं एष प्रकल्पितः कर्कशताकि(र्क)कीर्षः ॥६॥ रघोः सकाशात्किल की-
- 11 त्तनाम्ना प्रदातुमग्रा गुरुदक्षिणां तां । इत्थं सुभल्यं व(व)हृ याचितं तन्निभानितं सद्यनि भूभूता न ॥१०॥ लब्ध(व्यं) विजेतुं
- 12 धनवै प्रतस्थे त[त]ः स शीघ्रं धनवस्तवेव । रात्रौ धनं भूरि रघोर्गृहीते संस्थापयामास महाभयाद्यः ॥१२(११)॥ युग्मं । तथा रघोद-
- 13 समर्पशत्रस्य श्रीराजसिंहस्य वसु प्रदातुं । कृतप्रतिज्ञस्य गृहे कुपेरः संस्थापयामास धनं तु युक्तं ॥१३(१२)॥ गोधूमगोत्राश्चणको(की)-
- 14 घशलाः सत्तनु(दु)लानां युधुपर्वताश्च । क्षमाभूतो मुद्गगणस्य तुंगा गोधूमपिष्टस्य विशिष्ट- शोलाः ॥१४(१३)॥ घृतस्य तंतस्य तु वापि-
- 15 कास्तु महाश्रयो वा मुडमंडलस्य । अर्जुनद्वयस्य महामहीश्रा धराधराः प्रोज्ज(ज्ज्व)लशकै- राणाम् ॥१५(१४)॥ घृतौघपक्वाग्रमहागि-
- 16 रौद्राः शिलोच्चया मौक्तिकमोदकानां ।¹ दुग्धोलसन्मोदकभूषराश्च कलाजलेर्दीप्तकतंगसंधाः ॥१६(१५)॥ कृता मुदा कार्य-
- 17 करैर्नरेर्द्वीक्(म्) तथति चंते नृप राजा(ज)सिंह ।² पाषाणशालान्व(न्व)हृषीप्रयत्त(स्ते) देशे श्रुतं दृष्टमिहाद्य विज्रम् ॥१७(१६)॥ रसे³रमी-
- 18 भिः पटशैलान्वंश्च रत्नेस्तुरंगैः करिनिश्च गोभिः । युक्तस्य दानाय धृतप्रजहं राजस्तवायं नगरः समुद्रः ॥१८(१७)॥ अ-
- 19 श्वा जनेः श्वासजितः स्वगत्या प्रचंडवे[त]डगणाः सुशुंडाः । रथास्तथा धन्ययुधैः सं(त)- नायाः संस्थापिता दानकृते नृ-
- 20 पस्य ॥१९(१८)॥ हेला[व]किणापि⁴ गजा महीतो महामदी विंशतिसंख्ययाश्वाः । आनीम राक्षे विनिवेदितास्तां नृ-
- 21 हीतवान्स्पृशतश्च शितीशः ॥२०(१९)॥ तथागरेणापि गजद्वयं सदानोत्तमीशेन गृहीतमेतत् । जलाशयोत्सर्गवि-
- 22 यो मय(वा) ते देया विचार्यति यज्ञाः स युक्तम् ॥२१(२०)॥ निमंत्रितास्ते नरनाथसंधाः समागताः सर्वकुटुंबयुक्ताः । अद्वै-

¹ This *duṇḍu* appears above the line.² Between *ani* and *ra* appears a cancelled *la*.³ The intended word is perhaps *hāṭṭarāṭṭa*.

- 23 स्तर्षणां करिर्भग्नं(वे)र्वा रवेः पुरे(रे) दुर्गम एव मार्गः ॥२२(२२)॥ तपे(पे)व सर्वं
मनुजा विजातयः प्रचंडविद्याः क्षल प-
- 24 द्वितीयाः । कर्वावराणा(णा) नि(ब*)हास्तु चारणाः तुर्वािनोऽनंदगुणाः समापयुः
॥२३(२२)॥ पुरं तदा मत्प्रेमयं च योग्यं
- 25 स्वतोमयं वापि हृषावलीमयं । करेणुपूर्णं करिसदृशमयं दुष्टं महाद्वय(हृदय)मयं जन-
प्रजैः ॥२४(२३)॥ अश्वस्य पका(कवा)क्षाय-
- 26 स्य भूयः समस्तभोग्यस्य समागतेभ्यः ।¹ अनंतसंश्लेषेभ्य इहादरेण कृत(तं) प्रदानं प्रभुषा
समार्त ॥२५(२४)॥ स्वायः पर(स्वायैः) परे(र्वापि)
- 27 निम(मं)वर्णार्थमपवावि हस्त्यादि विभूषणा[दि] । प्रस्त्राक्षमानोत्तमयो गृहीत्वा योग्यं परावृत्त्य
वदो तदव्यत् ॥२६(२५)॥ एवं व(व)ह-
- 28 त्वेव दिन(ने)षु लोकेर्निवेष्टमाने हि निमवर्ण(ण)स्य । वस्तुप्रव(व) योग्यमहो गृहीत्वा
अन्यत्परावृत्त्य वदो वदाम्यः ॥२७(२६)॥ अ-
- 29 ते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे द्वात्रि(त्रि)शतद्वये । माघशुक्लद्वितीयायां ॥२८(२७)॥ राजसिंहस्य भूपतेः
॥१२७॥² परसारकुलोत्पन्ना श्रीरामरस-
- 30 वे वयुः ॥१॥ राजसिंहनुपाज्ञातो वाप्या उत्तर्गमातनोत् ॥३१(२८)॥ बह्वारीघट्टमध्ये लग्ना
रजतमुद्रिकाः । चतुर्विंशतिसं-
- 31 श्यायुक्तहस्तप्रमिता इह ॥४०(३६)॥ ततस्तुः सेतो परणीचरोत्तमो जलान्नपोत्तर्गकृते तुलाहते
हेम्नस्तथा हात-
- 32 कसप्तसागरत्यागाय वै त्रीणि पुनडपान्ययं ॥४१(३७)॥ कर्तुं समाज्ञायदत्र राजा श्रीराज
सिंहो बुधशुक्लधाराम् । कृतानि शंडी(डा)-
- 33 नि सर्वेव तत्र वेदो चतुर्हस्तप्रमिता कृता वा ॥४२(३८)॥ सु(मं)दपः पा(षो)डशहस्तमानः³
इ(ई)दुक्कुसुमयामितकायसिद्ध(कार्यसिद्ध) । वदाम्यहं तत्रवर्त-
- 34 उ(खंड)पुङ्ग(क्त) क्षिती प्रसिद्धं भूपतेः सुमान्तः ॥४३(३९)॥ अस्मासु(स्तु) द्रष्टव्यं
चतुःपुमर्धप्राप्तिस्तु योग्ये समये नराणां । पशोस्तु वै षोडशस्तकलेवृष-
- 35 भं प्रनोर्धेति कृताः प्रकारः ॥४४(४०)॥ स्तंभाः कृताः षो(षो)डशसंमितास्ते दानानि किं
षोडश वा महति । कृतानि कर्तुं च कृताः प्रतिपालेवा(ला) हि दि-

¹ This sandhi is engraved below the line.

² Sandhi is not observed here.

³ This sandhi and three engraving signs are unnecessary.

- 36 निम(निम)सिपु भूमिभवां ॥४५(३४)॥ इतराणि चत्वारि कृतानि तेषां संदर्शनांमुक्तिवपुष्टयं
स्यात् । एतादृशे मंत्रराज एवं कृतः सुयूपोपि च [तु]-
- 37 ब्रह्मारेः ॥४६(३५)॥ तुलानिधानस्य च सप्तसागरदानस्य वा मंत्रपुष्पममृतम । तुलाकमो-
द्भासितमेवमद्भुतं श्रीराजसिंहेन कृतं
- 38 मनोहर(रं) [॥*] ४७^१(३६) [॥*] एवं त्रयं भजितमंडपानां त्वया कृतं हेतुरयं
महीद्वि । तापत्रयं दर्शनतोऽस्य नृणां हर्तुं त्रिनेत्रप्रियतां त(च) लब्धुं ॥४८(३७)॥
- 39 गते शते सप्तदशे सुख्ये इन्द्रिणवाक्ये तपसीति राजा । पादौ दशम्यां च शतौ
गहा(गृही)तो जलाशयोत्सर्गविधेर्मुहूर्तः ॥
- 40 ॥४९(३८)॥ प्रादौ तु मार्घ(पे) सितपंचमीतियो महीमहेंद्रेण पुरोधसा सह । जलाशयो-
त्सर्गकृतोऽधिवासन(मं) तदुत्थि-
- 41 जां सडर(र)ण(णं) कृतं मुदा ॥५०(३९)॥ होतारी आपको इतरपालावेकां क्षुतिं प्रति
षट् चतुर्विंशतिः संख्या ऋत्विजामिति का-
- 42 सिता ॥५१(४०)॥ एको ब्रह्मा तवाचार्यः षड्विंशतिरतोऽप्यलिताः । तेमी मत्स्यपुराणोक्ता-
स्तत्रप्रोक्तफलप्रदाः[*] ॥५२(४१)॥
- 43 च[तु]र्विंशतितत्त्वा(त्तुर)नां पुंसः स्याद्ब्रह्मा(ज्जा)नमात्मनः । तद्व्यवहारं शीरः षड्विंशतिसद्विजानां
॥४२॥[*] इति त्रयोदशः [सर्गः]

Slab XV ; Canto XIV

[Metres : vv. 1, 5, 13-16, 20-23, 25, 27-29, 31-37, 39, 40 *Upajāti* ; v. 2 *Vamśasthavila* ; vv. 3, 6, 8, 9, 17, 26, 38 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthavila* and *Indravamśā* ; vv. 4, 7 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 10, 30 *Upendravajrā* ; vv. 11, 12, 24 *Anushubh* ; v. 18 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthavila*, *Indravajrā* and *Indravamśā* ; v. 19 *Indravamśā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥*] श्रीपट्टरत्ना परमारवंशधर्मी-इ(इ)द्विजानानिचराकुत्रा^१ । अज्ञा
सदाकुंवरिनमभाजा कृता मुदा ॥
- 2 प्यतुलाकृते शक् ॥१॥ अकारि रात्राविह मंडपं कर्त्तरसंकुंठेरभिर्मंडितं ब्रवात् । नृणां
महाशयंमहोभक्ततोऽधिवास(म)नं

^१ The figure 47 is written above the line.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

^३ First was written *trpā*, then the superfluous vowel mark scored off.

- 3 तत्र कृतं विधानतः ॥२॥ गरीय(ब)दासाध्यपुरोहितेन च पुत्रप्रयुक्तेन तु हेमकण्ठयोः ।
कर्तुं तुलामंडपयुग्मकं कृतं पुरोरात्र-
4 साकारि ततोधिवासनम् ॥३॥ राणाभिधीधमरेक्षसूनीर्जीमस्य राजस्तु वधूः पवित्रा ।
तोडास्थितेभूपतिरायसिंहमाता
5 तुलां कण्ठमयीं विधातुम् ॥४॥ आलापयामास तदेव सुष्टं रानेद्रलोकेर्निशि मंडपं सत्
समस्तवस्तुस्फुरितं कृतं वा-
6 धिवासनं तत्र तयोक्तरीत्या ॥५॥ चोहानर्चशोतमवेदनापुरस्थितेर्बलूराववरस्य सन्तुतः । स
रामचंद्रः किल तस्य चात्मजः स
7 केसररीसिंह इति द्वितीयकः ॥६॥ रावो द्वितीयः कृत एष राणाश्रीराजसिंहेन
संवत्सरिष्यः । कर्तुं तुलां कण्ठमयीं
8 विचारं भ्राजाकरोद्धं स बलंसिंहः ॥७॥ उवाच रावोय महान्महामतिः रावो भवाने[ष
कृतोति(स्ति) भूभुजा । तुलां करोत्येव
9 तदा तुलाकृते स केसरीसिंह इहोद्यतोभवत् ॥८॥ स केसरीसिंहमहामना मुदा निधाय
वस्तुप्रसरं सविस्तरं । सकुंडस-
10 मंडलवेदिमंडपं कृत्वाकरोद्वापविवासनं ततः ॥९॥ मुमंडपं चारणगार्हटोना[साके]सररीसिंह इतीह
सेतोः । तदेतनोद्व्युत्तुलां वि-
11 धातुं तर्वातिके लाव(दि)रवाटिकायाः ॥१०॥ माघेन शुक्लतप्तम्यां राजसिंहनुपप्रिया ।
रठोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्री जोषपुरी व्यधात् ॥
12 ॥११॥ त्रिंशत्सहस्र]रजतभूद्रातुष्टां प्रतिष्ठितां । वापिकां राजनगरे राजसिंहनुपासया ॥१२॥
ततो नवम्यां नवद्वुमीनां नानाविधानां
13 नवकाहलानां । विचित्रवावि(दि)त्रवरयजानां सुरजिताः सर्वजना नितादौः ॥१३॥ ततो
महामंडपमध्य ऊर्ध्व(द्वु)स्तंभेषु वेद्या विद्यते कितानं [१४]
14 नूपो महासत्त्व(स्व)मयः सुयुक्त रजोनिवृत्तं तद्विहार्यसु(ष)म् ॥१४॥ पट्टाव(ब)राणां रजिताः
पताका विचित्रकथाः शुभमंडपस्य ।^१ सर्वानु
15 वि[व्यर्द्ध]महो नूपेण जगज्जयस्येति कृतस्य नूनं ॥१५॥ सुगंधिभिर्माल्यगणैः^२ प्रसूनैः सत्पत्न-
त्रै(बै)र्वदनमासिकाभिः । माघेपय-

^१ This *daṇḍa* is engraved above the line.

^२ This *ra* is redundant. Read *parāṭhaka*.

^३ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^४ This *sa* is superfluous. Read *Kāśīśaṅka*.

^५ The sign of *śaurya* is engraved above the line.

- 16 [श्री]वर्णमंडपेषु च(व)संत एव प्रविभाति चि(चि)त्र ॥१६॥ प्रकल्पितं तत्र च रंगवस्तिभिः
सत्यधर्मं भूतसप्तमंड-
- 17 सं । सषोडशारं धूमवृत्तमद्भुतं च[क] अतुल्यविराजितं पुनः^१ ॥१७॥ समंततो वा
चतुरलमद्भुतं सदा-
- 18 चं मंडलमंत्रकारणं । श्रीपद्मनाभस्य सुखाय सप्तद्वीपप्रभोः(भोः) षोडशसत्प्रमाणकैः ॥१८॥
जेयस्य भूपेन सु-
- 19 वृत्तलब्धये चक्रभ्रमे [वा] चतुरास्यसुष्टये । वीरेण सृष्टं(ष्टा) चतुरलवेदिका सत्रंगवत्तीनि[भ]-
रत्नपूतये ॥१९॥
- 20 राजाधिराजः स्वपुरोहितेन युक्तः समेतो गृह्णा यथेष्टः । यथा वशिष्टे(ष्टे)न च रामचंद्रो
विराजते मंडपमध्यदेशे
- 21 ॥२०॥ सहोदराद्यस्तनयैश्च(श्च) धीर्जनानां शितोशेरपि दुर्गमाधैः [१^{*}] निमंत्रणादातनरेतसंयं
चि(चि)शोमि(भि)तो देवगणैर्यथेष्टः ॥२१॥[१^{*}]
- 22 महीमहेंद्रो नृपराजसिंहो धर्मकमूत्तिध(धं)रणीधवेष्टः [१^{*}] कृतकभक्तः प्रथमे दिने च कृतोप-
वातो निवर्त्तते तबन्ध्या ॥२२॥
- 23 देहस्य शुद्धिं प्रविधाय प्रायश्चित्तं च कृत्वातिविशु[द्ध^{*}]चित्तः । धृतिस्मृतिप्रेरितकर्मवृत्ते
अद्भ्युपयो वा(वा)ह्यमालदानः ॥२३॥
- 24 श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवान्प्रायश्चित्तं यदा तदा । प्रायश्चित्तं शुद्धमस्यातिशुद्धमभवत्[त्^{*}] पुनः
॥२४॥ ततो नृपः स्वस्तिमुवाचनं च पुरो-
- 25 धस(ता) विप्रवरैः समेतः [१^{*}] स्वस्तिप्रदं च कृतवान्परिष्ठाः पूजां च पृथ्वीश्वर-
भाषदायि^२ ॥२५॥ मणेशपूजां पृथिवीश्वरस्कु(स्कु)रङ्गणेशता-
- 26 प्राप्तिमहानुखप्रदां । श्रीगोवदेव्या अपि गोवद्विदां गोवि(वि)दपूजां बहुगोपनप्रदां ॥२६॥
कृत्वा कृतार्थं विलसत्पु-
- 27 मर्थं स्वं मन्त्रमानः श्रितियेषु धन्यं । रामो वशिष्ठस्य यथाशक्मेधं चकार पूजां वरणं
तथैव ॥२७॥ मरीच(च)दासाह्वयपुरो-
- 28 हितस्य कृत्वा तु पू[र्व] वरणं परेषां । निजाचितानां(ना)मखिलद्विजानां सधन्विनां वा
वरणं शुचीनां ॥२८॥ मृदाकरोदत्र तु

^१ For details of procedure, see Hāmadri's *Chaturmukhīnāmni*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, alīyāya 13 (*udāp-udī-pratishtha*).

^२ Read *khāna-dātrīm*.

- 29 पीठदानं स्वराज्यपीठावलभावकारि । प्राज्ञम्भापाधिकधावनार्थं श्रीविप्रवर्धतेः यदधावनं वा
[11^{*}] कलापकं ॥२६॥¹ जरोच-
- 30 नाकुञ्जगतो हि धर्मं सुरोज्जनाभिस्तितकं द्विजानां । विद्योऽञ्जलत्वाय सदञ्जता(ते)र्वा प्रसून-
पूजामपि स(सु)नुवात्री ॥३०॥[1^{*}] कुत्वाक-
- 31 भावं मयूपकदानं कुसुमसूत्रं वृत्तधर्मसूत्रं । साकल्पकोत्तिस्त्रितये स्वनल्पं स(सं)कल्पना(नी)र²
प्रददौ द्विजेभ्यः ॥३१॥ अनाथ-
- 32 तांकारकमर्घदानं कृत्वा ददौ वा द्विजपुंगवेभ्यः । सुवर्णिनाः संगरकर्मधर्मस्यागेषु वा
दक्षिणभावदात्रीः ॥३२॥
- 33 गरीबदासाख्यपुरोहितस्य पुत्रप्रवृत्तस्य महाचंनया । वासःसमूहं शुभवासनावं ताभ्यां ददौ
भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥३३॥ मुक्ता-
- 34 मणिभ्राजितकुण्डले च श्रीमंडलाप्यं मणिमुद्रिकाश्च । स्वका(की)यमुद्राचलत्वाय जंबूद्वीपेखिले
स्वोत्कटक(का)गदादर्चं ॥३४॥ प्राप्तुं सरत्ना-
- 35 म्कटकांगदाश्च यतोपवीतानि सुवर्णवति । जलाशयोत्सर्गमुपसत्सिद्धा(र्द्धा) ददौ नरेंद्रोन्नतराज-
सिंहः[] ॥३५॥ युग्मं ॥ नाताविद्याग्यावर-
- 36 णानि नूनं स्वस्य क्षितीशाभरणत्वसिद्धेः । जलाशयोत्सर्गविधिप्रसिद्धेः जलाश्र(च्छ)पात्र(वा)-
णि सुवर्णवति ॥३६॥ श्रीभोज[कर्णा]धिकदानजात-
- 37 पुण्याप्तये भोजनपात्रपंक्ति । निवेद्य पूज्यं तमपूज्यत्वत्पुत्रप्रवृत्तं स्वपुरोहितं सः ॥३७॥
युग्मं । ततो परेभ्यश्च सुवर्णभूषण-
- 38 संघामुवर्णस्थितये तदासये इदम्महीदो मणिमुद्रिकागणान्स्वस्यं मणीनां च तदीयम(मं)द्विरे
॥३८॥ मुरुषकप्योत्तमपात्र-
- 39 धक्तिं कप्यातिपुर्त्य च तदासयेषु [1^{*}] वासःसमूहानतिनूतनांश्च मनसु तेषां सुखवाससुष्टये
॥३९॥ एवं स सर्वाचनमत्र कृ-
- 40 त्वा नानानुर्वरचितपादप[द्य]ः । सुभाग्यभाजं कृतकार्यैर्वयं स्वं मन्यमानोऽत्र विभ्राति वीरः
॥४०॥ कुलकं ॥ इति श्रीचतुर्विंशसर्गः[] १४[11^{*}]

Slab XVI ; Canto XV

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 7, 9-11, 13-21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37 Upajāti ; vv. 5, 6, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32-34, 36, 38, 39 Upajāti of Vamśasthaviḥ and Indravamśā ; vv. 8, 31, 35 Vamśasthaviḥ, v. 12 Indravamśā.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ततः स यादिव्रविचि(चि)त्रनार्थं कुरंगवेगोच्चतुर[ग³]स्य । उ(उ)-
सृगमार्तगघटासमेतं नानाजनस्तोम-35⁴

¹ The figure 29 should precede the word *kalāpaka*.

² *Sankalpa-nā* is the same as *last-śloka*, 'illusion of water' with which a gift is made.

³ These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

- 2 सनाकुलं च ॥१॥ अलपताकावलिशोभिताञ्च संस्थाप्य विप्रान्स्कुरदुत्विजश्च । अलंकृतानस्य
महापत्नीतां स्वयंप्रदेशे-
- 3 वु सुबंयुरेषु ॥२॥ तात्तो(तांलो)कपालानिच भूरिभूषास्तयप्रवश्यं यशसितीशः । अपैतरा-
स्ताप्रविधाय सर्वाऽऽ^१निर्वचि-
- 4 अवाविधराप्ररा(रा)श्च ॥३॥ अलंकृतोभायभूतोतिभय्या नारीविचित्राभरणाश्च सख्याः ।^२
अलाहूतिप्रोदुतयन्मकुंभाः इ-
- 5 त्वा पुरस्ताज्जिता(त)दिव्यरत्नाः ॥४॥ श्रीरं पुरस्कृत्य पुरोहितं जलयात्रां विचित्रां कृतवाप्त-
रेश्वरः । मुचिष्ठिरस्यापि च रा-
- 6 जमुयके शोशोभा न चैताता^३दुशरीतिरीरिता ॥५॥ कुलकं [॥^४] प्रोक्तं जनैर्लोकवृत्तोप-
मृद्यतो जलार्चमर्चोपपरोस्ति तं बवे । वाना-
- 7 पतछ(छ)अगस्त्युहाटकषहं प्रसन्नाद्वरुणीकरिष्यति ॥६॥ तयात्र कृत्वा वरुणस्य पूजां विधान-
पूर्वं सकलांगयुक्तं ^५॥१॥ आना-
- 8 एव नीरं कलशेषु कृत्वा नारीः पुरः सत्कलशः कलोकतीः ॥७॥ महामहोत्साहमयः
स्फुरज्जयो लसद्भयः स्पष्टनयः सविस्मयः [१] द्वि-
- 9 जायतीमंडितमंडणे शुभेऽभवत्प(त्प)विष्ये(श्ये)तिविशिष्टतुष्टिमान् ॥८॥ संस्थाप्य वेद्यां कलशान्
[प्र(अ)]लाडपाण्डवस्त्रावृतान्दिशु वतुमि-
- 10 तातु । म[ध्ये] जग[द्वर्धे]यमुखो मल्लेस्मिभिराजते भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥९॥ सतुर्वु कोणेषु
मुमंजपस्याकरोन्मूषः स्थापितदेव-
- 11 पूजाम् । सवास्तुपूजां शुभवस्तुपूर्णां वेदी स वेदीस्त्वितदेवतानां ॥१०॥ नवग्रहांस्तानधि-
देवताश्च सं[स्था]पयन्मस्वधिदेवताश्च । न-
- 12 वषहं साग्रहमेव शशु[धि]यः प्रियोऽश्वनां प्रकरिष्यतीशः ॥११॥ सं[स्था]पयन्सत्कलशं च रौद्रं
अर्धं प्रसन्नं सितियोक-
- 13 रोद्वाक् । रौद्रं भयं शत्रुकृतं न देशे स्यावस्य भद्रं भवतास्तुष्टेर्मे ॥१२॥ ततो महा-
मंडपमध्यदेशे विप्रैः समेती विलसत्पु-

^१ These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

^२ This *damra* is engraved above the line.

^३ This *śś* is superfluous. Read *śśśś*.

^४ This *śś* is superfluous. Read *śś-śśśśśśśś*.

^५ These *damras* are engraved above the line.

- 14 रोषाः । धराद्वयो आगरणं वितन्वन्वेदोक्तकार्यं(वे) कृतवान्ममस्तं ॥१३॥ ततो निशा
प्रविधाय नित्यं स्नानादि राशाम-
- 15 गिराजसिंहः । जातः प्रविष्टः शुभमंडपे च सहोदरादीश्च तथा कुमारान् ॥१४॥ पत्नीः
समस्ताश्च पितृव्यजामाः स्नु-
- 16 ष(षा)श्च वंशोद्भवसर्वपुत्रीः । पुरोधसां धन्यधर्मपुत्राणां वधूः समाहूय मुदोपव(वे)श्च ॥१५॥
सुकर्मणोऽस्याङ्गुतदशंनार्यं(वे)
- 17 श्रीपट्टराजीसहितो हितावधः । कृत्वा मुदा श्रीवदणस्य पूजां समस्तदेवानुत्पूजनं च
॥१६॥ रत्नाकरं कर्तुमिह द्वितीयं
- 18 तडागमेनं नवरत्नराजं । निक्षिप्तवान्मध्य इहास्य ग्रस्यं मस्यं पुनः कछ(चछ)वमछ(चछ)मेव
॥१७॥ श्रेयस्करं वा मकरं ततोत्र नि-
- 19 शि[इ]मं स्थापितमेव भावे । त(ते)नात्र सर्वे निधयो जवेन समागमिष्यन्ति ततो जलस्य
॥१८॥ नूनं समृद्धिर्भविता सदास्मि-
- 20 स्समुद्रकपलमयाश्च जायि । मयास्य च राजसमुद्रनामोत्पत्तौ तु हेतुः कथितोऽयमेवा(व)
॥१९॥ लिप्तानि रत्नान्यपरे स्नु-
- 21 डे त्वया तडागेन नृपेन जातं । रत्ना[करत्वं]^१ त्वय चाडवान्मिसिद्धिं कुत स्य(स्या)-
विति पुण्यपूतिः ॥२०॥ २० ॥ गोः पूजनं वात्सपुत्रो विधानपूजं(वे) नृपालः क-
- 22 तवानुकृतीशः । हिकृष्यतो गां प्रसमीक्ष्य भूपः पुरोहितं प्रत्यववर्तिकमेतत् ॥२१॥ शुभं
भवेत्प्रत्यववत्पुरोहिता(तो) वेदोक्तमेतत्
- 23 ल[कु]नं यतः प्रभो ।^२ गीतारणारंभममातनोत्पुनः सत्ति(त्विं)स्महायो च[र]मीपुरंदर
॥२२॥ तडागमध्ये कृतवान्मुखेन गीतार-
- 24 णार(रं)भमहो महोदः ॥२३॥ गोशब्दमात्रस्य तु ये सदर्थस्तज्जामतुल्यार्थककर्मलक्ष्यं ॥२३॥
मु(व)वे तदर्थान्भुवि नाकलीक्यतामा-
- 25 यमुडं शरस्यतार्यं ॥२४॥ यथा च साभाय सुवागवाप्तं करस्यवखेन रिपुशयाय ॥२४॥
विष्णु स्फुराकीर्तिकुले जनार्जने-
- 26 प्रातितोषाय विभाप्ये च । समस्तभूराज्यकृते नृपस्य ।^३ तडागनीरस्य तु पुर्णतार्यं ॥२५॥
लक्ष्येष्टसाभाय च बुष्टितुष्टये

^१ This an is written above the line.

^२ The portion within the square brackets is written below the line, two arrow-heads marking the place for insertion.

^३ This danda is engraved above the line.

^४ This danda is unnecessary.

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १० ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६ १७ १८ १९ २० २१ २२ २३ २४ २५ २६ २७ २८ २९ ३० ३१ ३२ ३३ ३४ ३५ ३६ ३७ ३८ ३९ ४० ४१ ४२

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १० ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६ १७ १८ १९ २० २१ २२ २३ २४ २५ २६ २७ २८ २९ ३० ३१ ३२ ३३ ३४ ३५ ३६ ३७ ३८ ३९ ४० ४१ ४२

- 27 श्रीराजसिंहावयमहीपतेः सदा । ऋत्विगर्गैरेवुदास्तकलाप्तये कृतं हि गोतारणकर्म शर्मव
॥२६॥ गोतारणावुस-
- 28 रमय कर्त्तुं तडागमुपस्थस्य तु नाम तव्यं ।¹ प्रदत्तं कृतीत्य(त्वं) कृतवान्महीन्द्रः पुरोहितं
प्रस्थाय राजसिंहः ॥२७॥ तदाववस्थ-
- 29 य पुरोहितोयं वदत्वचस्यं त्वरिसिंहनामा । तद्रोक्तमेवं वदतापुरोधा धाता कृता भूमि
भुजाय भूयः ॥२८॥ नामास्य शाय्यं
- 30 त्विति तत्पुरोधसा नामोक्तमेकं त्विति राजसागरः [१^{*}] नामापरं राजसमुद्र इत्यती
नृपस्तडागस्य तु जगम ताम वै ॥२९॥ इत्यु-
- 31 क्तवानेव हि राजसागरः(र)स्तदुत्तरं राजसमुद्र इत्यपि । नामास्य चर्चं दिनप(पं)चकोत्तरं
दिव्ये मूर्तुसं त्विति भूमिनायकः ॥३०॥ स-
- 32 होस्तवं इष्टुमिमं पुरंदरः सभागतो ह्यत्र विनि[दिच]तं बुधेः । यतस्तद्वत्सेसरवारिद्वजः
प्रवर्षति स्मोवुकर्णं शनैः शनैः ॥३१॥²
- 33 ततो महामंडपमप्य उत्तमा होमक्रियायामभवत्परावणाः । श्रीवि[३^{*}]पाठेव जपेव तत्पराः
क्रियासु सर्वानु तथै-
- 34 वन्दितवजः । ३१(३२)॥ तवेवुं(वु) कुंडेवु नवस्वयाम्नयः ।³ श्रीमार्हपत्याहवनीयसंनिभाः ।
प्रजज्वत्तुस्तत्र वितानमंडलं धूमे-
- 35 न धूमं सकलं तदाभवत् ॥३२(३३)॥ धूमावलीभिर्गणे तदाभवत्सहावित[ता^{*}]न्यपराणि
भूपते[ः^{*}] । रजःसुरको(सा)कृतवे जग-
- 36 रकृता कृतानि किं धूसरवर्णवाससा ॥३३(३४)॥ महावितानेव्यथ धूममालया कृतं तु
मानिन्यमिह तदाभवत् [१^{*}] अने-
- 37 कमानिन्यहर् हि मंडपस्थितस्य लोकप्रसरस्य पश्यतः ॥३४(३५)॥ धर्मतच्चूमानिमल-
संस्थितज्योतीषि बह्वैः
- 38 शुभमंधवाहकान् सुमंधवाहाभूय कल्पयस्यहो संकल्पनीराणि सदा(दे)ष्टपुस्तंवे ॥३५(३६)॥ ततः
क(ह)तार्थऽ(ः) समरे समर्थः
- 39 क्मापश्चतुःसंख्यपुमर्थकांशी । मनो द्ये राजसमुद्रमद्रप्रदक्षिणार्थं सकलार्थसिध्दयै(द्वयै) ॥३६(३७)
यस्य(स्या) शितौ पूर्वमहोभव-

¹ This danda is engraved above the line.² This danda is unnecessary.³ This andhi is wrong; it ought to be aho abharav.

- 40 विश्वा मिमोञ्जतत्त्वं पदकंठका जनेः [१^{*}] नाम्बं च संमार्जतमत्र निर्वितं भाग्यं
नृवस्तभृपतेः सभागमे ॥३७(३८)॥ अरण्यवः^१
- 41 स्या(स्मा)सतिरञ्जबोभवन् यस्या क्षिती वीरनुपासपा पुरा । ऋषादिकजानकुते जनेत्तंवात्(५)
धृतोदता दाक्(डाक्) श-
- 42 नसुनरञ्जवः[२^{*}] ॥३८(३९)॥ इतिर्बोराजश(स)मुद्रस्य भट(ट्ट)रन(ण)क्षोरहृत्मे(हृतेः) राजम[३^{*}]स्तेः
पंचवशमं सगं[४^{*}] संपूर्ण(र्णो) लीषता(लिखितो ?) राजसमुद्रे

Slab XVII ; Canto XVI

[Mātras : v. 1 Vasantatilakā, vv. 2, 9, 24 Drutavilambita ; v. 3 Upagiti ; vv. 4, 30 Udgiti ;
vv. 5, 34, 37, 40 Upajāti of Vamśasthavila and Indravamśā ; vv. 6, 7, 39 Vamśasthavila ; vv. 8,
11, 12, 15, 27-29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38 Upajāti ; v. 10 Giti ; v. 13 Upēndravajrā ; v. 14 Anushtubh ;
vv. 16-21, 23, 25, 26 Anupachchhandasika ; v. 22 Vaitāliya ; v. 31 Arya.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥] पुणे तु षोडशवले क्षमकारिवर्षे द्वावि(विं)शतिप्रम(मि)तिके किल
माधवे वा १^१ पक्षे सिते^२ उदयसिंहनृप[स्तु]-
- 2 तौपा^३मन्व्येऽकरोदुदयसागरमुपलिष्टा(ष्टा) ॥१॥ उदयसागरनामजलाशयोत्समपा(प)रिहृ(व)मण(र्ण)
रमणोत्पूतः [१^{*}] उव-
- 3 यत्सिंहनृपः शिविकास्थितः समतनोद्वि(वि)ति सूत्रनिवेशनो(र्ण) ॥२॥ जसवंतसिंहरावल इति
जल्पितवाद्य-
- 4 भोः पाश्वे ॥(१) एवं कार्यं भ[व^{*}]ता^४ धमवा(वा)श्वारोहणं कृषा(त्वा) ॥३॥ कार्या-
प्तदक्षिणार्धे द्विजाम सोऽवस्तती देवः [१^{*}] भुत्वे-
- 5 ति पक्षयुगलं सूरणी(णीं) स्थितयाम्महाशयो भूयः ॥४॥ ततो नृपः सामगवेतपादि-
मिर्बुक्(वत्) पुरःस्थापितश्चत्विगा-
- 6 विकः [१^{*}] नानाप्रतीहारकरस्वयष्टिकाऽऽ^५रबोधूरस्थितसर्वमानुषः ॥५॥ विविधवादिप्रमहारवधवाः
पुरःसि(स्वि)तप्रो-
- 7 अतदतिपर्वितकः । विराजिवाजिवजराजिताग्रकः शिवांशुकयोशिविका(का)पुरःसरः ॥६॥ पुरः-
स्वपूर्णाअतकृमसत्कलो

^१ This angraka sign is superfluous.

^२ Read parichchhandah.

^३ This sanda is engraved above the line.

^४ Sandhi is not observed here.

^५ First pō was written which was later corrected into pā.

^६ Angraka signs are superfluous.

8. महामहोत्साहमयो महोत्सवः [१^{*}] ससस्तजीपा(जामा)वसनांवलस्वकांशुका(च)नप्रविधानसुंद(द)रः
॥७॥ वेवोवि-
9. स राजसमृद्धराजत्सुसु(सु)प्रसवेष्टनकर्म कर्तुं । स्वपापिसंस्वापितनश्वमध्यसत्कुनोद्यप्रवतंतुपंक्तिः
॥८॥ सु-
10. अपरिक्लमणाय महोभूजो धरणिमूर्ध्नि मुचेलकतूलिकाः । अथ भूताः स्वजनेन पदा स्पृशन्त
मुकुमारपदोऽप्यजद-
11. जूल ॥९॥ वसन्तोमानद्युगलं पदयोर्वृत्वापि भूभूजा तय[क्त] । मुकुमारपदेनापि च
धर्माजूलपदति प्रकल्पप्रता ॥१०॥ अथा-
12. वचारी मुदुलाधिपयो विपावुकः संप्रति पादचारी । भवान्भश(न्मूय) म(भा)ति महाप्रभावी
राजाधिराजः प्रभुराजसिंहः ॥११॥ प्रदक्षि-
13. णा दक्षिणतो वितन्वन्स दक्षिणो दक्षिणमार्गनामी । प्राची दिशा दक्षिणविप्रतोची
सौम्यागतामृन्व(न्व)हुदक्षिणाभिः ॥१२॥
14. विज्ञाविकान्धम्यधनेश्च धान्यैरतोषपत्सर्वजनास्तथैव । सदाश्वमेधोत्सवरा[ज^{*}]सुधाधिकं फलं प्राप्नुनि(नि)ह
प्रवृत्तः ॥१३॥ युग्मं । तडा-
15. स वेष्टयधाना^१ अर्धजनवतंतुभिः । नवमंडपधरामध्ये कीर्ति स्थापितवांश्चिरं ॥१४॥ शुक्लांबर
चंद्रमिष जितो[श] राज्यः
16. मुत्तारा इव तारहाराः सिंचंत एव(वे)त्युचितं हि गौर्यः सहोरमुत्तारभरणातिरम्याः[] ॥१५॥
इममुत्सवमजूलं महेंद्रो कवि[र] वा(व)ष्ट-
17. मृषागतो मृषात्र [१^{*}] जलवास्तु पुरःसरास्तदीया इति वर्णति जलानि हर्षपूर्णाः[^{*}] ॥१६॥
प्रथमं [ह]दि दंत्यशोभितानां प्रमदानां प्रम[दा]-
18. ति[भू^{*}]षितानां [१^{*}] अथ वर्षयनीरपूरितानां सकलांगेवभवामुसीतल[त्वं] ॥१७॥ जल-
धाराबल(लि)पु स्थिताः स्त्रियः कृतकपा[स्तु] तडा-
19. कसस्तदस्थाः [१^{*}] इत्यज्ञाबूनदकांतकांतयः^२ अथवा उत्सवदर्शनागताः किं ॥१८॥ वनित
धनिमेधलोचनास्तादृक्कि-
20. ता जन्मववर्ष[श]नागताः [किं] । जलधाराधनिमार्गगा मनो मे गुरकम्या इति वसित
धन्यधन्याः ॥१९॥ तनुसगतादंष्टातिदृष्ट-

^१ Sandhi is not observed here.^२ Here a superfluous double is engraved above the line.

- 21 वेहृष्टनानां घटसंनिभस्तनीनां । घनधारालिपूरितांगकानामिव कीतूहलं जलसंगनानां ॥२०॥
पदचक्रमणेषु सौ-
- 22 अ[मं तं] परि[सिंहं] स सहोदरं समीक्ष्य । सुकुमारतरं सुलिप्रचित्तः शिविकारोह-
णमादिशन्महोद(ः) ॥२१॥ पदचक्रमणेषु]
- 23 सोष्ठमां निजराज्ञी परमारवंशजा । महतीं समवेक्ष्य सुधमां शिविकारोहणमादिशत्प्रभुः
॥२२॥ अथ राजसमुद्रमंडले[स्मि]-
- 24 स्वरितः सूत्रमुवेष्टनं वितन्वन् । निजभूषणं सुधर्मयुक्तेः सततं रक्षति राजसिंहराणां
॥२३॥ अथ परिक्रमणेषु समा[हृता ?]
- 25 विविधपुष्पाब्ज(वि)राजितमालिकाः । सपदि राजसमुद्रचरेषिता वक्ष्यदेवमुदे कक्षणाभूता ॥२४॥
वसनयविविधान-
- 26 शोभिताभिर्धुवतीभिः परिवेष्टितो नरे(रे)ऽऽ । भुवि नानाविधदिव्यमु(सु)दे(व)रीभिः परितो
लेष्टत(वेष्टत) [इ]डा(ऽ) एव नूनं ॥२५॥ वसनय-
- 27 वि[वि*]धानभूषिताभिर्व्यंजिताभिर्न(न्)पमायुतं समीक्ष्य [१*] जनता विजि(वक्षित) हि रासमंडले
भीहृदिरा(रेव) कृतवान्वुव(ऽधुव) विहा[र] ॥२६॥ जतुर्द-
- 28 शोड्शस्तितोक्तामिप्राणिस्तुरस(त्)स्तितिवर्डनाय । जतुर्वंशकोशमितस्तडागो जलेन पूर्ण(र्णो)-
भवदा(दे)व तूर्ण ॥२७॥ प्रद-
- 29 शिवायां शिविराणि पंच श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवानिहेति । हेतुस्तु पंच(च)द्विपजान्विकाराहर्त्तु(त्)
प्रवृत्तोपमहो सुवृत्त[ः*] ॥२८॥
- 30 ईषत्कलाधारवरो चरेडो महाफलप्राप्तियुतो हि जातः । धृत्वा समस्ता[न्*] निवसान्धमांश्च
त(ते)नास्य पुण्यं [य]स्यगतनाहूत् ॥२९॥
- 31 कमलवृत्तिजस्य पाश्व(र्ष्वे) तटाकतोये ज्योदय्या(श्या) । एको गजा(जो) नि[म*]ग्नो भटिति
प्रकटोभवद्गमनीरे(रे)पि ॥३०॥ यस्तद्वृत्तेणाश्वं उ-
- 32 पायनाश्व(र्ष्वे) चरेडपुण्य(व्य)स्य । राज्ञोऽस्य प्रे[ति]त इति विशेषविद्विस्तवा प्रोक्तं ॥३१॥
श्यामः(ऽ)श्यामाश्र)वार्तधृतपक्वदानैः पक्वाश्र(प्र)दानै-
- 33 वंसनप्रदानैः । इव्यप्रदानैर्मुप श्यामतास्तावतोऽवस्ता(तो)ययुतो मा(म)नुष्यान् ॥३२॥ एव
कलाधारवरो चरे(रे)ऽऽ यत्के दिनानामन-

* Hindi *harj* 'haaim'.

* Sandhi is not observed here.

The charter records the grant of the village called *Sāntiragrāma* together with another locality called *Kōmyōsanga*, situated in the *Pachhama* (*Paśchima*) *khanda* within the *Tamura vishaya* in the *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā* (i.e., 'Tōsalī') country. The grant was made by the *Paramamāhātēvī* (devout worshipper of Mahādeva or Śiva) *Dandimahādēvī*, who is endowed with Imperial titles, in favour of *Blāṭṭa Mākyadēva* (possibly *Bhātṭa Mākyadēva*), who was the son of *Jāllādēva* and grandson of *Paruṣhōttama*. The donee was an inhabitant of *Dharmapāṭṭī*; but his family had originally hailed from *Takāri*. He belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, to the *Āngirasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja pravara* and to the *Vājasaneyya charaṇa* and was a student of the *Mādhyaṇdina śākhā*. The occasion of the grant was a solar eclipse. It was made at the request of *Paramamāhātēvī Rāgala trībhrīd-Apsarōdēva* who was the lord of the *Yamagartā maṇḍala*. It seems that *Apsarōdēva* was a feudatory of *Dandimahādēvī* and that the *Yamagartā maṇḍala* formed a part of the *Bhauma-Kara* dominions. We have seen that the kings of this family granted lands in northern and southern *Tōsalī*, the former indicating the *Balasore-Cuttack* region (sometimes with a part of the *Midnapur District* of *West Bengal*) and the latter including parts of the *Cuttack*, *Puri* and *Ganjam Districts*. *Kōagōda* about the border between the *Puri* and *Ganjam Districts* is said to have been included in *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī*. The *Tuṅga* chiefs *Gayājataṅga* and *Vinitaṅga*, whose charters have been discovered in *Talcher* and *Bonai*, also called themselves lords of the *Yamagartā maṇḍala*.¹ In this connection it may also be pointed out that the *Tuṅga* ruler *Vinitaṅga* seems to be mentioned as a feudatory of the *Bhauma-Kara* monarch *Sivakara III*, grandfather of *Dandimahādēvī*, in both of his *Talcher* plates dated in the year 149.² An earlier ruler of the *Yamagartā maṇḍala* was *Jayasinha* who also used the era employed by the *Bhauma-Karas* in dating their records and was very probably one of their feudatories. The date of the *Dhankal* plate³ of *Jayasinha* is read as the year 88, although the actual reading may be 128. It seems therefore that the *Yamagartā maṇḍala* was situated in the valley of the river *Brāhmaṇī* to the west of the territories of the *Bhāṇḍa* chiefs of *Klūṇḍali-maṇḍala* (in the *Band-Keonjhar* area) and of *Khijūṅga-kōṣṭa* (in the *Mayurbhanj* region). It appears further that like the chiefs of *Yamagartā*, the *Bhāṇḍas* also originally acknowledged the supremacy of the *Bhauma-Karas*. The *Tuṅgas* of *Yamagartā* were probably succeeded by the dynasty represented by *Apsarōdēva*; but, sometime afterwards, the latter seems to have been itself ousted by rulers of the *Sulḍi* dynasty, whose names ended with the word *stambha*.

The record contains two lists of officials to whom the royal order was addressed. Both of these are short but contain a few interesting entries. The first list, mentioned in connection with the country of *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā*, includes *Mahāsāmanta*, *Rājasatka*, *Rājaputra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika* (*Uparika*), *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Dāyapāṭika* and *Śhūnāntarika*. In place of *Rājaputra*, other records of the queen read *Antaranga*, probably indicating the royal physician. *Rājasatka* may also indicate the same office. *Kumārāmātya* seems to be an *Amātya* or executive officer of the status of a prince of the royal blood. *Uparika* was a viceroy and *Vishayapati* the ruler of a district. *Tadāyuktaka* was probably the ruler of a subdivision of the district, appointed by the *Vishayapati* and not by the crown. *Dāyapāṭika* was a police officer, its corruption *Dādāpāṭi* still indicating a village-watchman in *Orissa*. The *Śhūnāntarikas* were probably spies. The other list of officials, possibly belonging to the territorial unit called the *Pachhama* (*Paśchima*) *khanda* in the *Tamura vishaya*, includes *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛihadbhṛgin*, *Pustakapāla* and *Kāṭakolasa*, to whom *adhi-karaṇas* or offices the royal order is addressed. *Mahattara* means the headman of a village. *Bhṛgin*

¹ Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1745-47.

² B. Mitra, op. cit., pp. 40-51.

³ Vide *J.B.O.S.*, Vol. II, pp. 417 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1756.

possibly means one enjoying a free holding. *Pustakapāla* was the record-keeper. The word *kūṭalāśa* is difficult to explain.

The village is said to have been granted together with the *uddēsa* (=space above the ground called *tala*), with subjects such as the weavers, *gokūṭa* (milkmen, called *Gāra* in Oriyā) and *kaupika* (vintners) and with *gūlmakas* (outposts) at the *kāṭa* (village or hamlet), *ghaṭṭa* (harbour) and *naḍitarasthāna* (ferry). Another interesting passage says that the grant was made *a-lākhani-pravēśatayā bhūmichchhīdra-pidhāna-nyāyāna*. The expression *a-lākhani-pravēśatayā* seems to mean that the grant would never in future have to be the subject of another document. That is to say that the village could not be regranted to any other family and that its ownership could not be transferred by the donee to some other family. In inscriptions we usually find the expression *bhūmichchhīdra-nyāya*. This *nyāya* was based on the custom according to which a person who brought a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.¹ The word *chchhīdra* in this case no doubt refers to the furrowing of the land. But the idea of *chchhīdra-pidhāna* or 'covering a hole' seems to have developed out of a misunderstanding of the original meaning of the *nyāya*.² The idea in *bhūmi-chchhīdra-pidhāna-nyāya* was probably that the loss of lands owing to various causes was thought to be compensated for by making free gifts of some of them. It may, however, also mean the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā (i.e., Tōsalā) and Yamagartā-maṇḍala has already been dismissed. Gaṇḍāvarapātaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, was probably modern Jāipur or a locality in its suburbs. Tamura viśaya, Paścīma (Paśchima) khaṇḍa, Sāntīrāgrāma and Kōmyōśaśa cannot be satisfactorily identified. The headquarters of Tamura may, however, be located at modern Tamur (21°18' N. 85°14' E.) in the former Pal-Lahara State.³ In regard to the name of the khaṇḍa, it may be pointed out that one of the Gaṇḍām plates of Daplimahādēv records the grant of a village in the Pūrva khaṇḍa of the Varadākhaṇḍa viśaya in the Kōṅgōḍa maṇḍala. This seems to suggest that the Pūrva and Paścīma khaṇḍas were merely the eastern and western divisions of a viśaya. Dharmapāṭi, the native village of the donee, cannot be identified; but Takāri, where his family originally lived, is known from numerous other records as a great seat of learned Brāhmaṇas. It was variously called Tarkārī, Tarkarikā, Tarkāra, Takāra, Takārī and Takārikā.⁴ Sometimes⁵ it is said to have been situated in the Madhyadēva division of India, which comprised, roughly speaking, the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Panjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bengal were included in the division. In one record⁶ the village is specifically described as situated within the limits of Śrāvastī. There is, however, difference of opinion as regards the location of this Śrāvastī. Some scholars favour its identification with Setmabhet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location about the Bogra District in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars and the village of Takāri is located in Oudh.⁷

¹ See Jolly, *Hindu Law and Customs* (trans. by D. K. Ghosh), pp. 196-97. Note that the hunted deer belonged to him who hit it first.

² It is to be noted that the *Varjaganit* explains *bhūmichchhīdra* as 'uncultivable land'. The expression is used in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya exactly in the same sense. See Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāstra-draṣṭā*, p. 33, note.

³ See Mitra, op. cit., p. 51.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. III, pp. 348, 353; Vol. IX, p. 107; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118; Vol. XVI, pp. 204, 208.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 290 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 298; Vol. LX, pp. 14 ff.

⁷ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), p. 570, note.

TEXT¹

[Metres :—Verses 1-4, 14-15 *Śāradālikṛīṭa* ; verses 5, 7-9, 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Mālinī* ; verses 10-12 *Anuśṭubhā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham² ||[*] Svasti vyasta³-jal-ābhra-vibhrama-dharaiḥ⁴ svē(āvr)ṭ-ātapatr-ṭkarair-aśvīya-
ṣṛuṭi(ti)-chāmaraish-cha hasita-vyākōsa-kā-
- 2 i-ōdayaiḥ ||() uddāmsair-māra(da)-saurabhais-cha kariṇām-ākāḥpta-saptachchhad-āmō-
daiḥ sannihitā[m*] sad-aiva karad-āra-
- 3 mibha-ariyaṁ vi(bij)hṛataḥ ||[*] Śrī-Gā(Gu)hēśvarapāṭaka-nivāsi⁵-vijaya-skandhāvārāta-
(rāt) || Sarva-śāś-paripūraṇ-ābhi(dhī)-
- 4 ka-ruchir-yas-tāpam-astan-nayann-ānanda[ū*] kṛitavān-janasya manasi prāpta-pratiśh-
thām(shtham) churam(ram) || () sad-dṛṣṭi-pratirōdhi yēna
- 5 cha tamō nirmūlan-unmūlitan śrīmān-indur-iv-āvanipatir-abbhūd-Unmaṭṭastriha(h-ā)-
hvaṇaḥ || {2*} Tad-vanāśād-ābhavann-anindita-guṇ[ā]
- 6 muktāmayāḥ santatāḥ⁶ sad-vṛittā[h*] sukha-śītalāḥ kahiribhṛitāḥ śrīmad-Gayāḍ-ādayaḥ
|| [*] yāu-utvā⁷ hṛidaya-pra-
- 7 tāpa-lamanā⁸ dēv-āṅganābhūḥ svayaṁ karṇa-śālpa⁹-sukha-sthiti-praṇayinō hār-āvi(bhī)-
rāmāḥ kṛitāḥ || {3*} Tad-van-
- 8 śa-bhavad-ārjita[h*] prati¹⁰-vū(bu)dha-prita(ti)ḥ pratit-ōdayō dēva[h*] śatru-vadhū-mū(mu)-
kh-āndū(ndu)-taraṇiḥ śrī-Lōṇabhārō
- 9 nripaḥ || () yasy-ākramya guru-pratāpa-śikhināḥ pṛithvibhṛitāḥ prōddhatāch(tān) dūraṁ
sarva-dig-antarēśhū(shu) tarasā svai-
- 10 ram prasasa(rah) karāḥ || {4*} Tasy-ātmajaḥ praṇata-pārthiva-chakra-chūdā-nivyā(rvyā)-
ja-rōpita-padaś-charit-ārtha-nāmā || [*]
- 11 vistāri-sō(sau)rabha-gū(gu)ṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-śāś-tannād¹¹-abbhūt-Kusū(su)mabhāra iti kahi-
tāḥ || {5*} Abhṛi-
- 12 [ta] Lalitabhāraḥ kahnām-bharam¹² bhūri-tējā ta(s-ta)d-anū(nu) tad-anū(nu)janmā
vyūḍha-bhōg-indra-śīlāḥ || () anayad-amalimā-
- 13 naiḥ pa(ya)d-yasāḥ-pūn-ū(m-a)chchhair-api ripū(pa)-ramṛi(ma)ṇām-ājan-ōm-īram-
aśru || {6*} Tasmīn-arpitō divam-upēyū(yu)shī tat-tanūja[h*]
- 14 śāst-āvanēr-ajani Sāntikara(r-ā)bhudhānaḥ || () yēn-ōddhṛitēshv-ākula-dū(du)rmada-
kaṇṭha(nṭa)kōshū(shu) rēmō yathā-sū(su)kham-apā-

¹ From the original plate and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The syllable *śa* here looks like *śa*.

⁴ The Gājām plate A has *karāḥ*. The top *śā* of *dā* in the present inscription was inadvertently missed.

⁵ The word *śāśāśāśā* found in numerous other records is better suited in this context, although the grants of the Bhāma-Karas usually have *nivāsi*.

⁶ The Gājām plate A reads *śāśāśā* which Kielhorn corrected to *śāśāśā*.

⁷ The Bāpur plate reads *yē* *śāśā* while both the Gājām plates have *yē* *śāśā* *śāśā* *śāśā*. On the whole the reading of the Gājām plates is preferable.

⁸ The Bāpur and Gājām plates read *kaṇṭha-śīlā* which is the reading intended.

⁹ The Bāpur and Gājām plates have the correct reading *śrī* in place of *prō*.

¹⁰ The Gājām plates have *śrī* in place of *śrī*.

¹¹ Read *śāśāśāśā*.

- 15 sta-bhiyā janēna || [7*] Tasya prasasta¹-charit-ārjita-bhūri-kīrttir²-viśva[m]bhārā-vibhū-
(bhū)ṛ-abhūd-akū(nu)jas-tatō-pi | śrēyōbhur-ēkapada-
- 16 m-ity-akhlaiḥ śrī(śrī)t-ātmā yaḥ śrī-Śū(Śu)bhākara iti prathitō yath-ārtham || [8*] Tasya
trivishṭapa-jushaḥ paramōśva-
- 17 [ra*]sya dāt(vi) samasta-janātā-nata-pādapadmā || (|) śi[ra*]bhāsanadī śaśī-kar-āmala-kīrtti-
Gaurī Gaur-īva gaurava-padaḥ
- 18 chiram-adhyarōhata(hat) || [9*] Tatō Daṇḍimahādēvi³ eutā tasyā mahīyadī || (|) mahim-
ahina-samarthirā⁴ cūra-kālam-apā-
- 19 layat || [10*] Avichakṣinn-āyati-prāṁsau⁵ ramīśe Kā(Ka)ra- mahābhīṭāḥ(tām) [| *] chūma-
bhūtā patāk-ēva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūṣaṇa(m*) || [11*] Lāvany-āmpita-

Reverse

- 20 nishyaṇḍa-mundatam dadhatī vapo(pu)h || [12*] 'yā rājach-cha(ntra*)-lākṣ-ēva vilasat-kīrtti-
chandrivā(kā) || [12*] Tasyāḥ pratāpa-nata-durmada-datra-bhūpa-nē-
- 21 tra(tr-ā)mbu(mbu)-dhaṭta-narayāvaka-maṇḍanūmī⁶ || (|) pād-āmbu(mbu)ja-dya(dya)tir-
amantaram-anvarā(ra)dhī⁷ maḥjira-lagna-kura(ru)vinda-dai-ā(1-3)ru-
- 22 [bhā*]śā || [12*] Udyānāśhū(śhu) śilimukhā(kh-ā)vali-ravō hā[rā*]śhū(śhu) muktā(muktā)-
sthītir-dōhā-sāga-cuchis-tushāra-kirayō chū(vi)j[ū*]śhū(śhu) sad-vāśatā || (|)
- 23 Rāhan śikṣha(kṣha)kara-graham(haḥ) kū(ku)-maṇḍan trāś-ōdayaḥ kēvalarī kāntā-kuntala-
sama(na)tan kuṭṭi(til)atā yasyāḥ prabhū(bhu)tvō⁸ bhūvi || [14*] Rāmy-śiś-
- 24 k-ōt-sukita-nayan-ānanda-pīyūṣa-varttīḥ śrī-śakta-kṣhītipati-sabhā-padmīnī-rājaharṣī |
kūtha(ṣ)ya-śama-glapita-sukri-
- 25 t-ālamva(mba)ma⁹-avarāṇa-yashtir-yā niśāḥa-praṇayi-śumanō-Nandan-ōdyāna-lakṣmī[h*]
|| [15*] Paramamahādevarī mātā-pitri-pād-ā-
- 26 audhyātā paramahattārikā mahācūjāśhīrāja-paramādevarī śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvi kā(ku)-
śalīnī ||¹⁰ **Dakṣiṇa-**
- 27 Tōsalāyām¹¹ varṭtanūna-lhaviśhya-mahāsāmanta-rājasaṭka¹²-rājaputra-kumārāmōty-aupa-
rika-vishayapatī-tulā-
- 28 yuktaka-dāṇḍapālīka-śhāntatīkīn-anyān-spi rāja-prasādīnāś-chāṭa-vallabha-jāṭiyānāḥ-
(yān) ||¹³ **Tamra-viśa-**
- 29 yam(ya)-Pachha(śchi)makhaṇḍa-mahāmahattara-vri(bri)hāṭhōgi-pustakapāla-kūṭakōlas-
ādy-adhikarāṇaḥ yath-ārtham mā-

¹ The Bāgpur and Gañjām plates read *prasasta*.

² The Bāgpur plate has *śrī*.

³ Kielhorn read *akṣatī* (ś) *majā* in the Gañjām plates.

⁴ The Gañjām plates read *prāṇa*. Kielhorn suggested *prāṇa* *manas*-*īra*. This verse and the following stanzas are wanting in the Gañjām plate B.

⁵ The next half of the verse and the following verses are also absent in the Gañjām plate A.

⁶ The Bāgpur plate has the correct reading *maṇḍanūmī*.

⁷ The Bāgpur plate reads *dyauś-darbhāṇa-samarāṇjī*.

⁸ *Nu* is incised below the line.

⁹ The *śaṇḍas* are superfluous.

¹⁰ In place of *rājasaṭka*, the Bāgpur and Gañjām plates have *mahārāja-rājaput*-*śaravakṣa*. *Rājasaṭka* literally means 'belonging to the king', but the meaning does not appear to suit the context.

¹¹ The *śaṇḍas* are superfluous. The *śaṇḍa* sign may be a part of the mark of punctuation.

[illegible]

20 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ २ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ ३ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ४ ॥
 २२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ ६ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ ७ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ८ ॥
 २४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ १० ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ ११ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ १२ ॥
 २६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ १४ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ १५ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ १६ ॥
 २८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ १८ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ १९ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ २० ॥
 ३० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ २२ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ २३ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ २४ ॥
 ३२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ २६ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ २७ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ २८ ॥
 ३४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २९ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ ३० ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ ३१ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ३२ ॥
 ३६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३३ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥ ३४ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ ३५ ॥ द्रुपद उवाच ॥ ३६ ॥

- 30 nayati vō(bō)dhayati samājnāpayati oha viditam-astu bhavata(tā)m-ētat-khaṇḍa-pratīva-
(ha)ddha-santi¹
- 31 **Sāntiragrāmāmb**² Kōmyōsaṅga-samētaḥ s-ōddōśaḥ sa-tantavāya-gōkūṭa-sauja(ṇḍi)k-
ādi-prakṛitika[h*] sa-khē-
- 32 ja-ghaṭṭa-nadīnatasthān-ādi-gulmakalḥ sarva-piḍā-varjitō-lēkhani-pravēsatayā bha(bhū)-
micchēhidra-piḍhāna-nyāyē-
- 33 r-ā-chandr-ārka-kahitī-samakālam mātā-pitrōr-āmanah sarva-astvā(ttā)nān-cha paṇy-
ābhi-vriddhayaḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtrāy-Āngirasa-
- 34 Vā(Bā)rasapatya-Bhāradvāja-pravarīya Vājasanēya-charaṇāya mādhyaṇdina-ākh-āhīyayinē
Takāri-vinī(m)rgata-Dharmma-
- 35 pāṭṭi-vāstavya-Bhī(Bhā)ṭṭa-Mākyadēvāya Jāladēva-utāya Pā(Pu)rushottamadēva-naptō
salila-dhārī-pū(pu)rahasara-kast-ōda-
- 36 kēna sūrya-grahanaṁ(pa)-vēlāyā(m*) Yamarga(ga)ttā(ttā)maṇḍal-ādhīpati-pamnamā-
bēvāra-sakalamahāpā(pu)rushagunavād-Rāgaka-śribhārid-Apsarōdēv-āhīyārtha-
- 37 nayā-'smābhī-sāmraśsanikṛity-ākshaya-nidhi'-dharmēn-ākaratvēna pradattas-tad-ōhā-
'smad-dattī ddha(r-ddha)ma-gauravād-bhavadbhīḥ paripālani(ā)ṇyā | Samvat 200⁴
80 [||*]

No. 11—REYURU GRANT OF PALLAVA NARASIMHAVARMAN; YEAR 12

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates deposited in the archives of the Rājā of Kālakāsti in the Chittoor District, Madras State, was discovered by the late Śrī Vāpūrī Prabhākara Śaastri who has edited the inscription on them in Telugu in the *Journal of Śrī Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.¹ In view of the importance of the epigraph which deserves fuller study, I edit it here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.²

The set consists of five plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring had been cut, apparently by the previous editor, when the plates were received for examination. The writing is engraved on one side of the first plate and both sides of the next two plates. The remaining two plates contain no writing. This is rather unusual; and this unusual feature may possibly be explained on the assumption that the framers of the document had originally kept these plates ready with the idea that the writing would extend over them, and that their expectation did not materialise. In the alternative, it may be surmised that the two spare plates are a later addition. It has, however, to be noted that traces of a few letters incised in late characters, forming two lines, can be detected on one of these spare sheets. Though the rims of the inscribed plates are not raised, the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. There are 25 lines of writing and these are distributed evenly on the five surfaces engraved.

¹ The engraver began to incise the name of the village, but, as some mistakes crept in, gave it up leaving considerable blank space at the end of line 30. He then engraved it at the beginning of the next line.

² Read 'grāmāmb'.

³ The usual expression is *ākshaya-nidhi*.

⁴ The actual value of the symbol, as noted above, seems to be 100.

⁵ Vol. VIII, pp. 82-96 and Vol. IX, pp. 25-30.

⁶ I am indebted to the above authority for having kindly secured the original document for my examination and study from the Director, Śrī Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. It is registered as No. 32 of Government Epigraphist's C. P. collection for 1949-50.

The plates measure almost uniformly 8 inches in length, 2.5 inches in breadth and 1/16 inch in thickness. A circular hole about 9/16 inch in diameter is cut at the centre of the margin at a distance of 3/8 inch from the left side of each plate. The ends of the ring which is about 3 inches in diameter, are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal, 1.6 inch in diameter. The seal bears in relief the following figures. A lotus flower with five petals is carved at the bottom. Above this is a couchant bull with hump. Its head facing the front is placed towards the proper right. Two flywhisks fastened by a double chord are shown on either side of the animal. At the top of the seal and above the animal is a crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 26 *tolas*. The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 80 *tolas*. Unlike the seal of the Kūram grant no legend is engraved on the present seal.

The charter belongs to a ruler of the **Pallava** house and the figure of the bull in the above description represents the emblem of the family. From other copper plate records and also coins we know that the bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. This emblem is not clearly visible on the seals of some early copper plate charters of the family. The figure, though somewhat crude, is recognised beyond all doubt for the first time on the seal of the Viṣṇavattī grant of Simhavarman.¹ We may, however, note one peculiarity. Whereas the bull of the Viṣṇavattī grant faces the proper left, that of the Kūram grant, the present charter and others of the later period,² faces the proper right. An interesting fact to be observed in regard to the Pallava emblem represented on the seal of the present document is that it is the best of its kind on account of its fine workmanship, surpassing all the rest discovered so far.

The characters are Kannada-Telugu of the early 8th century. The letters are handsomely incised, though uniformity of size is not maintained throughout. In the aspect of their neat and elegant execution, the characters of the present inscription may be compared with those of the Uruvupalli record, though the former are removed from the latter in point of time by over two centuries. The initial *t*, *ṣ* and *ai* are found in lines 19, 18 and 17 respectively; and they are noteworthy. The signs for *t* and *ṣ* are fairly distinguished; the former, which is fully curved with a loop at the top, being akin to its successor of a late period. The final *r* and *ṣ* are used in lines 16 and 21 respectively. The medial short *ṣ* is made up of a complete circle on the top of the letter; and this is differentiated from the long one which is shaped like a spiral with a knot towards the left above the same. The final *m* at the end of a word is changed to *anusvāra* in many cases; while in others, when it is not so transformed, it is represented by a peculiar mark which looks like a vertical stroke with a hook at the bottom towards the left. Instances of the *anusvāra* may be seen in the following words: *ayam* in line 13 and *viśaṁ* in line 22. The hooked stroke is illustrated by the following cases: *jītam* and *Pallavānam* in line 1, *brahmanam* in line 23 and *śudattam* in line 23. The *anusvāra* is changed to the appropriate class nasal and involved into *ṣṇāḥ* in the following cases: *Lokupātānam-pa* in line 3 and *sārasa-dāyaka* in line 20. The subscripts of the letters *dh* and *r* are not sometimes distinguished; e.g., *bḍha* and *rva* in line 5.

In regard to **orthography**, it may be observed that the rule regarding the reduplication of the consonant preceded by *r* is implicitly obeyed in all cases.³

The language is Sanskrit and the composition for the major part of the record (lines 1-20) is in prose. The statement relating to the executor of the document (*āyāpṛī*) is in verse (lines 20-21). This is followed by the imprecation which is, as usual, in verse (lines 22-23). The text

¹ For a description of the seal of the Viṣṇavattī grant and discussion on the Pallava emblem, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 295-97 and plate facing p. 297.

² The photographs of the seals of the Kūram and Tondutottam plates are published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, plate VII. The seal of the Viṣṇupṭaiyam plates is published, *ibid.*, Vol. II, plate facing p. 321.

³ It may be noted that *ṣ* in the expression *śṣṇāḥ* in line 20 is not doubled, since this case is not covered by the rule, *śṣṇāḥ śṣṇāḥ* *śṣṇāḥ* (Aśvādāyā, VIII-4-46).

these was the ruling king who issued the charter from his headquarters Kūchpura. Its object is to record the gift of a village named *Rēyūru* as a *brahmadāya*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kumāra-maṇḍaśarma who was well-versed in two Vēdas and constantly engaged in studies, by the king for the augmentation of his life, strength, victory and fortune. The donor is described as devoted to the feet of Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. He is also called *Paramabhūganta*, *Paramamāhātara* and *Paramabrahmanya*.¹

Judging from the genealogical account given above and palaeographical considerations indicated before, it is easy to identify the above-mentioned three kings with Mahēndravarmaṇ II, Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I and Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II respectively, of the Sindhavishṇu line.

Our epigraph happens to be the only dated record of Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II so far discovered. The date as cited herein is the twelfth year of the increasingly victorious reign of the king, *Vaiśākha, full-moon, lunar eclipse*. These details, however, fall short for verification. For want of necessary data, the reign-period of this king also, like those of other rulers of this family, cannot be fixed with precision. Hence we are left to make what appears to be the most reasonable assumption on the strength of circumstantial evidence. The broad limits of Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II's reign are indicated by two inscriptions as follows. From the Gadval plates² of the Western Chōlukya king Vikramāditya I, dated in 674 A.C., which mention Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II's father Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I, we can postulate that the former succeeded his father some time after that date. Since Vikramāditya I who ruled from 565 to 680 A.C.,³ had among his contemporaries, also Mahēndravarmaṇ II and Narasiṃhavarmaṇ I,⁴ the father and grandfather of Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I, we are justified normally in believing that Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I was quite young by this time, i.e., 674 A.C., and that he occupied the Pallava throne at least for a decade or two after this date. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, has placed the first year of the reign of Paramēśvaravarmaṇ II, the son and successor of Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II, in 728-29 A.C. with the help of a stone inscription recently discovered by him at Uchāla, near Kurnool.⁵ This is the outer limit. We may also observe that the Pallava ruler who exchanged embassies with the Chinese emperor in 720 A.C. has been identified with Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II.⁶ With these facts in view, we may examine the phenomenon of lunar eclipse which invests the above cited date with some definiteness. According to the *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, by Robert Sewall, the lunar eclipses occurred on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the years 701, 702, 711 and 720 A.C., which fall within the approximate reign-period of Narasiṃhavarmaṇ II. Of these the first two yield 690 or 691 A.C. as the first year of his reign. These perhaps would be too early, though there is no absurdity about them. Considering the long-range peaceful activities of this ruler, 720 A.C. which makes 709 A.C. his first year, may appear to be rather unsuitable. So we might pitch upon 711 A.C. as the date of our charter. This would show that his reign commenced in 700 A.C.⁷

Of more than passing interest is the description, in our epigraph, of Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I as the performer of *Aśvamedha* and many other *kratus*, i.e., Vedic sacrifices. This leads us to an enquiry into the claim. Let us see how far it is justified. The Kūraṇ grant of Paramēśvaravarmaṇ I himself contains no reference to the performance of the horse sacrifice, and the other

¹ We may as well connect these three epithets with Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. The joint association of the first two terms with the same person here is noteworthy.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

³ *Bow. Gen.*, Vol. I, part II, genealogical statement facing p. 336.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 101.

⁵ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, p. 201.

⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 16 and 116-17.

⁷ It is interesting to note that Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao places his initial year circa 700 A.C. by approximation. *J. I. H.*, Vol. XXX, p. 201.

records of this king are also silent about it. Furthermore, it is seen that with the exception of the present charter and the Śivanvāyal inscription¹ of Simhavarman, no records of the Pallava rulers of the Simhaviṣṇu line, including Nandivarman II and his successors, attribute the performance of horse sacrifice to any of them. If this great achievement were a fact, the ruler himself or his descendants would have legitimately taken credit for it and certainly mentioned the same in their records. We may note in this connection the performance of horse sacrifice by Pulakāśin I of the Western Chālukya family, which is often alluded to in their records.² So the truth appears to be like this. In the Hirahadagalli plates,³ Śivaskandavarman is stated to have celebrated the horse sacrifice. Here we are at the source. The later descendants of his family took pride over this and duly incorporated the event in their *prastuti* in general terms as a praiseworthy qualification of the Pallava family. The claim was also exaggerated by multiplying the number of horse sacrifices performed. Thus we find that in the Chendalūr plates⁴ of Kumāraaviṣṇu II, Uruvupalli grant and other charters, the Pallavas in general are referred to as the performers of horse sacrifices. In view of these finds we are justified in making the following observation. The drafter of the Rēyūru grant, who, as shown before, was influenced by the texts of the copper plate charters of the earlier period, simply borrowed this expression from them and foisted it on the father of the ruling king, his patron, for his glorification. It would be on similar lines that we shall have to account for the characteristic attribute, 'performer of ten horse sacrifices,' ascribed to the Pallava king Simhavarman,⁵ as noticed for the first time in the Śivanvāyal inscription.

The royal order announcing the gift was addressed to the inhabitants of Rēyūru; and it was enjoined on pain of corporal punishment upon all the ministers along with their subordinate officials (*karavayuktāḥ*), all the officers of the state (*saranyōgakāḥ*) and the courtiers (*vājaveṣṭabhāḥ*), that they should collect no dues whatsoever from the village, particularly while on tour (*sañcharantāḥ*). The executor of the order was Īvata, the chief of Nandakurra, and son of Sōmāditya, who equalled Rājāditya in valour.⁶

The donee Kumāramañḍaśarman was a resident of Kuravaśrī and he is referred to as a *Sōmayājīn*. He came from a learned family. Both his father Kumāraśarman and grandfather Kūlaśarman were proficient in two Vēdas. The latter is said to have known the essence of the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa and Purāṇa. He belonged to the Bāthitara gōtra and was a student of Āpastambha sūtra. We may note here the occurrence of the expression *dvaidāpāraka* qualifying all the three members of the family. Evidently it is an abbreviation of *dvai-vēda-pāraka* and may be taken to be equivalent of *dvaidin*, i.e., *dvai-vēdin*.

Lastly we may consider the geographical information contained in the epigraph. The gift village Rēyūru is stated to have been situated in the Mēl-Munḍarāśhṭra. The prefix *mēl* in this expression is Tamil, meaning 'west.' This territorial name occurs for the first time in the present record, though Munḍarāśhṭra is already familiar to us through other inscriptions. Judging from its connotation, Mēl-Munḍarāśhṭra must have been situated to the west of

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 62.

² Ibid., pp. 8, 39, 117, 128, etc.

³ Above, Vol. I, p. 5.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 235. In the Chendalūr record the adjective *madhya* meaning 'many' qualifies the expression *dvaidāpāraka*. So also in the Vijayattī grant. In some charters, e.g., the Uruvupalli grant, this word is omitted.

⁵ The identity of this Simhavarman is problematic. Even assuming him to be Narasimhavarman I, the claim of his having performed ten horse sacrifices appears to be a conventional boast for reasons adduced above. But the claim as it is put forth is unique in the records of the Pallava house.

⁶ This Rājāditya may have been the grandfather of Īvata. I am inclined to treat the expression *Nandakurra-prin-tiruvata* as a *Karuvāḍkurra* compound made up of *Nandakurra-uripe* and *Īvata*.

and adjacent to Mundarāśhtra.¹ Mundarāśhtra roughly comprised the major part of Kōyūr taluk and the adjoining area to the north and south in the Nellore District, Madras State.² It would, therefore, be reasonable to surmise that Mēl-Mundarāśhtra might have comprised mainly the area of the Ātmakūr taluk of the district, since this taluk is situated to the west of the Kōyūr taluk. This surmise is justified by the existence, in the Ātmakūr taluk, of a village named Rāvūru which may aptly be identified with the Rāvūru of the inscription.³ I am unable to identify the locality called Aūdharapura which was to the south of Rāvūru and presumably in its vicinity. Apparently the name has been Sanskritised and there are no means at our disposal to find out its indigenous appellation.

It is interesting to recall in this context that a village bearing the identical name Rāvūru is mentioned as the object of gift in a copper-plate record⁴ of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnvardhana II, dated 664 A.C. This Rāvūru was situated in the area of Karmarāśhtra which comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and the southern parts of the Guntur District, extending roughly over the Ongole and Bapatla taluks.⁵ Two alternative views are possible under the circumstances. Firstly, Rāvūru of the Eastern Chālukya record might be different from its namesake of the present charter. Secondly, they might be identical. Since scarcely any village answering the name is traceable in the northern taluks of the Nellore District and the southern taluks of the Guntur District, I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. But in this case we shall have to explain the discrepancy in the geographical position of the same village in the two records which are removed by a period of about fifty years only. Here we might note it primarily that Karmarāśhtra formed part of the Pallava dominion and that it figures often in the records of the rulers of the line.⁶ Subsequently, this tract, as indicated by the Koppāram plates,⁷ appears to have been subjugated by Pulakāḍin II and passed on to the sway of the Eastern Chālukyas,⁸ some time before 639 A.C. We are, therefore, not facing an anomaly if we surmise that a part of this Karmarāśhtra, particularly the southern or the south-western part, was reconquered either by Narasimhavarmān II or his father Paramēśvaravarmān I, particularly taking into consideration the ineffective regime of Vishnvardhana II's successor, Maṅgiyavarāja.⁹ This newly conquered tract might have been constituted into a separate territorial unit and named Mēl-Mundarāśhtra.

Nandakurra wherefrom the *ājñāpti* *lāvāra* hailed may be Nandavaram in the Udayagiri taluk of the Nellore District, which has yielded some inscriptions.¹⁰ Kuravāṇri where the dūmē resided must be the same as Kuravaṇri occurring in the Tanjantōṭṭam plates of the Pallava king

¹ Another instance of a similar nature denoting the western extension of an original territorial unit is Mēl-Pākkai, nādu; see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25.

² Compare above, Vol. XXIV, p. 301, and also see V. Ranganātha's *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Nellore, Nos. 505, 535, etc., containing references to Mundarāśhtra which is a later term for Mundarāśhtra.

³ This identification has been put forth by the late V. Prabhākara Shāstri: *Journal of Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, p. 250; *A. R. as S. I. Epigraphy* for 1916, part II, para. 3, p. 113.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 234; Vol. XV, pp. 261 and 263.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-58.

⁸ N. Venkataramanayya: *Eastern Chālukyas of Vengi*, p. 40.

⁹ It must be admitted that no specific evidence is at our disposal at present to show that territorial expansion was accomplished by these Pallava rulers. But the fact that they were brave and indulged in aggressive warfare is proved by the historical events and the titles borne by them, such as *Rasajaya*, *Rasatra*, *Madanajaya*, *Atanpachayya*, etc., which might not be altogether vainglorious; *S. I. J.*, Vol. I, pp. 144-45; Vol. XII, pp. 16-11. Compare *Eastern Chālukyas* (op. cit.), p. 65.

¹⁰ *Topographical List*, etc. (op. cit.), Nellore, Nos. 738-39.

Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, which was also the home of more than one donee of the record.¹ The same place seems to have been alluded to as Krōvaśrī in the Satalūru plates of Gunaga Vijayāditya,² after about a century and a half. One of the donees in this charter, who belonged to this place, was Nārāyaṇaśārman of the Rāthitara *gṛāma*. It would appear from this that this place was the resort of learned Brāhmanas for generations. It may possibly be identified with Krōśūru in the Sattēmapalle *taluk* of the Guntur District.³

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [1*] Śrīmat⁵ jītam(th) Bhagavatām⁶ [1*] Kāñchīpur-ādhiśhā(śhāhā)nā-Pallavānām(m)
Bhātadvāja-
- 2 sagōtra(trā)nām eva-vīryy-ādhiḡata-rājyaaya⁷ abhyarchchita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya
- 3 prajāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Madhyama-Lōkapālasya Lōkapālānām-pālī⁸(ōcha)-
- 4 masya⁹ paramabrahmā(hma)nyasya Mahārājasya (ri-Mahēndravikramavarmanaya) putrah¹⁰
bahu-
- 5 samara-vijaya-labdha-yasah-prakāśasya vidhi-vihita-sarva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthitasya¹¹

Second Plate; First Side

- 6 amṛt-ātmanō yathāsvad-ābhīrit-Āśvameḍh-ādī-anēka-kratu-yājīna-satya-vratasya dharm-ā-
- 7 tmanō mahimapi¹² Mahēndrasya Paramēśvaravarmanaya putrah¹³ Bhagavad-bhakti-sad-
bhāva-samarpi-
- 8 ta-sarva[h*]¹⁴ prajā-samhrath¹⁵jana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satya¹⁶-vrātā(ta)-dikshita[h*]¹⁷ Ka-
- 9 liyuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharaya-mitya-sannadhb¹⁸ anēka-samara-saṅghatya-junīta-
vikra-
- 10 ma-vasudhā-tal-ai(h-ci)ka-vira(n)¹⁹ rājariśhi(jarahi)-guṇa-sarva-sandōha-vijigīśu[h*]²⁰ para-
malha(bhā)gavata[h*]²¹ pa-

¹ A. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 532-34.

² *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 115, lines 60-61.

³ There are other possibilities also, e.g., Krōśūru in the Kōvōru and Kandakur *taluk*s of the Nellore District.

⁴ From the original plates and impressions.

⁵ The consonant *t* may be read as *ra* also. This word should be read either as *śrīmatā* or *śrīmatān*, preferably the former. In the former case it qualifies *Bhagavatā* and in the latter *Pallavānām*.

⁶ Read *Bhagavatā*. The abbreviated invocation *jīśhā Bhagavatā* is met with in the Ururupalli and other records.

⁷ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁸ This letter is peculiar and looks like *h*. The engraver seems to have limited the wrong form of the intended *akṣara ścha*.

⁹ In the Ururupalli and Pīkura grants the expression reads *Lōkapālānām pañchamasya Lōkapālasya*, whereas it is *Lōkapālānām pañchamasya* only in the Vijaya(vi) grant. The expressions *Madhyamaśikṛpā* and *Lōkapālānām pañcham* obviously refer to god Varuṇa.

¹⁰ The reading intended is perhaps *mahim-ōpana*.

¹¹ For clarity of sense it is better to separate this compound expression.

¹² This *anand* is placed wrongly on the *akṣara pa*.

¹³ The word is *śata* in the Ururupalli grant.

¹⁴ *Sandhi* is not properly observed here.

¹⁵ This and the following two expressions may also be taken as qualifying *Bayya-shaṣṭirāṭha*, in which case we need not separate them.

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 ramamāhēśvara[h*] paramabrahmaṣya(syō) Bappa-bha[ṭṭaraka-pāda-bhakti[h*] śrī-Narasim-
havarṁma-
12 ṣaḥ(varṁmā) Mēl-Muṇḍarāśhṭrē¹ Asidhārepurasy-ōttarē [² Rēyūru-nāma-grāman(masya)
grāmēyakā-
13 u-ittham-ājñāpayati [|*] ayaṁ grāma[h*] Kuravaśrī-vaṣṭha(vāṣṭa)vyasya Rāthitara-
sagōtrasya¹
14 Āpastambha(ba)-sūtr-ādhyāyinaḥ¹ dvēda-pāragasya Vēda-Vēdāṁg² Ētiḥāsa-Purāṇa-tatva-
(ttva)-vi-
15 da[h*] Kōḷaśarmmaṣya(ṣaḥ) pautrāya dvi(dvā)da-pāragasya Kumāraśarmmaṣa[h*]
putrāya dvēda-pāragāya

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 nitya-svādhyāya-niratāya Sōmayājīnē Kumāramajjāśarmmaṣ¹ asmāka(m*) āyur-
17 bala-vijaya¹-nīśvaryy-ābhividdhayē brahmadēhi(yī)krity-śamābhic-ddatta[h*] pravard-
dhamāna-vijaya-
18 rājya-śamvatsarē dvādaśa-varshē Vaisākha-paurṇamāsyē(syām) sōma-grahaṇa-
nimittē datta śva(ttaḥ | śva)-
19 m-avagamyē(mya)* imā(ma)[m-a*]mātyā[h*] sarvvāḥ(rvvē) karaṇa-yuktā[h*] sarvva-
myōgākāḥ¹ rāja-vallabhāś-cha sañcharantāḥ(ntaḥ)
20 sarvva-kara-parihā(rihā)rah(rat) pariharantu [|*] Imām-ājñām-atikramēt-sa pāpaś-śārīra-
daṇḍam-arhati [|*] ²Sōmaditya-

Third Plate : Second Side

- 21 suta[h*] śrīmān-Nandakurṅga-nrip-Ēśvaraḥ [|*] ājñāptiś-śāsanasy-āya Rājāditya-prathā-
(tā)pavān [|1|*] Yatrā(Yat-ātra)
22 bha¹ śhataḥ² śūkaḥ(kāḥ) [|*] Brahma-svam(m) ³visham ghōraḥ(rat) na vishatī visham-
nchyatē [|*] visham-śkākina(naḥ) hanti brahma-
23 svam(m) putra-pautri(ira)kam [|3|*] Śvadattām(m) paradattām vā [⁴ yō harēti(ta) vasu-
dharām [|*] śhaṣṭi⁵-va-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.² The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.³ This *anvāṣṭra* is placed wrongly on the following *akṣara* *gt*.⁴ There is some confusion here. If the *akṣara* *myē* is treated as a case of *sandhi*, then the following initial *i* should be deleted.⁵ This and the following verses are in the *Anuṣṭup* metre.⁶ The form of this letter is queer. It is neither *bha* nor *ma*. It is clear that the engraver wanted to make it *bha*.⁷ Read *bhamaṣṭi*.⁸ Insert *ai* before this word to make the *pāda* metrically correct.⁹ The subscript *ṭ* of this *akṣara* looks like the subscript *dh* or *ṣ*. Compare, for instance, *śdha* in line 23 and in the following line.

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ii.a.

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ii.b.

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 ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ (ಐದ್ವಾಸ್ಯಾಃ ಕಿಂಚಿದ್ ॥ ಸಕಿಂಚಿದ್ವಾಸ್ಯಾಃ ಕಿಂಚಿದ್ವಾಸ್ಯಾಃ ಕಿಂಚಿದ್ವಾಸ್ಯಾಃ ॥ 24
 ಸುತಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ 24
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 ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ ಸುತಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾಕ್ಷಃ ॥ 24

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 24 *śaśa-saśa-rāṇi* |¹ *viśṭa-²(a)hā)yam(yām)* jāyatē krimik { || 3 ||* } Bahubhir-vvasudhā
dattā |³ bahubhir-
25 *ś-ch-ānupālita(tā)* | *yasya yasya yathā⁴ bhūmi(h)* |⁵ *tasya tasya tathā⁶ phalam* || 4 ||*

No. 12—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRATAPAMALLA ; YEAR 969

(I Plate)

L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH, AND P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

The credit of the discovery of this copper plate document, the existence of which was known as early as 1940, goes to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosala Historical Society. It was in the possession of Dewan Hariyal Singh, Zamindar of Bilaigarh* in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Through the kindness of Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, it was obtained on loan from the owner and sent to the then Government Epigraphist for India, for examination, in November 1942. Subsequently, at the advice of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who accorded his kind permission and other facilities, Mr. Desai, a member of his office, was also provided with an opportunity of studying the epigraph. Thus as a result of joint co-operation the inscription is edited here for the first time.

It is a set of two copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The plates measure roughly from 10 to 10½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth. A hole with a diameter of about half an inch is bored towards the centre of the top of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and a margin of about an inch is left out towards the left. The size of the letters on the first plate is bigger than that on the second, the average being roughly ½ and ¼ of an inch respectively. As a result of this the first plate has accommodated 16 lines and the second 22 lines. The seal is circular measuring about 2½ inches in diameter. It is partly damaged and obliterated towards the left. Its upper portion contains crudely carved figures of a seated goddess, viz., Lakshmi, in the middle and two elephants with jars in their upturned trunks on either side. In the lower portion is incised the figure of a dagger placed across pointing towards the right. In the intervening space is engraved in Nāgari characters the partly damaged legend *Śrī (Śrī) Pratāpamalladeva*. In respect of this seal and many other points which will be discussed presently, the present plates bear close resemblance with the Pāṇḍrabandh plates of the same king, already published in this journal.*

* The *śaśa* is superfluous.

* The subscript *t* of this *śaśa* looks like the subscript *dh* or *ṭ*. Compare, for instance, *ndha* in line 33 and *vera* in the following line.

* The words *yadā* and *tadā* are more commonly used for *pathā* and *lathā* of this verse.

* This punctuation in the original is made up of a spiral followed by a wavy line.

* This is the first set of Bilaigarh plates. According to the official sources, the plates were originally unearthed while ploughing his field by one Rāmnāth, son of Gōpi Kāshra, a resident of the village Paoni, about 3 miles from Bilaigarh. They were handed over to the agent of the Zamindar of Bilaigarh, who passed them on to his master. The information gathered by Mr. Pandeya reveals that two more sets of copper plates were discovered in the village Paoni in September 1940. One of these, which fell into the hands of a *śākhā*, was subsequently recovered by the said Zamindar. This set was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1945. This is styled the second set of Bilaigarh plates for the convenience of description. It belongs to Prithivīdēva II and is dated 896 of the Chāli era. The second set from Bilaigarh is being published in this journal. These plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

* Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

The characters are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century being on the whole identical with those of the Pēṇḍrābandh charter. Some of the peculiarities noticed¹ in the case of the latter, such as non-distinction between *p* and *ph* as the second members of conjunct letters, scoring off of the superfluous syllable by vertical strokes at the top, besides others, can be detected in this inscription also. The *avagraha* sign is not used in many places; for instance, *śatantūś-bhārat* in line 12 and *śatā-dāś* in line 13. It is, however, used in *śatāntā-jana* in line 8 and a few other expressions. As the first member of a conjunct letter, *n* sometimes looks like *t*, e.g., *-nanyā* in line 2. The subscript *ā* is not generally distinguished from *i*; e.g., *pratiśt-ā-* in line 27 and *śiśāpāyām* in line 33. The form of cerebral *ś* is made up of three vertical strokes—the first being slightly curved, the second a wavy line and the third a straight line, similar to its later counterpart. This kind of *ś* is not met with in the Pēṇḍrābandh charter. In the Pēṇḍrābandh inscription it is represented by a symbol resembling *!* without its top joint.

In regard to orthography we may note the following. In rare cases the *anusvara* is replaced by the class nasal, e.g., *gaṅga* in line 13. *V* is substituted for *b*; e.g., *Vrahma* in line 1 and *anāra-* in line 2. In certain expressions *j* is used for *y* and *vice versa*; e.g., *yātā* for *jātā* in lines 5 and 7, *jāh* for *yāh* in line 13 and *jana* for *yāna* in lines 9 and 14. In a majority of instances *s* is written for *ś*; e.g., *śiśu* for *śiśu* in line 1, *dēś* for *dēś* in line 4. The reduplication of the consonant following *r* is resorted to in a large number of syllables, though the exceptions to this practice are not negligible; e.g., *pratyarthā(tha)* in lines 3-4, *śaś(śa)rya* in line 6 and *darpaś* in line 10.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the usual salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is composed in verse. There are thirty verses in all. They are generally punctuated by single *daṇḍas* at the end of each half and double *daṇḍas* at their completion. The verses are numbered. An inadvertent omission has occurred in numbering the 16th verse. On account of this the following verses are all numbered less by one than the actual figure. This mistake has been corrected in the accompanying text. Some errors in marking the *daṇḍas* have also been rectified. The first fourteen verses describing the genealogy of the Kalachuri family down to Pratāpamalla, are identical with those in the Pēṇḍrābandh plates. The next six verses, which are new, give an account of the donor's family and the circumstances of the gift. The following nine verses constitute the familiar praise of land gift and the customary imprecation. The last verse refers to the scribe who wrote the record.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift, on the date specified below, of the village Siraḷā to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Haridāsa, by king Pratāpamalla. Pratāpamalla belonged to the Kalachuri family of Ratanpur. The genealogy of the family is traced as usual from the primeval ancestor Manu of the solar descent. This account is identical with that found in the Pēṇḍrābandh inscription. Pratāpamalla was the son of Ratnūrāja or Ratnadēva III and great-grandson of Prithivīdēva II. From the last part of the otherwise conventional eulogy (verses 13-14), it can be gathered that Pratāpamalla was quite young when he became king. Pratāpamalla is the last known ruler of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and his existence was brought to the notice of scholars for the first time by Mr. L. P. Pandeya's discovery of copper coins bearing his name on the banks of the river Mahānadi near Bālpur.² Subsequent disclosure of two copper plate charters issued by him, viz., the Pēṇḍrābandh record, and the present one, have placed his reign beyond all doubt.

The date as given in lines 28 and 38 is *Saṁvat* 969, Āshāḍha, lunar eclipse. The *Saṁvat* evidently refers to the year of the Chōdi or Kalachuri era. Assuming the above year to be expired

¹ Ibid., p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 3.

and calculating with 247-48 A.C. as the starting point of the era, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha in 1218 A.C., corresponding to July 9, Monday. This appears to be the date of the record. We may, however, note that the lunar eclipse took place also on the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha in 1219 A.C., corresponding to June 29, Saturday. The present charter is dated four years later than the Pāṇḍrābandh epigraph, thus extending the reign period of Pratāpamalla up to 1218 A.C.

Before we proceed to other details, it seems necessary to examine a few facts connected with the history of these Kalachuris, not adequately noticed by scholars. One is the place allotted to Prithivīdēva III in the genealogical account of the family. In his *Dynastic History of Northern India*¹ Dr. H. C. Ray postulates that Ratnadēva III was succeeded by Prithivīdēva III. The only basis for this assumption is the Ratanpur inscription.² In this record three generations of kings are mentioned, viz., Jājalladēva, his son who might be Ratnadēva who defeated Chōḍagaṅga, and his son Prithivīdēva. The characteristic achievement of vanquishing Chōḍagaṅga is attributed in all the records of the family to Ratnadēva II, father of Prithivīdēva II. From this it becomes explicit that Prithivīdēva of the Ratanpur record is identical with Prithivīdēva II and that no grounds exist for the assumption of a Prithivīdēva III. The subsequent history of the family as known from other epigraphs,³ reveals that Prithivīdēva II was followed by his younger son Jājalladēva II. After a short while the rulership passed on to Jājalladēva II's elder brother Jagaddēva. The latter was in turn succeeded by Ratnadēva III and grandson Pratāpamalla. Thus we are justified in discommenancing the existence of Prithivīdēva III.

Dr. Ray tries to support the above view of his by saying that the date of the Ratanpur inscription agrees with the ascription of the epigraph to Prithivīdēva III. This argument is fallacious; for, the date which is taken to be Vikrama Samvat 1247, as read by its editor, the late Dr. Kielhorn, is itself doubtful and his observations⁴ on the same reveal that the record might have been originally dated in the Chōḍi era, the first digit of which was 9. As a good number of inscriptions of Prithivīdēva II with dates ranging from the Chōḍi year 900 to 915, has been discovered,⁵ there should be no difficulty in assigning the Ratanpur epigraph to his reign. Another consideration that has obviously persuaded Dr. Ray to assign the Ratanpur record to Prithivīdēva III, is the chronological position of its composer. This was Dēvagana⁶, son of Ratnasimha and grandson of Māmā. Now it might be that this same Ratnasimha was the composer of the Malhar inscription⁷ of Jājalladēva II dated 919 of the Chōḍi era. Ascription of the Ratanpur inscription to Prithivīdēva II would lead to the result that whereas Dēvagana, the son, drafted the record of the king who was the father, Ratnasimha, his father, composed the charter of the king who was the son. This superficial anomaly can be explained away by pointing out that there exists a difference of only four years between the

¹ Vol. II (1926), pp. 813-14. The same view appears to have been held by other scholars also, though not without diffidence; compare Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 421 and the genealogical statement on p. 303. It must, however, be noted that in his article on the 'History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala,' Mr. Amalamba Ghosh has shown that Prithivīdēva of the Ratanpur inscription was Prithivīdēva II, and not Prithivīdēva III, *Indica Prapitjoli*, pp. 274-75.

² *Above*, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 49; Vol. XXI, p. 762, etc.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 49, n. 41.

⁵ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1234, 1236, etc.

⁶ We may incidentally note the title *Rājyasimha* of Dēvagana's son, Jagatimha; *above*, Vol. I, p. 51. This is influenced by Kannada. A study of the inscriptions of the period shows that a good many titles of similar origin from Karnataka were adopted and exhibited by distinguished persons in other parts of India.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

last known dates of Prithivīdēva II and his son Jājallādēva II, viz., K. 915 and 919, and that there would be no absurdity in surmising that both Dēvagaga and his father Ratnasīnha lived up to an advanced age and composed the two records removed by a brief interval of time.

In his recent study of the inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris or the Kalachuris of Karṇāṭaka, rather inappropriately described as the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇi by the late Dr. Fleet, Mr. Desai has been able to detect a large number of affinities¹ that go to establish closer ties among the southern and the northern branches of the Kalachuri stock. An inscription from Harasūr attributes lunar descent to the Kalachuris of Karṇāṭaka and this claim is supported by further epigraphical evidence.² Among the northern Kalachuris, those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur trace their descent from the moon.³ In glaring contrast with this comes the statement⁴ in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, which commence with an invocation to the sun god who is represented as the originator of the family. It is interesting to note that solar descent is also mentioned in some inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris.⁵ Some of their records⁶ open with an invocation to the sun god on the analogy of the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It has to be observed further that the Śaivite traditions of the northern families, particularly those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur, such as intensive devotion to the god Śiva and adoption of his vehicle Nandi as their royal emblem,⁷ were preserved intact in the southern family as well.⁸ An inscription from Chadaehana⁹ in the Bijapur District, dated 1057 A.C., introduces Bijjala I, the grandfather of Jōgama, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I, and as bearing the significant title *Dahala-befanga* (ornament of the Dahala country).

The donee Haridāsa belonged to a learned and respectable family. His father was Divōdāsa, son of Bhṛigu-Paṇḍita. These belonged to the Sāṃkṛita *gōtru*, having the *pravara*s Sāṃkṛita, Āṅgīrasa and Vāchāspatya. After the statement of the gift in verse 19, a renowned teacher of Śaivite persuasion, named Iṣānaśiva, is eulogised in the next verse. The position held by this divine in the transaction is not made clear. It is likely that he was the royal preceptor and spiritual guide and introduced here at the behest of the king. Verse 30 contains a description of Pratirāja of the Gauda lineage, who wrote the record on the copper plates with clear letters out of natural devotion for the Brāhmanas. This Pratirāja is identical with the scribe of the Pōḍrābandh plates wherein he is characterised as the light of the Record Office. The gift village Sīralā may possibly be indentified with Siroḷi in the Janjgir Tahsil of the Bilaspur District.

¹ Fleet has alluded to only two links, viz., the title *Kalāchurapuravarādāktimāra* and reference to the Dahala country in a Harihar inscription; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 409.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24.

³ Ibid., p. 25, n. 3; *Kannada Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, p. 107.

⁴ It is shown that there is no real contradiction in the divergent claims of lunar and solar descents by the two groups of the same family and that they can be easily reconciled; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25, n. 3.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448. Compare the allusion to the solar lineage of Bijjala (I) in a Sūhāsa inscription; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 178.

⁶ Two inscriptions, one from Mutlgi and another from Ingaśivar in the Bijapur District; Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 104 of 1929-30 and No. 11 of 1930-31.

⁷ Above, Vol. II, p. 303; Vol. VII, p. 85; Vol. XII, p. 205; *Dynastic Hist. of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 742.

⁸ The theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala II is now thoroughly exploded and it is shown on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence that all the members of the Southern Kalachuri family were staunchly Śaivite in their persuasion. This and other topics briefly referred to above and in the article 'Harasūr Inscription of King Sōma' (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 23 ff.), have been elaborately discussed in his lectures on the Southern Kalachuris delivered by Mr. Desai in February 1961 at the Kannada Research Institute, Dharmwar. These lectures are published in the *Kannada Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 102 ff.

⁹ B. K. coll., No. 17 of 1937-38.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16, 19, 21-29 *Amashubh*; vv. 2, 5, 14 *Upajñti*; vv. 3, 12 *Sragdharā*; vv. 4, 6, 30 *Vasantatilākā*; v. 8 *Mālinī*; vv. 10, 17 *Śikharigī*; vv. 13, 18, 20 *Śārdūlavikri-ḍita*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [॥*] ॐ व(व)ह्मणे नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं
परमकारणं³(णम्) । भावचाह्व(ह्वं) परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सह(द्र)ह्मणे
नमः ॥ १ ॥
- 2 यदेतदग्रेसरमंब(व)स्स्य ज्योतिः स पूषा⁴ पु(रु⁵)षः पुराणः । अथास्य⁶ पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्-
3 वि कार्त्तिं(त्तं)वीर्यं ॥२॥ तस्मात्च्छ(च्छ)क्रातिकीर्त्तः सकलगुणधरा हेहया
ने(नै)कसः(शः) को जाताः ।⁷ प्रत्य-
4 र्थं(यि)पृथ्वीपतिकरिह्र[यो] मामांशे कल्पवृक्षाः । तद्वृक्षा(स्या)स्त्वे(स्त्वे)-
दिदेसे(शे) कलचुरिरिति च स्या(स्या)तिमीयुल्लं⁸(र्त्तं)रै-
5 द्राः(द्रा) या(जा)तः कोकलदेवो नृपतिररिकुलक्षमाभुजा धूमकेतुः ॥३॥
अष्टादशा(शा)रिकरिकुभ⁹-
6 विभग्न(ङ्ग)सिन्धवाः(हा) पुत्रा व(व)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपरास्व(स्व) तस्य ।
तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श) आसीत्पार्श्वे(स्व) च मंड-
7 लपती(ती)न्म चकार व(व)धून् ॥४॥ तेषां(षा)मनूज¹⁰स्तु कलिगराजः
प्रतापवह्निक्षप्ता(पिता)रिराजः । या(जा)तोन्व-
8 ये दुष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाभोरुहपावर्णेन्दुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोज्ज्वलि रत्न(ल)-
राजो विस्वो(स्वो)पका-

¹ From the original plates and inked impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ There appears to be an *anuvāsa* on this letter; but this and a few other dots elsewhere have to be ignored, as they are apparently due to the defect in the metal.

⁴ This *ra* is not properly engraved; it may be compared with other *ras* in the inscription, e.g., lines 8 and 11.

⁵ There is a scored-out sign for medial *i* before the letter *ya*.

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous. By inserting this punctuation mark, the scribe possibly means that the first quarter of the verse ended with the word *śukla*. This is wrong, as it ends with *śum*.

⁷ This is clearly *lla*; compare *lla* of *Kāśā* in l. 5. The intended shikara was perhaps *raṇa* which is however wrong for *raṇa*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 4, n. 2.

⁸ The word *lunika* is followed by the two scored-out syllables *vika*.

⁹ The form *anika* is wrongly used for *anika* for the sake of metre.

- 9 रकरणाज्जितपु¹ष्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हुयुगतिभिमतविक्रमेण ।² नीतं अस-
(यश)स्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य स(श)-
- 10 ब्रून् ॥६॥ [पृ]थ्वीदेवोभवत्तस्मात्पु(पृ)पः सा(शा)हूलविक्रमः । तस्यदर्पण-
संक्रान्तानम[द्रु]पालमंडलः ॥७॥
- 11 अथ रुचिररुचिस्त्री(श्री)रास(श)यः³ सत्कलानामनुपाहितकलंकोज्ज्वलमूर्तिः सुवृत्तः ।
सकलगु-
- 12 णसमूहः⁴ [श्री]मतस्तस्य मूनुविधुरिव मुकुतानां धाम आजल्लदेवः ॥८॥ रत्त-
(ल)देवो[ऽ⁵]भवत्तस्मादभूतो-
- 13 पमविक्रमः । ज(य)स्वो(श्चो)डगङ्गगोकर्णी युधि चक्रे पराडमुखौ ॥९॥
ततो[ऽ⁵]भूदासीमक्ष(क्षि)तिवलयवि-
- 14 क्त(क्रान्त)महिमा हिमानीवत्का⁶त्तैर्यं(त्तैर्जं)गदपि असो(यशो)भिर्द्वंद्वलयन(न्) ।
रणे क्रुद्धा(द्ध)देवि(पि)द्विपदलनदीक्षा-
- 15 हरिसमः सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपतेः ॥ [१०] ॥ प्रचंडाखंडभूपाल-
- 16 युष(द्ध)कंडूति[सं](खं)वनः । जगद्देवोभवत्तस्मात्पु(पृ)पः [सा(शा)हूल]विक्रमः
॥ ११ ॥ तत्पुत्रस्त्रि(दिव)त्रकीर्तिः सकलकलचुरि-

Second Plate

- 17 इमाभुजां भूव(ष)णस्त्रीः(श्री) [स्त्री(श्री)]मानुत्फुल्लत(म)ल्लीनिकरनिभ-
जसो(यशो)रासि(शि)मिर्व्याप्तविस्वः(श्वः) । आसीदासीमभू-
- 18 मी⁷वलयपरिवृडप्रौढदोःका(कां)इलीप्रानिद्ध(द्ध)तासे(शे)षवैरिक्षितिपतिति(नि)बहा(हो)
[भूपती रत्नराजः] ॥१२॥
- 19 पुत्रस्तस्य यसोद्धि(शोब्धि)लोललहरीनिर्दूतदिग्मंडलो मूर्त्या निर्विजितमन्मथः⁸
समभवत् स्त्री(श्री)मत्प्रतापो नृपः । भूपा-

¹ This letter is not clear on the impression. The plate is slightly damaged at this spot.

² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Better read *śarayaś* for *śarayaś*.

⁴ The formation of the letter *itā* is not normal.

⁵ The word *bhāmi* generally ends in short *i*. The long *i* is necessitated here evidently for the sake of metre.

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 20 साल्लं (णं) वसो (शो) षणे मुनिरसो इमापालचूडामणिर्दीजने व[दि]जने
द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्ताव(म)णिः ॥१३॥
- 21 मत्या महत्या महती महीसः (शः) प्रतापमल्लो जगदे (दे) कमलः [1]
पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(व)लेन वा(वा)लोपि व(व)लि-
- 22 द्वितीयः ॥१४॥ प्रवरैः सांकृताङ्गिरस[वाच]स्पत्यसंज्ञकैः [1*] संयुते सांकृतगोत्रे
पंडितो भृगुसा(सं)ज्ञकः ॥१५॥ व(व)-
- 23 भूव सु(श्रु)तिसंपन्नः 1 पुराणस्मृतिसा(शा)स्त्रवित् [1*] आचारमार्गनिरतः
प्रियवाक् साधुस(सं)मतः ॥१६॥ [1*] समुद्भूतस्तस्मा-
- 24 ऋक्षवर्धर इव क्षीरजलघः (घेः) दिवोदासः पुत्रः श(स)कलगुणविज्ञाननिपुणः [1*]
सदामात्यो (न्यो) विप्रैः ज(प्रजै)ननयनका-
- 25 भं (नं) दजनकः स्फुरकी (त्की) तिलो (लो) के सकलनरपैः पूज्यचरणः ॥१६ (१७)॥
तत्पुत्रो हरिदास उत्तममतिम्मन्यः सता-
- 26 प्ल(म)घणी [1*] सन्मार्गं (म्मं) करतो विवेकवसतिः वि(तिवि)प्रेषु चूडामणिः
[1*] सा(शा)स्त्रार्थसु(श्रु)तिघर्मनित्यनिरतो घम्मै (म्मै) कदु (दु) धिः (दिः)
सदा
- 27 लोकानां प्रियदर्शनो निशितधीः प्राप्तः 3 प्रतिष्टो (ष्ठो) दयः ॥१७ (१८)॥ तस्मै
प्रतापदेवेत(न) राज्ञा संकल्पपूर्व (र्व) कः [1*] प्रदत्तः
- 28 सिरलाग्राम प्रा(आ)वाही (ही) सोमपर्वणि ॥१८ (१९)॥ शैवाचार्यसि-
(शि)रोमणिः कलियुगे दानैकचिन्तामणिः मा(णिर्मा)निके (क्ये) स्व(स्व)रपाद-
- 29 प[च]मधुपः प्राज्ञो विवेकारणिः [1*] अज्ञानांधन्त(त) मोविनाशतरणिः नू(णिनू)न
गुणानां खनिः 1 हन्त(न्ते) शानशिवो विवेक-
- 30 वसतिवि(वि)द्वत्स(त्सु) चूडामणिः ॥१९ (२०)॥ सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं चर्च
गजास्व(स्व)वरवाहनं (नम्) [1*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गं [1*]
पुरंदर ॥२० (२१)॥

1 This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

2 This *ea* is redundant. Read *chakṣuṣādhara* *śa*.

3 The *visarga* after *prāpta* is redundant. Read *prāpta-pratishṭhādayaḥ*.

- 31 व(व)हुभिर्व्वं(व्वं)सुधा दत्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिं त(मिस्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२१(२२)॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति
[] यस्तु(श्च)भू-
- 32 मीं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उता(भौ) द्वौ पुण्यकर्म्मार्णौ नियतो(तं) द्व(स्व)र्ग-
गामितौ ॥२२(२३)॥ पू(य्ये)(व्वं)दत्ता द्विजातिभ्यो यन्ना(त्ना)द्वक्ष पुरंदर-
(र ।) म(ही)(ही)
- 33 महीभृतां सेष्टः(श्रेष्ठ) दाना[च्छे]यो हि पालनम(म्) ॥२३(२४)॥ स्वदत्ता
परदत्ता^२ वा यो(यो) हरे[द्वि](त व)सु(सु)धरा(राम्) [।*] स विष्टा(ष्टा)यां
कुमिर्भूत्वा पितृ-
- 34 निः सह मज्जति ॥[।*]२४(२५)॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयस(श)[ते]न च ।
गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सू(सु)ध्यति ॥२५(२६)॥ षष्टि-
- 35 वर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गे तिष्ठति भू(भू)मिदः । आग्नेया(त्ता) वानुमन्ता च तान्नेव
नरके वसेत(त्) ॥२६(२७)॥ [द्विष्टं] दत्तं हुतं चैव यत्किंचित ध(विद)-
- 36 संसंचितं^३(तम्) । अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमाया(या) हरणेन प्रणश्य(श्य)ति ॥२७(२८)॥
यथाप्नु^४(प्नु) पतितं स(श)क्र [ते]लवि(वि)दुवि(वि)सर्पति । प(ए)वं
भूमिकृतं दानं स-
- 37 स्य(स्ये) सस्य(स्ये) प्ररोहति ॥२८(२९)॥ स्वच्छास(श)यः परहिताशंपरः कुलि-
(ली)नो गौडान्वयोचितगुणैर्विन्दितो यथाश्वम् । तावत्^५ द्विजा-
- 38 तिचरणेषु निसर्गमक्त्या व्यक्ताक्षरैर्लिखितवान(न्) प(अ)तिराजस(सं)शः
॥२९(३०)॥ संवत् २६६ [।*]

* This group is engraved above the line.

* This *ām* is a correction from *ām*.

* These four letters and the *duṣṭa* as well as the letter *śha* at the end of the foregoing line appear in the margin. Apparently they were first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who later discovered the omission and made it good.

* Or perhaps the original has correctly *śva*, the upward stroke of the medial *v* merging into the left hand downward stroke of *s*.

* This is obviously meant to be *āmraśa*, being the incorrect form often met with in inscriptions.

No. 13—SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, Ootacamund, and K. B. TRIPATHI, Cuttack

Amongst the tracts where the NIA dialects are spoken, Orissa offers a unique opportunity to the students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. Numerous are the epigraphic records left by the rulers of Orissa who flourished before the Muhammadan conquest of the country about the middle of the sixteenth century. Distinct traces of the influence of the Oriya language and orthography are noticed in such early inscriptions as the Madras Museum plates¹ of the time of Narendradhavalā,² which are written in quasi-Sanskrit and are assignable to the tenth century A.C., while epigraphs written in the Oriya language are found in fairly large numbers since the fourteenth century. Although Orissan inscriptions of the age of the imperial Gāṅgās, whether their language is Sanskrit or Oriya, were usually written in the Gaṇḍiya (the so-called proto-Bengali) script, which is the mother of the Oriya alphabet, we have, from the fourteenth century, epigraphs showing fairly developed characteristics of the Oriya script. Unfortunately medieval Orissan records, written in the Oriya language and alphabet, have been very rarely published with facsimiles and accurate transcripts. In the editor's preface to the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, 1925, H. Krishna Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, observes, "Of these last (i.e., the Oriya records transcribed in the volume, Nos. 1006, 1119, 1152 and 1161), the texts given have to be considered as tentative since there are no published inscriptions in this language and script to afford comparison and since scholars capable of handling them are also few." Of course, some early Oriya inscriptions were published by M. M. Chakravarti without facsimiles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part I, 1893, pp. 90 ff.; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 149 ff. Another Oriya inscription from Bhubaneswar was published with Plate in the same journal in 1924 (pp. 41 ff.) by G. Sircar; but the characters of this record are entirely Bengali. The Balasore copper axe-head inscription of the Śūryavarṣa monarch Puruṣhottama (circa 1470-96 A.C.) published by Beames in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, 1872, p. 355, and by E. A. Gait in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 363, is the only early inscription written in the Oriya language and alphabet, of which both a facsimile and an accurate transcript are available to the students of Oriya palaeography and linguistics. Krishna Sastri's remarks about the paucity of satisfactorily edited early Oriya inscriptions remain substantially true even today. The transcripts of the large number of Oriya records since published without facsimiles in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, 1928, are by no means remarkable for their accuracy. No apology is therefore needed for editing in the following pages an interesting inscription of the fourteenth century, which is written in the Oriya language and alphabet and is one of the earliest of such records so far discovered.

The village of **Siddheswar** lies in the vicinity of Jajpur (ancient Virajā-tīrtha) on the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack District of Orissa. The name of the locality is derived from that of the deity Siddhēśvara (Śiva in the Līṅga form) whose temple is the only attraction in the area. There is a stone *śiṣha-stambha* standing in the courtyard of the said temple, although the figure of the bull is missing. The pillar bears an inscription, the preservation of which is unfortunately not quite satisfactory. The record is engraved around a section of the pillar, which is tapering upwards. It occupies a space about 54 inches at the top and 63 inches at the bottom in length and 7 inches at the left end and 6 inches at the right in breadth. The writing is

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.² [In deference to the authors' wishes, macron over *a* and *o* is not used at all in this article, as in Oriya, these vowels, say the authors, are often short.—Ed.]

divided into two parts by a vertical line, the space occupied by the portions at the left and right being respectively $37'' \times 7''$ and $17'' \times 6''$. There are five lines of inscription in both the parts, the first line of the smaller portion at the right being a continuation of the last line of the bigger part at the left. Individual akṣaras are between $\frac{1}{4}''$ and $1''$ in height. Of the two parts of the inscription, the preservation of the bigger one, which is more important, is fortunately not quite unsatisfactory; but a piece of stone has broken away from the middle of the second part together with a number of letters from all the five lines of writing. The first line of this part, with the exception of three akṣaras at the beginning, is broken away, while the gap caused by the break in the other lines of writing is between $4''$ and $8''$ in length. This has rendered the decipherment and interpretation of the latter part of the record extremely difficult.

The inscription is written in **early Oriya characters** which may be compared with those employed in the Balasore copper axe-head inscription of a later date, referred to above. Of initial vowels, the inscription under review employs *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Of these, *i* is of the Gaudīya type, while *a* (pronounced in Oriya and some other East Indian dialects as *o* in English *not* and often confused with *o*) and *ā* are of the modern Oriya type. The medial *ā*-stroke is short and joined to the top curve of the consonants. The medial signs of *i* and *u* are sometimes not easily distinguishable. *K* is without its vertical stroke as in the modern Karagī variety of the Oriya alphabet.¹ The same is the case sometimes with *e* which is invariably pronounced as *h* in Oriya and other East Indian dialects. *T* and *t* are of the Bengali type, while *ṣ* closely resembles the Telugu form of the letter. In some cases, there is little difference between *g* and *ṅ* and, in a few cases, *m* also has a similar shape. *R* has more than one form. Sometimes it resembles *cā*; but often its tail, which developed out of the protuberance of the lower slanting line of Gaudīya *r*, is joined with its top curve (put at the right side in a few cases; cf. *vīre* in line 1) as in modern Oriya. The form of the akṣara *ra* is interesting. *H* resembles the same letter as found in other Orissan epigraphs including the Bhubaneswar inscription (in early Bengali characters) referred to above. The akṣara *h* in *arāhi* (line 1) has, however, a cursive form noticed in some records including the said Bhubaneswar inscription. In modern Oriya, dental *l* is distinguished from retroflex *ḷ* (derived from the sign of *l* in Gaudī) by a diacritical mark. It is possible that this distinguishing diacritical mark has been used in our inscription in a few cases (cf. *l* in *mudula* in line 3); but the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the epigraph renders it difficult to be definite on this point. The numerals 1, 2, 4, 6 and 9 have been used in the inscription. The figure for 1 shows its Telugu form, while 2, 3, etc., are of the Bengali type. A peculiar Oriya method has been followed in *pa 50 sa* in line 4 to indicate *pañcāśa 50*.

The language of the inscription is Oriya. An interesting orthographical feature is the almost universal use of the dental sibilant in accordance with the peculiarity of Oriya pronunciation. Noteworthy are also the expressions *narasīṅha* for Sanskrit *narasimha*, *vīje-rāje* for *vijaya-rāje*, *saṁmātha* for *saṁvat* (*saṁvatsara*), *kīṣṇa* for *kṛṣṇa*, *caturadīya* for *caturdik*, *śrīkṛṣṇa-pañāṇaka* for *śrīkṛṣṇa-pañāṇyaka*, *māhāsāmpati* for *mahāsānāpati*, *saṁmāgrā* for *sandhigrāha* (*mādhavagrāhika*), *kāṭha-kṛṣṇa* for *koṣṭha-kṛṣṇa*, *vehorana* for *vyatoharaṇa*, *vīre* for *vībhāve*, *paridarasaṇa* for *paridarāṇa*, *jīvata* for *yāvat*, *asa* for *āyus*, *siddhasara* for *siddhīsvara*, etc. Similar expressions are also noticed in numerous other early Oriya inscriptions.

The date of the record is given in line 1 as *saṁmātha 19 erāhi Kakaṭa-kīṣṇa 14 Chandra-cāre*, i.e., Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Karkaṭa (solar Bhādrapada) in the Aṅka year 19 of king Narasimha. The mention of *śrīkṛṣṇa-pañāṇyaka* Viśvanātha-mahāsānāpati as an officer of the king, as will be seen below, shows that he is none other than the imperial Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV who began to rule about 1378 A.C. The expression *erāhi*, used in the date, is believed to be a corruption of Sanskrit *varudī*-Prakrit *varahi* meaning "in the year"

¹ See *J.BOR.*, Vol. X, Plate XIII following p. 170.

and here refers to the peculiar Anka reckoning connected with the medieval rulers of Orissa. Omitting, according to rule, the years 1, 8 and 16, the 19th Anka year of Gaṅga Narasimha IV would indicate his 16th regnal year corresponding to circa 1394 A.C. The details of the date suggest Monday, the 27th July, 1394 A.C., to be the actual date of the document.

The inscription records the grant of part of a village called Bhaingrāma which was situated in the Rāṅga *rishaya* or district. The revenue-income (*jita*) of the land was 50 *māḍhas* probably of silver. The said district formed a part of Pūrvadik-Daṇḍapāṭa, i.e., the eastern administrative unit. The governor of this Daṇḍapāṭa (*daṇḍa-parīkṣhā*) was Nandikeśvara-sāndhivigrahika who was subordinate to a higher officer, Śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭanāyaka (designation of the chief officer in charge of the records department) Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati. Viśvanātha was the *chaturdik-daṇḍa-parīkṣhā*, i.e., the governor-general of four Daṇḍapāṭas in the east, west, north and south in a particular area of the Gaṅga kingdom. The same officer is no doubt mentioned as *Puro-śrīkaraṇa* Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati in the second set (VI A, line 24; VI B, lines 3-4, 12) of the two Puri plates of Narasimha IV.¹ A Simhachalam inscription of Śaka 1313 (1391 A.C.)² mentions Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati as the *Śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭanāyaka* of Vārāṇasi-kataka, i.e., modern Cuttack, which was the capital of the later imperial Gaṅgas.

The grant is said to have been made with the consent of all the administrative officers including the *pasāḍa*, *mudula*, *koṣṭha-karaya* and *bhāga-loka* of the Daṇḍapāṭa in question and was exempted from the payment of all taxes (*amḍāna*) including *ohora*, *pāukā*, *pāikā*, *bheja*, *rodā* and *paridar-sauḍ*. The word *pasāḍa* is derived from Sanskrit *prasaḍa* which is used in the form *pasāya* or *pasā-sauḍ* in Gujarati in the sense of "land separated for the maintenance of the village-artisans or for religious and charitable purposes". The official designations *pasāḍa* or *parasta* and *mahā-pasāḍa* are also found in other Oriya inscriptions.³ *Mudula* is the same as modern Oriya *muduli* indicating a class of servants of the god Jagannātha conceived as an emperor.⁴ *Koṣṭha-karaya* seems to indicate officials of the revenue department called *Koṣṭha-cyāpāra* in the Puri Plates (B) of Narasimha IV.⁵ The expression *bhāga-loka* may be the same as *bhāga-bhuj* found in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha.⁶ Among the taxes mentioned in the list of exemptions, *ohora* is apparently the same as *daṇḍoḍi-ohora*, i.e., the watchman-tax, mentioned in a Jagannath temple inscription.⁷ *Pāukā* may be modern Oriya *pāuseri* and may have been a tax on the money realised by the creditors from the debtors. *Pāikā* is apparently the same as *padāijanya* of other inscriptions⁸ and *pāikāli* of modern Oriya. It was probably a tax levied for the maintenance of the clubmen. *Bheja* means a periodical or occasional offering of money and *rodā* (the same as modern Oriya *rodā*) a similar offering of uncooked food. *Paridar-sauḍ*, as the name implies, was a supervision-tax, although its real nature is uncertain.

The purpose of the grant was apparently the long life (cf. *āra* . . . for Sanskrit *āyushkāmāra* in line 6) of king Narasimha IV. Owing to the damaged condition of the second part of the record under review, the names of the donee and the donor are not easy to determine. But it is permissible

¹ JASS, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 151-152; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff.

² *SHI*, Vol. VI, No. 301.

³ See *SHI*, Vol. VI, No. 94, lines 4 and 5; No. 1153, line 4; cf. the Oriya family-name *Paṣṭhāya* or *Paṣṭhā*.

⁴ According to the *Pūrvachandra-Bāhāśakāśa*, the duty of the *Mudula* is to stamp a seal on the back of the doors of the Puri temple.

⁵ See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 306.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 329, 331.

⁷ JASS, 1893, Part I, p. 91. *Ohori* as the name of a tax or dues occurs in the *Mahatā Pāṭṭa* (cf. Mahanta's *Prāchīnagadya-pady-adarśa*, p. 5, last line). On the realisation of paddy that was lent out, together with the stipulated interest in grain, the lender offers a quantity of paddy to the village deity. This offering is called *ohori* in some parts of Orissa even today.

⁸ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 240-41. *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, p. 17.

to think that the grant was made in favour of the god Siddheśvara in whose temple the record is found. Line 8 of our inscription reads the name Siddhesara (Siddheśvara) at the beginning and 'aku data (i.e., "given to...") after a big gap. It seems therefore that the grant was made by a person named Siddheśvara. It is interesting to note in this connection that an officer of the Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV is actually known to have been *Pātra Siddheśvara-Jenā* mentioned in the Puri plates B (Plate VI A, line 23). The extant medial *e*-mark after *Siddhesara* in line 8 of the inscription may suggest the title of nobility or family name *Jenā* (originally meaning "a prince"). Thus it is possible to think that *Pātra Siddheśvara-Jenā*, an officer of Gaṅga Narasimha IV, installed a Śiva-līṅga named after himself and granted part of a village in favour of the deity for the longevity of his master.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription, viz., the village of Bhānigrāma and the district of Rāṅga, the intended reading for which may be *Rāṅga*. The name of the district reminds us that of the *Rāvaṅga viśaya* mentioned in the Puri plates¹ of Bhānu II and the *Rāmaṅga viśaya* mentioned in the Alagum inscription² of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga. The village of Alagum about ten miles from Sakshigopal in the Puri District was situated in the *Rāmaṅga viśaya*. It is not impossible that *Rāvaṅga*, *Rāmaṅga* and *Raṅga* (or *Rāṅga*) are variant forms of the name of one and the same district.

TEXT³

Part I

- 1 [Vira] śrī-Narasīṅgha[ś]va[ś]ka v[ī]je-rū[je] samant[hu] 19 [ś]rū[hi] Kakuṣ-kishṇa 14 Cha[n]dra-vāre
- 2 chatara-dige[ga]-daṇḍa-pariksha ś[ri]kra[va*]-pañānēka Vi[ś]va[nātha-māhāsenāpt[ī]kra daṇḍa-parikshā [pa*]ruva[ś]-diga-dayda-
- 3 pā[ti]ta*ju Nandikesvara-saṁm[ā]gra[ś]kra v[ī]horāṇa e-daṇḍapāṭara paśā[ī*]ta muduli koṭhakra[pa] bhā[ga]-loka
- 4 samasta-vehorāṇa-anumate Raṅga-v[ī]śe Bhānigrāma-grāma jita māḍha pa 50 sakra [bhā]-ga[ka] dāna
- 5 [v]horu pūkā pūkā bheṭā vodā paridarasanā jāvata avadāna nīti-kara[ri] Vira-śrī-[Na]-raṅgha[ś]va-

Part II

- 6 ākra śaś[kāmārthe].....
- 7 ti pa.....ti pa 1
- 8 Ś[ri]dhe[sara]-[Jenā].....āk[u] data pa 2
- 9 māḍha du [2].....
- 10 droho [ka*]rai[ra] [ī*]

¹ There are numerous other cases of naming a deity after the person responsible for its installation. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 182.

² *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, p. 74.

³ Above, p. 42.

⁴ From impressions. The inscription was copied by Simar in January 1950.

⁵ The name of the deity seems to have occupied the space before this dative suffix.

SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19
Part I
Left side



Right side



SCALE: ONE-THIRD

Part II



No. 14—SANGALOODA PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA : SAKA 615

(I Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

These copperplates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1949 from Mr. N. W. Samudra, B.A., LL.B. of Akola, Madhya Pradesh, to whom the plates have since been returned. They were reported to have been discovered at Sangalooda (Sanglud), District Akola. The charter consists of three plates held together by a ring with a seal containing the legend *Sri-Judihāsura* and an emblem which looks like a flying *garuda*. The first and the third plates are engraved on one side only, the second being written on both sides. The plates together with the ring weigh 60½ tolas. The record is registered as C. P. No. 59 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1949-50. A brief notice of the inscription has already been made by Prof. Mirashi.¹ I edit the record here with the kind permission accorded by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved in characters belonging to the southern class of alphabets. They bear close resemblance to those in which the Añjaneri Plate of Tōjavarman² and the Ellōrā Plates of Dantidurga³ are written. In general appearance, style of engraving and palaeographical features, the script of our record falls in the same category as that of some Kalachuri, Chālukya and early Rāshtrakūṭa records of Mahārāshṭra and Gujarāt, viz., the Samavṇi Plates of Buddhārāja,⁴ the Ābhōṣa Plates of Saṅkaragana,⁵ the Nausāri Plates of Śrīyārāja-Śilāditya,⁶ the Nirpan Plates of Nāgavardhana,⁷ the Sañjān Plates of Buddhavarasa,⁸ the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya-Maṅgalarasa⁹ and the Āntroli-Chhārōli Plates of Karka II : Śaka 679.¹⁰ Some common characteristics of this group of inscriptions are the following. The characters employed in them are round in execution and show a tendency to cursive writing especially in the engraving of the letters *n*, *m*, *y*, *r* and *l*. In the marking of medial *i* and *ū*, *ē* and *ai*, and in the invariable use of the looped *a* and the unlooped *i* they are all alike. The palaeography of our record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 7th century A. C.

The alphabet of the inscription calls for the following remarks. Instances of initial vowels, *ā* (line 6), *u* (lines 21 and 22) and *ē* (line 23) occur in it. *Ē*, initial, is exactly of the same form as that in the Ellōrā plates of Dantidurga.¹¹ In the marking of some medial vowels peculiarities are found. Thus, medial *i* is indicated by a vertical stroke within the loop marking the short *i*, e.g., *āi* in line 21. Medial *ū* is indicated by two separate strokes as in *kū* in line 2. But the same sign is marked in two different ways even though attached to the same consonant : e.g. *pū* in lines 22 and 24. The *jīvaṃmūliya* which is exactly like *ma* is found in *kāntiḥ-kū* (line 8), *rahitaḥ-kū* (line 9), *kūṭa-kā* (line 9) and *patiḥ-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dhaya* (line 9) and *patiḥ-kā* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dhaya* (line 9) while the form with a loop at the left like the Grantha *y* is noticed in *śahaya* (line 14). The *daḥḍas* are marked for the full verse only and not for the halves.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 4, 7 and n.² Ibid., Vol. XXV, plate facing page 226.³ Ibid., plate facing page 29.⁴ Ibid., Vol. VI, plate facing page 299.⁵ Ibid., Vol. IX, plate facing page 296.⁶ Ibid., Vol. VIII, plate facing page 232.⁷ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, plate facing page 124.⁸ Above, Vol. XIV, plates facing pp. 160-61.⁹ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, plates facing pp. 20-21.¹⁰ JBRS, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 166.¹¹ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 20, text-line 10.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Portions of the text are in verses of which there are only two, both in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The rest of the inscription is in prose. The usual imprecatory verses are conspicuous by their absence but a passage in prose occurring towards the end (lines 26-28) contains the imprecation against violators of the charity.

The phraseology of the record deserves particular mention. The inscription opens with the usual *svasti* and the mention of the place of issue, viz., Padmanagara. In certain portions the phraseology of the record is exactly the same as that found in some early Kāṭachchuri records, viz., the Ābhūga Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa: K. year 347¹ and the Sarsavṇi Plates of Buddhārāja: K. year 361.² For instance, the passage *ātmany-āhita-takti-siddhi* describing Svāmīkarāja in our charter (line 7) is found in both the records cited above where it is applied to Kāṭachchuri Kṛṣṇarāja. Again the sentence *yat-cha saśiroga-vīṣṭha-lōhād-isa sakalair-ābhigāmikair-itaraiś-cha guṇair-upētaḥ* (lines 11-12) eulogising Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura of the present charter is traceable in the above records also where again the same Kṛṣṇarāja is eulogised thereby.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the composer of our inscription drew inspiration from the earlier Kāṭachchuri models much in the same way as the writers of Gurjara grants in the time of Dadda Prasāntarāja drew upon the same Kāṭachchuri records.³ Whether this fact by itself could be taken to indicate some political connection between the early members of the Rāshtrakūṭa family figuring in our grant and the Kāṭachchuris is more than what can be said at present.

The orthography of our inscription shows some noteworthy features. *N* is used for *ṇ* in *raṇa* (lines 1 and 24). The same consonant *n* takes the place of an *anumāra* in *padarīn-vigāhya* (line 4). A redundant *ś* occurs in *saśīroga* (line 11). *V* is used for *ḍ* in *śamanuśōdhaya* (line 15). Mistakes like *bhūmichhīdra* (line 23) for *bhūmichchīdra*, *pañchadaśān-varshēṣu* (line 29) for *pañchadaśa-varshēṣu* and *paureṣami* (line 30) for *paureṣamāṣyām* occur in the inscription. In some cases the consonant after the *repha* is duplicated.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Nannarāja who bears the surname Yuddhāsura which is engraved on the seal of the plates. It is issued by him from Padmanagara. Nannarāja's genealogy is described as follows: in the Rāshtrakūṭa family was born Durgarāja whose son was Gōvīndarāja to whom was born Svāmīkarāja. The son of Svāmīkarāja was Nannarāja who was endowed with innumerable virtues and who was a *Paramabrahmayya* and a *Paramabhāgavata*.

The object of the charter is to register the gift made by Nannarāja of lands in the villages of Umbarikā-grāma and Vajrapuraka-grāma, to the Brāhmaṇa Haragaṇa-dvivēdin, son of Bhūtagaṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Varmanulaka-chaturvēdin, in order to secure religious merit for himself and his parents. The donee is further described as a resident of Tagara, as belonging to Vā(or Mā)ruja-gōtra, Kanēika-prasava and Taittirīya-śrauta and as *Anāśrit-śannasattra-pradāyin*.⁴ The boundaries of the land granted in Umbarikā are stated as follows: on the south it was bounded by the boundary of Vajradraka, on the north by Tati- or Tilāngichchhi-Bhaṭāraka (temple), on the east by the boundary of Nāguyayi and on the west by Uchchh(chh)ivāhalā.

The gift is stated to have been made with libation of water on the day of Kārttika-Pūrṇimā and the date of the record quoted at the end mentions the same day in the Śaka year 615 which is expressed in words.

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 297, text-lines 5-6.

² Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 297, text-lines 4-5 and 6-7.

³ Ibid., p. 296.

⁴ The compound *Anāśrit-śannasattra* may be understood as 'an *anāsritra* which was un-kindred; or, the *anāsritra* was named after a person who had the *brinda*, *Anāśrita*. See below.

The chief Nannarāja who issued the present charter from Padmanagara is already known to us from two other inscriptions both belonging to his reign and in which the same genealogy is prefaced to his name. These are the Multai Plates¹ and the Tiwarkhed Plates.² The former is dated Śaka Samvat 631, expressed in words, and it records the gift made by Nannarāja of the village of Jalankuhe situated to the west of Kīrīhivattāra, to the north of Pīpparikā, to the east of Jalukā and to the south of Arjunagrāma. None of these villages has been located yet. The place from which the charter was issued is not specified. But the findspot of the record is known to be Multai in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh which lies about a hundred miles northeast of Akōla, the locality in which the Sangalooda Plates were found. The other inscription, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, discovered near Multai, records another grant by the same king Nannarāja, of some land in the village of Tivārākhōja, i.e., modern Tiwarkhed, on the south bank of Anuvāsiakā. The date of this record is given both in words and numerals as 553 of the Śaka era and the place of issue of the charter was Achalapura, i.e. Ellichpur, 50 miles north of Akōla.

Although the chiefs mentioned in the three charters are the same and the texts of the inscriptions up to the donative portion are identical except for slight variations here and there, and some omissions in one of them, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, some remarkable differences do exist in other respects between our inscription and the other two. In the first place the latter two are engraved in the angular northern characters while the present Sangalooda Plates are incised in the rounded southern characters. Again, there is great difference in the dates quoted in the three records although they purport to have been issued by the same king. In the Tiwarkhed Plates the Śaka year 553 is given as the date of that charter while our grant and the Multai Plates are dated in Śaka 615 and 631 respectively. Obviously the Tiwarkhed Plates must be understood to quote a wrong date, since in other respects also, besides the disparity of over sixty to eighty years in date between that and the others, this charter is faulty and contains large omissions in the textual portion which in the other two is complete and identically worded. These and other defects in the Tiwarkhed Plates, as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,³ cast some doubts on their genuineness.

The difference in the script of our record as compared with the other two is indeed noteworthy. That in the same region two different scripts were employed and that by the same king must be considered to hold some particular significance, the nature of which it is difficult to establish although similar instances are known.⁴ There are indications afforded by the present charter to

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236 ff. and plates.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff. and plate.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 3.

⁴ We have inscriptions of the Teingo Chōja chief Puyyakumāra coming from the same locality, some of which are engraved in the Teingo-Kannada script of the Chālukya variety and some others in the Pāṭiava-Grantha characters, e.g., his Tīppalār inscription is in the Pāṭiava-Grantha script (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 221 and plate) while his Rāmāśvaram Pillar inscription is in the Teingo-Kannada script of the Chālukya style (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 234 and plate). It is well known that this chief was a feudatory alternately of the Pāṭiavas and the Chālukyas (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 231).

Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the enigmas presented by some charters of the Rāṣṭhīthēra king Mādhavavarman, the characters of each of which are so dissimilar to those of the others, thus presenting a palaeographical 'incongruity'. While two of his charters, viz., the Ganjam Plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 144 and pl.) and the Cuttack Museum Plates (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 148 and pl.) are in one style, his other two records, viz., the Bogaḍa Plates (above, Vol. VII, p. 100 and pl.) and the Puri Plates (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 122 and pl.) are engraved in quite a different script and style. The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar tried to give some explanation of the enigma presented by these charters (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 149).

The two records of Dantidurga, viz., the Ellīrī Plates and the Sāmangal Plates may also be cited as other instances in point. The former which is in southern characters like some Chālukya records of Gujaraṭ was issued by the chief when he was still a feudatory of the W. Chālukyas (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 26-7) while the latter which are in northern characters were issued by him as an independent sovereign. Although the genuineness of the latter has been called in question yet one cannot set aside the inscription altogether and for our purpose we are concerned with the script of the record (see above, Vol. XXV, p. 26).

the effect that the issuer was not a paramount ruler but one enjoying only a small status. This becomes evident from the fact that no titles of independent rulership like *Mahārāja* much less those of supreme lordship like *Mahārājādhirāja* or *Paramahatthāraka* are attached to the names of any one of these Rāshtrakūta chiefs from the time of the first member of the line, viz., Durgarāja. The recently discovered Nagardhan Plates of Svāmīrāja,¹ an earlier member of this line, also show that the issuer of that charter, Svāmīrāja likewise does not assume any titles of independent rulership but actually describes himself as *Bhattāraka-pādānuddhyātā* i.e., devoted to the feet of his lord (*Bhattāraka*). To whom then were Nannarāja and his ancestors of the present charter subordinate? Prof. Mirashi² expressed the view that they were at first vassals of the Kalachuris and later, of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi who displaced the Kalachuris, and that Svāmīrāja of the Nagardhan Plates was a Kalachuri vassal to start with. He also adopted the view, subject to revision, that Gōvinda, the adversary of Pulakēśin II mentioned in the Aihole inscription (634-5 A.C.), was to be identified with Gōvindarāja, the grandfather of Nannarāja and that the Chālukya emperor reduced these Rāshtrakūta chiefs to vassalage after his subjugation of Kalachuri Buddharāja and his acquisition of the Three Mahārāshtrakas. In my opinion these conclusions can for the most part be sustained as shown below.

It is not improbable that Gōvindarāja was a contemporary of Pulakēśin II in or before 634-5 A.C. For, the earliest date for his grandson Nannarāja provided by the present record from Sangalooda is Śaka 615, i.e., 693 A.C. and as the latest date afforded for him by the Multai record is Śaka 631, i.e., 709 A.C. it is not unlikely that he started his reign earlier and that he succeeded his father even before 693 A.C., say about 680 A.C. Assuming further that his father Svāmīrāja had the usual reign of 25 years, i.e., from 655 to 680 A.C., the date assignable on the same reckoning of 25 years' rule to Gōvindarāja would be 630-655 A.C. Thus he could have been a contemporary of Pulakēśin II in 634-5 A.C. Besides the reference to Gōvindarāja in the Aihole *prasthā* there is another piece of evidence suggesting some Chālukya association with this Rāshtrakūta family. Pulakēśin II is described as *Nāgavardhana-pādānuddhyātā* in one of the records of his collaterals ruling in the Nasik District.³ This *Nāgavardhana* is believed to have been some preceptor of Pulakēśin II. Whether it was the name of his preceptor or favourite deity, what is worthy of note in this connection is that Nāgardhan or Nāgavardhana was the findspot of the grant of Svāmīrāja and this place might have been named after a deity or a person called Nāgavardhana to whom Pulakēśin II was devoted. If this surmise is proved correct by more substantial evidence, it may just be possible that Pulakēśin II, in the course of his campaign upto the Rāvā and the Vindhya,⁴ passed through Nāgardhan, the capital of these Rāshtrakūta chiefs and subdued them in the time of Gōvindarāja, sometime before 634-5 A.C. Since then the family might be supposed to have continued to be Chālukya vassals upto the time of the present charter, the script of which as noticed already, bears such close resemblance to some Chālukya records of the period, particularly the Nausāri Plates of Yuvarāja Śrīśāraya-Śūlāditya,⁵ the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa,⁶ and the Añjaneri Plate of Tejavarman of the Hariśchandra family.⁷ Besides, there is yet one more indication in the present grant to connect these chiefs with the Chālukyas politically. The donee of the charter is called *Anisārita annasuttra-pradāya*. It is well known

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ Nirpao Plates of Nāgavardhana: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124. Few doubt the genuineness of the grant (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 358, n. 1). See, however, above, Vol. XXV, p. 238.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 10.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 232.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, plate facing pp. 20-1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV pp. 227, 235 & 2 plate.

- 34 [य]सतायं [१^{*}] [य]द्वर्तुनीरोपतनुः वद्वर्तुर्विजो(व)र्वितो वाच्यमतः किमन्यत् ॥३३॥ तता(तो)
नरोद्रेण अतुर्वशीदिने सुशर्मण(णा) नर्म^१तुला-
- 35 इयकर्मणः । प्रकल्पितं [सु]वरपतप(सप्त)सागरदानस्य वादावविवाशनं मुवा ॥३४॥ जिमं
वितान(नं) अपला[ः^{*}] पात(पतर)काः सुपल्लवाचं(दचं)-
- 36 वनमातिकावच । सत्सर्वतोभद्रकरातवल्गो विनिर्मिता म(मं)दपयुग्ममध्ये ॥३५॥ कृत्वाचंन
मंदपयुग्ममध्ये भुवो हरेर्विजनपते-
- 37 एष वास्तोः । पुरोहितादेवैरणं नरोद्रे अतिवगणस्याप्यकरोत्कमेण ॥३६॥ ततश्चतुर्विज(सु)
च मंदपयुग्मे कोणेयु पीठेयु समस्तदेव-
- 38 ताः । अभ्यञ्जं वास्तुप्रभूतीन्पहादिकान्वेष्टां च देवान्प्रविभाति भूपतिः ॥३७॥ ततो-
भवत्सं(मं)दपयुग्ममध्ये होमे परा अस्विज
- 39 उत्तमास्ते । श्रीवेदपाठेयु जये(ये)यु सर्वकियानु सक्ता नृपत(ते)ः सुखाय ॥३८॥ ततः
शिवायः शिविका(का)तरस्थितः शिवप्रसादात्
- 40 शिविरं प्रति प्रभुः । अकल्पये(यद्) ह्य(वाजि?)मं(ग)तिं गतक(स्त)मः स चावर-
ध्(च्छ)त्रधराविक(कं)भूतः ॥३९॥ अ(श्री)राजवीरः शिविरं प्रविश्य सुष(णं)
- 41 कलावारविधिं प्रकल्प्य च । जलाशयोत्तमविधेयपस्करं कर्तुं समाज्ञापय(दे)य मायुषान् ॥४०॥

Slab XVIII ; Canto XVII

[Métres : vv. 1, 5-8, 11-14, 21-23, 26, 27, 29, 33, 37, 38 Upajāti ; v. 2 Indracajrā ; v. 3 Upajāti of Upēndracajrā, Indracajrā and Vamśasthābā ; vv. 4, 32 Drutavilambita ; vv. 9, 16, 17, 20, 24, 25 Upajāti of Vamśasthābā and Indracajrā ; vv. 10, 23 Indracajrā ; vv. 15, 18, 30, 31, 34, Anuṣṭupb ; vv. 19, 41, 42 Śārdūlavikrīṣita ; v. 28 Prithvi ; vv. 36, 39 Upēndracajrā ; v. 40 Mālini.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः^{*} । सप्तदशसर्गो लिख्यते । धानंरुपुर्णः किल पूर्णिमाया(यां)
पुर्णदुवस्त्रो नृपराजसिंहः । राजीसमेतः सपुरो-
- 2 हितो धामवत्प्रय(वि)ष्टः शुभमंदपेस्मिन् ॥१॥ आश्रया विजोभी^२ अरिसिंहनाम्ना पुत्रेण युक्तो
जयसिंहनाम्ना । सद्भूमिसिंहे-
- 3 न सुतेन सक्तः पुत्रेण राजी गजसिंहनाम्ना ॥२॥ सुत(ते)न वा सूरजसिंहनाम्ना
तथैवसिंहनाभिषम्भुना च । सुतेन युक्त-

^{*} Meaning 'gold'.

^२ Śaśā is not observed here.

- 4 वच म्हावहपुरसिंहेन राजभगणैरुपेतः ॥३॥ अमरसिंहगुप्तानिधौत्रवानजव(व)सिंहगुप्तोत्तम-
पौत्रयुक् । प्रियम्-
- 5 ना(नो)हरसिंहसमन्वितः प्रविलसद्गुप्तसिंहविशोन्नितः ॥४॥ सुतेन युक्तोपि मरायणादिवासेन
योग्यः कुलठक्करंश्च । म्हा-
- 6 पुरोभोरणखोडरायादिकैश्च औपुवरम(मं)विमुल्लेखैः ॥५॥ चिराजितो मंडपमध्यदेशे पूर्णाहुतिं
पूर्णमनाः प्रकल्प्य । जसाशया(यो)-
- 7 त्सर्गविधिं च तुर्गं स पूर्णमेवं कृतवान्नरैः ॥६॥ समस्तजीवावतितृप्तये धै जसा-
शयोत्सर्गमयं विधाय । मत्वा जगज्जीवनमेत-
- 8 वस्य मुज(जी)वनं राज्यमधिर्विभाति ॥७॥ यथा द्वितीयो हृषिकेशर्त्ता सत्सेतुजसा(र्ता)
भुवि राममहः । युधिष्ठिरो वा कृतराजमुप-
- 9 त्सर्गं च राजाधिरप(व) भाति ॥८॥ ततः सुवर्णाद्भुतसप्तसागरदानोत्पलसम्मंडपमध्य उत्तमे ।
धीराजसिंहः परिवारसंयुतः प(प्र)-
- 10 शिष्ट एवातिविशिष्टशिष्टयुक् ॥९॥ शास्त्रैरितं कांचनसप(स्त)रा(का)गरदानस्य [पूर्णा]हुति-
पूर्वकानि(नि) धै । कर्माणि कृत्वा किञ्च निमलो-
- 11 समस्तार्वा(स्वा)तः सुवर्णाधिपयन्त्रैश्च ॥१०॥ सप्तैव कुंडानि च कांचनेन विनिर्मितानि
न्य(न्य)वृ(वृ)धिकल्पकानि(नि) स(सं)स्थापितान्यग्रत एव ताः¹
- 12 नि सोपस्व(स्व)राणि जमता(ती) वदानि ॥११॥ व(व)ह्यप्रयुक्तं सप्तनेन पु(पु)र्णं कुंडं
तयैकं सपयः सकृत्प(पण) [१*] परं धृताद्यं(धृताद्यं) समहेतुमन्वत् तत्रापरं सु-
- 13 यंयुतं ग(गु)हाद्य(द्यं) ॥१२॥ वचनातिघन्य(न्यं) समहेतुमन्वत्पर(रं) रघायुक्(वृ) घृतशर्करं
च [१*] गौरीयुतं वा परमंज(ज)युक्तं सप्तेति कुंडाति(नि) मय(ये)रितानि ॥१३॥
- 14 एतानि सर्वाणि स वस्तुकाति(नि) दत्त्वे(त्वे)व राज्ञीमहितो गृहीत्वा [१*] धर्म्याशिषी
धीरपुरीहितोक्तान्मुनिवग्गता² जयति क्षितीशः ॥१४॥
- 15 भा(म)हादान(नं) स दत्त्वा(त्वा)यं राजसि(सिं)हो महीपतिः [१*] सप्तसागरपर्यंतं भाति
कोर्ति(र्ति) प्रकाशयन् ॥१५॥ ³जसाशय⁴स्या⁴गविषी समस्तस-
- 16 ज्जनावतिन्यागविधिमयेत्यलं । कार्या(र्यो) हि मत्वा शुभसप्तसागरदानं कृत(तं) दानिवरेण
युक्ता ॥१६॥ पं(पं)चेव द्रष्टुं किल सप्तसा-

¹ This anagrade sign is not necessary.

² Read 'sasa-pitog-akka'.

³ These two anagrade signs are unnecessary.

⁴ There is a superfluous caudra over this letter.

- 17 गरुडानं तदाधिक्यकृतो स्फुरत्पणः [1^{*}] स्वकल्पितास्यनित्यतत्तत्सागरवान(ने)न बाष्पटीवृधियो-
भयभूयः ॥१७॥ गा(गां)भीर्पात्राजसं(सिं)होयं जि-
- 18 त्वा जै(यै) सप्तसागरान् [1^{*}] साम्महापानविधिना द्विजेभ्यः प्रवदौ मृदा ॥१८॥
जो(भ्यो)तिर्विष्मत्तमेकतो जसभयः वट(ह्)भागकेतर्भूष[1^{*}] क्षाराविध-
- 19 नंन वा मते जलधनः सप्तैकतो वावनेः [1^{*}] नम्ये राजतनुद एष तत्र(दि)वं स्पष्टीकृतं
तत्र तद्गानोत्सर्गविधानयोर्मम मत(तं) तत्सत्यमेव भूयं ॥१९॥
- 20 इत्वाकरेणैव विधितुं वादधानस्य पोषं अनुते यथा प्रभु[1^{*}] । तयाकरोत्काचनसपु(प्त)-
सागरवान(ने)न वै वादधं वल्लिपोषण(णं) ॥२०॥ ततस्तु-
- 21 तामंदपसंप्रविष्टः श्रीराजसिंहः परिवारयुक्तः । गुलाप्रयुक्तं मकल(नं) विधान(नं) प्रकल्प्य
पु(पु)र्णाहुतिमत्र कृत्वा ॥२१॥
- 22 गुलाह(कह)वंदस्वहरो मुशालग्रामं करे इष्टिममं निधाय । स्पृष्टाधुयः शुक्लपदः सितजम्
भूतस्फुरन्पो(त्वी)व 1² विचि-
- 23 यवाक्यः ॥२२॥ भूतभूतिर्व(वं)ह्यपरायणश्च तता(तो)तुलां हेमतुलामनल्पां । मुदा समाहृत्य
नृपोषवद्वा दिव्याः स्वदासीः प्रति
- 24 दानशौकः ॥२३॥ सुवर्णमुद्रापरिपु(पु)रिता[1^{*}] शुभाः सम(मा)नयत्वेव जघेन कोपलीः³ [1^{*}]
तामिर्भूतास्ता व(व)ह्मस्तुलापुटे परा[1^{*}] समानेतुमिमा-
- 25 स्ततो गता[1^{*}] ॥२४॥ अत्रांतर(रे) बाण्यवद्वरायवो न्य(न्यु)नं सुवर्ण(नं) यदि वा
भय(वे)तदा [1^{*}] सप्तस्वधौ सागर एक उत्तम घानीयतामाग(गु) सुवर्ण(नं)नि-
- 26 र्मितः[1^{*}] ॥२५॥ गरीय(व)दासास्यपुरोहितेन तदोक्त(क्त)मेवं नृपतिं प्रतीति [1^{*}] क्षपेक्षितंवाज
हि सागरस्य युक्ता नृपेवो समता त(तु)लायाः ॥२६॥
- 27 एताव(दु)वं काव्यमहो सुनय्य(य्यं) पुत्रो(रो)धनोक्तं किल भुव्यभय(य्यं) । श्रुत्वा नृपालोभवदेव
तुष्टः स्मेरामनो दानिगणे विशिष्टः ॥२७॥ विष्णुक्(ह्)-
- 28 नयसहस्त(ज)कप्रमिततौलकप्रोत्पलसत्सुवर्णपरिपु(पु)रितां [कि]न त(तु)ला(तां) सुवर्णोद्भवां । विधाय
पुनह(ह्)तवन्नि(रिक्त)सितले महा-
- 29 दानसद्विधानकृतिपूर्वक(कं) जयति राजसिंहो नृपः । ॥२८॥ समसावेवावलिशोभ(नि)तेयं विकपात-
मालाकलितसिधुमया । य-

¹ The word *cāḍana* is used here in the sense of *brāhmana*.

² This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

³ This is perhaps a local term, meaning "bag".

- 30 सं सुवर्णसि(सु)सुवर्णपूर्णा ह्रीमी मुक्ता मेरुतिमा विमलता(ति) ॥२६॥ सुवर्णसुवर्णं प्राप्य
प्रस्तत्पागी स उच्यता । बले तत्रमनं सुष्ट-
- 31 सुवर्णतुल्योचितं ॥३०॥ उपे(चं) स्थितं नृप(पं) वीक्ष्य जाता सर्वागमुदरी [१*]
सुवर्णपूर्ण(र्णा) विमलता वृ(कु)लस्त्रीष तुल(लो)चितं ॥३१॥ धन[रति]हनु-
- 32 भ(भा)मिषमद्भुतं सुमगरीजवरं मधुरोवि(ति?)कं । कनकका(का)ततुलास्वित्मावरात्समस्तनोभूपतिः
प्रियतामयः ॥३२॥ एव(वं) तुला[वान]वि-
- 33 वि(विं) प्रकल्पा(ल्पा)भवत्कृतायो नृपराजसिंहः वि(वि?)नं तुल(ला) सर्ववृ(वृ)षैः स[३*]कतो
विविधमन्त्रास्ति वृ(वृ)धोभित्तमध्ये ॥३३॥ न ममेति त्यागवा-
- 34 का(क्या)द्वाने जाने तपेरितात् [१*] कर्मज्ञानोद्भवमुषं राजसि(सिं)ह त्वयार्जितं ॥३४॥
जलाशयोत्सर्गमुत्पत्तागरदानस्फुरत्स्व-
- 35 संतुलाभिमानकं । कर्मप्रय(यं) निमित्तवाग्नरेजवरः ।^१ पापप्रयं हर्तं(र्तु)मिहेति कारणात्^२
॥३५॥ त्रया(यी)महाव(त)क(कं)स[न]-
- 36 संकल्पकृते तु लोकत्रपतुष्टिसूष्टये । गुणप्रयोद्भूतविकारार्गात्वं त्रिमूर्तिमद्ब्रह्म^३समर्पणाय ॥३६॥
दुग्ध(ग्धं) [१]
- 37 त्रिभिर्मलैरेनिरवास्त्य जा(जा)तं शताब्दमेधीपकृतं हि मध्ये । तद्विद्वताकुण्डरणी(णी)वता तत्
धीराजसिंहस्य वि-
- 38 भाति भव्या ॥३७॥ धामी(क)^४धर्मान(दानं) (स)^४ गजराजिदानं ह्यालिदानं भ(काटनो)^४रणी-
प्रदान(नं) । गोवृ(वृ)वदान(नं) नृपतिः प्रक-
- 39 [ल्य] नानाविध(धं) दानमवातिनु(काटनो)^४ष्टा(ष्टः) ॥३८॥ तुलाहते मेक(ह)रहो गृहीतस्त्वया ।^१
यदा देव तदेव जातः । स शंकरः
- 40 श्रीवर इष(एष) इ(इं)दो हिरण्यगर्भश्च कवि(सवार)^४स्वकप[ः] ॥३९॥ द्विजपतिगुह(ग)-
भास्वग्मोदवा स्वर्णपूर्णा विविधवि-
- 41 वृ(वृ)षतेवाम(सं)दपादं(व)राभा । विगधिपकृतशोभासिद्धगंधर्वगीताग्रमवज(नु)मनुला ते मे(मे)क(ह)रेव
द्वितीयः ॥४०॥

* This *dan-ya* is unnecessary.

^२ The last letter, i.e., *sa*, is superfluous.

^३ Perhaps we have to read *tri-mūrtimad-brāhma*.

^४ The letters in brackets are to be omitted.

42. आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोऽस्तावामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्ववच(श्च)रकः कठोरी(दि)कुलको सध्या-
विनायकस्तुतः ॥४१॥¹
43. तेत(व)गोस्य त(तु) रामचंद्र इति वा कुरणोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रा(त्रो)नृन्मयुसु(सु)वनश्च
इमे सहस्रेधाविष्णुपमाः[*] ॥४२(४१)॥ यस्य(स्या)सौमधु-
44. सुदर्शन(स्तु) जनको जेपी च सोस्वामिजऽनून्मता राज्ञोऽ ऐ(ए)[ध*] कृतवाचावप्रशस्त्वाह्वयं ।
काश्य(श्च) राजगुणोद्यमर्जन-
45. मयं धीरा(रा)क(क)[युक्तं महत्*]² पूर्णः सप्तवशोऽत्र तमं उवगाद्वागवर्धनंरुद्रः ॥४३॥³

Slab XIX : Canto XVIII

[Metres : vv. 1, 2, 32, 39, 40 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 6-8, 11, 13-15, 17 *Upajāti* ; v. 4 *Indra-
vajrā* ; vv. 5, 9, 10, 12, 19-21 *Upajāti* of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśasthābīla* ; v. 16 *Indravamśā* ; v. 18
Upajāti of *Indravamśā*, *Vamśasthābīla* and *Upāndravajrā* ; vv. 22-31, 33, 37, 38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 34,
35 *Śrugaḍharā* ; v. 36 *Mālinī*.]

१८⁴

1. ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(मः) । घांसो विष्णुगुडोत्[धत्ति]रयत्त[*] सत्सरोल आसीदको महे(ज्मे)रोपि
धनेरियो धनमयो न्हादोविका[मा]-
2. इदी । अवे(वे)रो शुभ[कृत्] सरोल उवित[*] श्रीमानसानो पुनर्भावी द्वादशसंख्यया
परिमितान्धामानिमानेकदा ॥१॥ श्रीमद्वा-
3. असनुद्रतुंदरतरोत्सर्वेप्रहारीकृतान् श्रीराजामगिराजसिंहनृपतिधंन्यः पुरोचोविधि । वि(वि)धाराय
गरीव(व)दासवि-
4. जत[प्रा]प्ते मुया दत्तवात्सर्वाध्यक्षवराम सर्वविषये चित्तानु[स]धानिने ॥२॥ गरीव(व)-
दासकृप(पु)रोहिताय धामानि-
5. मान्वादजसंमितास्त(स्तु) [१*] इत्वा(त्वा) इवो [ब्रा]ह्मणमंडलाय धामान्वरां मूरिहलप्रमाणाः(मां)
॥३॥ व(व)ह्यार्पणं कर्म समस्ते(स्त)मेत-
6. तत्र(द्र)ह्यवदेवः परिकल्प(त्प्य) नूनं । गृह्णन् [वि]जेष्यः भूतिनिर्मितादीः⁴ [सर्वा ज]-
पत्येष म[हो] महोद्विः ॥४॥ वर्धति मेघा व(व)हवो मुहुः ध-

¹ This numbering is wrong. We should have here a simple *śaṅka*, marking the first half of the verse.

² The words *yuktam mahat* are supplied from v. 39 of the canto XIX.

³ This figure 18 is written on the top of the slab and refers to the serial number of the canto.

⁴ This should be corrected into 'विषयः'.

- 7 नैः(नै)विनेव [ति^{*}]नानुमितं यदघतः । इष्टोत्सव ते हरिरेव सार्यकं कर्तुं सहस्रं स्वदुतां
समागतः ॥५॥ यत्पौर्णमास्यां कृत-
- 8 वाजरेदः कर्मवयं तेन तु पूर्णि^{ss}माया । अयं चंद्रः परिपूर्णकालिः(ति)स्तथा
प्रपूर्णातिरुचिर्भू[†]त् स्यात् ॥६॥ मनोरथः पु-
- 9 नंतमोस्य भूयात्फलं तथा स्यात्परिपूर्णमेव ।[‡] पूर्णं प्र(प)रं व(व)द्वा तथातितुष्टं
प्रभोदसंपूर्णतमो नृपोस्तु ॥७॥ निर्वर्त्य सर्वं स्वतु-
- 10 वाविधानं पूर्णाहुतिपां(प्रो)तमन्यमिता । तुलाधिकडातुलपट्टराज्ञी ज्ञातव्यं सीमाभ्यमुपुन्यपूर्णा ॥८॥
सुवर्णकर्म(र्ण) जित-
- 11 कल्पलं रत्ना मशोविशेषेण च राजती रुचिं । श्रीपट्टराज्ञी किल जेतुमुद्यताऽतुला-
करोद्भूषणयो तुलां ततः ॥९॥ तिब(निर्व)र्त्य[§]
- 12 सार्गं सकलं तुलाविधि(वि) पूर्णाहुतिप्रतिपन्नतमोदयुक् । मरीच(व)दासाह्यपुरोहितस्तथा सुवर्णपूर्णा
कृतवान्महानुलां
- 13 ॥१०॥ ततः प्रसन्नो रजशोडरायनामानमाल(रम)प्रियमान्म(स्म)ञ्ज सः [।^{*}] आरोग्य कल्पा-
तिसस्रु(त्)लापां प्रभोदः(व)पूर्णे(र्णो)भवदेव पूर्णं ॥११॥
- 14 सर्वेषु वर्णेषु यतः सुवर्णवान्मु(र्वा)स्तुला(त्वा) सुवर्णप्रचुरी ततोतमोत् । कल्पाभकीलिं-
स्तु(स्तु)रितेन राजत(ती) तुलां तपाकारयदेव नूननां
- 15 ॥१२॥ तीक्ष्णचित्तेः श्रीमृतरायसिंहभूपस्य मातां(ता) रजतेन पु(पू)र्णे(र्णो) । तुलामतुल्याम-
करोदुवारो(स्त)सम्पन्ना धर्मधुरंधराभूत्
- 16 ॥१३॥ वो(वो)ह्यगव्यस्तु सत्पूर्वरिचः स केसरीसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः । रावस्तुलां
कल्पमयीं विधाय कल्पोभयद्वन्द्वमयो विशु-
- 17 ङः ॥१४॥ स चारणो वा(वा)रहटः प्रसिद्धः सत्केसरीसिंह इति प्रपु(पू)र्णा । कल्पेन
कल्पाभयद्वयः प्रकाशं कुर्वस्तुलां तामकरो-
- 18 कुवारः ॥१५॥ अस्मि(स्मि)न्दिने राजसमुद्रनामकः प्रीकतस्तडागो गिरिमंदिरं महत् । प्रीकं
नरेद्रेण च राजमंदिरं राजा-
- 19 विशांभ्यं नगर(रं) पुरं तथा ॥१६॥ अथान्न व(व)त्वे तु सहस्रनेत्रतमानसंपत्तिविराजमानः ।
धीराभसिंहो व(व)लिकर्णमो-

[†] The anagrade signs are superfluous.

[‡] Before स्यात् there is again a superfluous anagrade sign.

[§] This *hadda* is engraved above the line.

[§] This anagrade (ः) is also superfluous.

- 20 जभीमिन्नायार्कोपमदानिधीरः ॥१७॥ पूर्वैरितान्ध्यामधराधरोस्तान्ध्यामधराज्ञाता(शंला)नपि शर्कराज्ञीन् । पु-
- 21 वासिन्नादिकपर्वतादिव ददौ द्विजाभिन्व इहागतेभ्यः ॥१८॥ ततो गिरीशमभयत्व(स्व)लक्ष्यता
चित्रं हि तेषां(षा)-
- 22 मभयजन्तुः पुनः । आनीय धान्यादि सुकार्यकुञ्जनेः कृतं कृताप्यैरिह सेवया प्रभोः ॥१९॥
नेतावुशं जन्म
- 23 मयाप्यलक्ष्यता¹ ईदृगिरीशमभयजन्तुः पुनः । एते स्थिता एव तु याचकावलेर्गृह्यजे मित्र
न चित्रमय
- 24 तत् ॥२०॥ अतोत्तवे सद्भूतवापिकाः पुनः(न)र्मुहुः कृता[ः*] कार्यकरंमहाजनेः [1*]
मृहर्मुहस्ता रिरिचुने चित्रता
- 25 पानीयवाप्यो रिरिचुस्तद्वृत्तं ॥२१॥ अस्य श्रीप्रेक्षितोकोक्तिविकपालांशयुतो ह्यय(यं) ।
ईदृप्रचेतोपनवश्रीज्ञानांशाधिकत्ववान् ॥२२॥
- 26 ततो व(व)हृतरं भव्यं इव्यं दत्तं पुरोधसे । श्रुति(गर्भी) ब[1]हृणेभ्यश्च प्रभुना सावरं
मुवा ॥२३॥ प्रभो राजसमुद्रस्य रिगत्(त्तु)गतर(रं)गर्कः । तट-
- 27 स्पष्टितवारिद्र[द्र]भा दूरीकृता अयं ॥२४॥ मध्ये राजसमुद्रस्य लोलेः [सतिल-*)सचयैः [1]
याचकालेदेरिद्राक्षमपंकप्रक्षालनं लल(कु)तं ॥२५॥ अस्तग-
- 28 जसमुद्रस्य तटे सद्भूर्वतीपुरि । द्राग्वरिद्रमुवान्नो मे श्रीदः स्वाः श्रीपते नृप ॥२६॥
तटे राजसमुद्रस्य वसन् श्रीश नृप धियं । द्राग्व-
- 29 रिद्रमुवान्नो(भ्ये) मे देहि ना(वा)क्(क्त)दुतापंथात् ॥२७॥ सप्तसागरदानेन तत्सप्तपुरवाजितं ।
द्विजानां दीर्घवारिद्रय प्रभो दूरीकृतं त्वया ॥२७(२८)॥ सम(प्त)सा-
- 30 गरदानस्य सुवर्णो धप्रवाहतः । दूरीकृतस्त्वया राजग्विजवारिद्रयसद्भुमः ॥२८(२९)॥ दत्तं ह्ये-
तुलास्वर्गैः सुवर्णगिरिसंनिभान् । कुर्वन्त-
- 31 तां गह्वस्त्व(गृह्णैस्त्व) तद्(द्रा)रिद्र(द्रय)दमनो अयं ॥२९(३०)॥ तुलामुवर्णदानेन राजसिंह
प्रभो त्वया । दु(द्र)रीकृत(ता) द्राग्विदुषामतुला साधमर्णता ॥३०(३१)॥ यं श्रे-²
- 32 ते राजसमुद्ररूपमपरं क्व दधानोवु(वृ)धिः ॥३०(३२)॥ मध्ये प्रो(ल्लो)लक(ल्लो)लः(लाः)
फेनाः स्क(स्क)टिककूटभाः । सारसाः सरसास्तोरे भात्यस्य
- 33 मयका वकाः ॥३१(३३)॥ मृक्ता(कथा) स्वीयं कुजं(गृह्) जं वम(स)ति किल तटे यस्य
सद्भा(द्रा)रकांतां कृत्वा रम्यां पुरीं द्राग्वजनभयमयः केशवो द्वारकेशः ।

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.² After this fifty-six syllables are wanting, which shows that one complete line of the inscription is missing.

- 34 गोमत्पुस्तुंगसंगः ॐ ॐ ॐ ? विगबसछ(ब्ध)वचकोछ(ब्ध)पथाः श्रीराणाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतः
श्रीतडागत(स्स)मुद्रः ॥३२(३४)॥ वि(वि)भ्राणः सेतु(वे)-
- 35 धं गिरिवरवजिरः पुरितो जीवनीर्धर्मानातछाव(स)संग(मः) शिवसवनयुतः पोतपञ्चपा(स्त्या) प्रसक्तः
नैतापल्लास्त(स्त्यास्त)मुद्रस्तदधि-
- 36 क [ह]ति ते भूपते श्रीतडागो मर्षावा वाडवामिन् कलयति न च वा क्षारनार(नीरं)
कवाचित् ॥३३(३५)॥ प्रियतमम[ध]राया मंडलाच्चंड-
- 37 कात्तयचनकलितभीत्यामत्यगोवर्द्धनेशः । वसति त्व तडागस्यांवि(ति)के त्वन्मुदे तज्जसवि-
मपरमेन राजसिंहेति जाने ॥३४(३६)॥
- 38 अमावास्यां विना तं(नै)व स्व(स्व)ध्यः सिंधुः सगजंनः । तडागस्ते तदधिकः सवा
स्प(स्व)ध्यो विगजंनः ॥३५(३७)॥ समुद्रवातुः स्वीकारो न कसौ
- 39 वातुरव तु । स्वया कृत्ये(ते) यत्सु(कारो) वीरायं सिंधुतोधिकः ॥३६॥*] श्रीराणो-
दयसिंहसुनुरभवत् श्रीमान्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री-
- 40 'अमेरेश्वरोस्य' ततन(न)यः श्रीण(श्रीक)र्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च(श्च) तज्यं(यो)-
स्माद्वाराजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एव क-
- 41 तता(वा)न्वीरः शिलालेखितं ॥३६(३६)॥ पूर्णे सप्तवशे शते तपति वा सत्पूणिमाख्ये दिने
द्वाविंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराज-
- 42 सिंहप्रभोः । काण्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः सूष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तोत्राक्तं रणछोडभट्टरचितं
राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं [॥४०॥] इति संगः(ः) १८॥

Slab XX : Canto XIX

[Metres : vv. 1, 12 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 2, 3 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 4, 42, 43 *Sārdūlavikrīṭita* ; vv. 5, 38-41 *Upajāti* ; vv. 6-11, 14-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 13 *Pramāṇikā* ; vv. 21, 34-36 *Rathoddhātā* ; v. 37 *Sikharigā*.]

१६*

- 1 ॥ ३३ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥*] लक्ष्मीसत्कांतिकं दाम्भुतशुभविजयसत्कामधुक्शार्ङ्ग(ङ्ग)धन्वप्राकट्यो-
(दधः) 'प्रपारिजातामरयुवतिमयी-

* These three syllables are missing.

* *Sandhi* is not observed here.

* This is redundant.

* This figure 19 appears on the top.

* This sign of *anugraha* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

- 2 लुराढोदयश्च [१*] य(सं)बाडो(चो)पर्वःअवोयुक्त्रिदशगजमहाभंगम(सं)भूतिरद्या वम्भ(न्)तपु-
(भुं)द्वौ वांनुनिरिति मयतः क्षीरसिन्धु(धु)-
- 3 स्तङ्गायः ॥१॥ कु(कुं)भोज्ज्वलकरकृष्टजलो विशुको जातस्ततो लवणनोरमयः समुद्रः कुंभोज्ज्व-
प्रकरकृष्टजलोतिवृद्धा(दो)
- 4 मिष्टस्तव भित्ति राजसमुद्र एवः ॥२॥ श्रीद्वारकोद्भवकृते परिभुक्तभूमिन्धु(म्बु)नः स्वधि-
सदुदधिः किल हृ(ण्)या(वा)क्यात् [१*] यतो-
- 5 रमिसगरपीपुर्वातिष्ठणो नूनं सुपूर्ण इति तेऽध्वरस्तङ्गायः [॥३॥*] खाते वष्टि(ष्टि)-
सहस्रनूपतनयाः पुत्तो^१ सहस्रारय(स्राण्य)-
- 6 युवा(नी)गाद्या लवणीकृतावपि परोऽन्यः सेतुव(व)धेनु(वेः) ॥३॥(१)^१ खाते पुत्तिं^१ मिष्टसृष्टि^१
अवाप्यतेतुर्धेस्य ततिसंधो-
- 7 रेककृतेरु(वि)ध्वंसनयान्नन्यामहे धन्यतां ॥४॥ अल्पस्य साम्यं न वदाति कश्चित्समस्य साम्यं
न च दृष्टमस्य । ततो महत्वे(स्वे)-
- 8 न जनाशयोप(वं) प्रोक्तः[*] समुद्रः कविभिर्न चित्रं ॥५॥ जले निगमा ये प्राणा
न ते मग्ना महोपते । ते मग्ना वदणद्वारे मग्नास्त-
- 9 त्यापर्वकथयः ॥६॥ येवा(वा) विशिष्टप्राणाणां श्रेयाण्यथ जलाशये । मग्नाणि तीर्थश्रेयाणि
तानि जातानि भूपते ॥७॥ ये जग्मिर्ना
- 10 जीवनवाः स्थले ते जीवनप्रदाः । यावतां च नृणां प्राणा भुजगानमूर्तोदगाः ॥८॥
भूत्वा भुजा जले मग्नास्तेषां श्री(बी)जाकुंर-
- 11 वृ(वृं)माः । जलेभवन्वाति(टि)कालो वदणस्य त्वया कृता ॥९॥ वो(वो)विदु(वु)भो जलस्थापी
तपस्तपति कुकरा(कुण्कर) । प्रवालमालम(मा) शा-
- 12 श्रीगुला(ली)भिः सार्धा(वं)काहृ(हृ)यः ॥१०॥ वट(वु)जाः त्वितास्तोमे तप(प)ति प्रवृत् तपः ।
क्षालयति जटाजालं मूगम(मे)तेव
- 13 योगिनः ॥११॥ त्वत्का(ली)त्तिस्वर्णदीभुदु(प)तिसहितप्राप्तकानिदिकामुनीलद्वा(द्या)यानुम(मा)ना-
स्तपस्तकरयजोक्तुम-
- 14 सि(सिं)हूरसंगात् । धाजत्सारस्वतीधस्तविति नरपते ते तङ्गायः प्रपागो ग्यप्रोषा वक्ष्याक्या-
प्रविदधति पव(वं) युक्तम-

^१ This numbering ought to have come after स्तङ्गायः in the previous line.

- 15 स्मिति(त्रि)कामं ॥१२॥ यथा स्वले तथा जले बुधा व[सन्ति] जंतवः । विचित्रमथ
द्राक्षिनस्तथा जप(यं)ति भूपते ॥१३॥*] वनास्थिता द्रुमाः सर्वे(र्वे) व-
- 16 नस्था एव तेऽभवन् । युष्मत् विधेयो धर्मोऽथ वदणस्योपयोगतः ॥१३(१४)॥ पूर्वं यत्र
वने सिंहगर्जनानि जलाशये । जातेषु जलकल्लो-
- 17 लगर्जनानि जयंत्यथ ॥१४(१५)॥ वदणा[ल]पतस्तोपानयनात् जितस्त्वया । प्रेक्षते ताम्-
(म्)गावस्तथा पक्ष(स्य)धकटाक्षकैः ॥१५(१६)॥ कम-
- 18* लाघ(श)स्त्वपानीतस्तद्वागे वदणालयात् । कमलाघ(श) स्थापितोत्र कमलावामतत्पर ॥१६(१७)॥
प्रवक्षिष्यास्वागता या माला भूपाल तां(ता)-
- 19 श्वया । तत्राग्रे वदणप्रोत्थं प्रेक्षिताः कक्ष[नानिधे] ॥१७(१८)॥ घटानां जलमग्नानां जला
राजति तत्र ते [i] मीनाः गृहाणि कुर्वं(र्वे)ति नौवानि व-
- 20 तगा इव ॥१८(१९)॥ निर्मलो जीवरत्नाकुट्टि(ट्टि)[जरक्षण]कृत्वया । नवसूत्राप(पे)थेनोपे(नार्यं)
तद्वागे द्विजताम्रितः ॥१९(२०)॥ पूर्वपश्चिमसु(दक्षि)-
- 21 षोत्तरवेदाभूमिषु त द(द्व)ष्टिगोचरः । [— ∪ —] जल जलपशो बृधः सिंघु(धस्त ?)
इति नात्राच(त्र चि)त्रता ॥२०(२१)॥ श्रीराजनगरस्यास्य क . .
- 22 रङ्ग(ङ्ग)तभूतले । विराजते राजसिंहो गाढा(?)मंडलमातनोत् ॥२१(२२)॥ तत्र द्विजा[ल]यो
मानदेशात्प्रा[प्ता*] सुवेदिणः[१*] घट्ट(ट्ट)कवारि(रि)जवा-
- 23 ल्यायुक्तसहस्रचितयः स्थिता[*] ॥२२(२३)॥ एताव(वं)तो धामनामसहिताः^१ अघिकाः पुनः ।
प्रा[प्रा]प्त्यास्त(स्तु)^२ अस्त(सं)क्षयाता जगता ना-
- 24 व त(सं)शयः ॥२३(२४)॥ ततो गरीव(व)शस्ताम्यः पुरोहितवरो हितः । तत(त्र) स्थित्वा
स्वयं स्वाज्ञाकारिणः कार्यकारिणः ॥२४॥*] स्थापयित्वा
- 25 स्वहस्तान्या(भ्यां) तद्वस्तरं(प्य)हर्निश(श) । सप्त(प्त)सागरदानस्य तुलादानस्य वा प्रभाः(भोः)
॥२५(२६)॥^३ धन(धनं) श्रीपट्टराज्ञां(स्या)श्च तुला[इ]व्यं तथा
- 26 वतु [१*] स्वकल्पित(स्व)र्णतुलादानस्य त्र(त्र)हृ हाटकं ॥२७॥*] रणसोडरापक्ष(कु)तं
तुलावर्धं [त]दामित । वत्सा(वत्सा) पूर्वोक्त(वत)[विप्रे*]भ्यः सदापूर्वंभूवान्वितः ॥२४(२८)॥
विधे(वे)काव-

^१ The number 20 between a pair of double danda appears above the line, while there is a single danda after it, the last letter of the verse.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

^३ After this there are two danda and two danda, which are all superfluous.

- 27 खुर्वे(दुर्वे) स तान्विद्या(म्यया)सुष्टमानसी(मान्) । अत(प्र)वान(ने) बहुविध(यं) कृतवर्तस्तत्र
भूपति(भूपतिः) ॥२६(२६)॥ ततः सभाम(सं)दपस्थो राजसिंहो महोपतिः । इ(दि)-
जेभ्या(भ्यो)
- 28 याचकेभ्यश्च वा(वा)रणे(भ्यो*) द्वि(दि)वानिभं [॥३०॥*] व(व)विभ्यः सर्वलोकेभ्यः(*)
मुखर्ण(र्ण) दिव्यवर्णकं । कण्ठम(मु)द्रास्तथाऽङ्गुला अलंकारा [८ — ८ —]¹
॥२७(२७)॥ वार्ता-
- 29 सि हेमह(ह)यानि वाजिनो जितवाजिनः । उस्तुयमातंगमणाभ्रत्वा(त्वा) संभोदमावधे ॥२८(२८)॥
ह्वानां बह्वानां च ताम्रवज्रानि भूपतिः । पा-
- 30 माणां विलसद्धान्यघातमाणां इत(स)वर्तस्था ॥२९(२९)॥ याचकैः कनकविक्रम(यं) परं
कर्त्त(र्त्तु)मथ कनकं प्रसारितं । वीक्ष्य राजनगरं महाजना-
- 31 स्तस्तुवर्णय(म)यमेवमु(मु)चिरे ॥३०(३०)॥ पा(या)वर्केस्तुरगशिकयायताभ्या(सान्) स्था[पिता]-
न्विपनिषु(षु)स्त्रवाजिनः । वीक्ष्य राजनगरं जनोव(व)त्सिंयुवे-
- 32 शमिति सि(मि)धुसुवरं ॥३१(३१)॥ यान(य)कंभ(भं)वत एव भूपते याचनासि[ज]ग(गु)भोपि
[वि]स्मृतः स्थापित(पित) तु अनरण्ये मनस्वेयंलो विपु-
- 33 यताशि(स्ति) तेवृतः(वृतः) ॥३२(३२)॥ तुलाकतु(र्त्तु)र्द्वयं शितिप भद्रतः प्राप्य मणि-
नस्तुलाकता(र्त्ता)रोल्पाधिकमितिहृते विक्रयविधौ । स्वविश्रया-
- 34 यं त(ते) य(य)द्वलकनकरूप(स्य) प्त(प्र)तिपलं तुलाकर्त्तुं — ² जयति रचयन्पाचकगुणान्
॥३३(३३)॥ पङ्क्ति³ निर्मञ्जयामातवराचवेभ्यः स्वैभ्यः परेभ्यः
- 35 सकलसि(दि)जेभ्यः । वैश्यादिकेभ्योऽजितमानुषेभ्यो वातांसि⁴ पांगेय⁵गुणोत्तमानि ॥३४(३४)॥
अरवी(श्वी)स्तवा(वा) वातपतीनाजोद्वान्निप्र-
- 36 माणान्मणिभूषणानि दत्वा(त्वा) विवेकाद्यमनाय तेभ्य वातां वदातो(नो) जयति क्षितौद्रः
॥३५(३५)॥ पुरमं । निर्मप्रितेभ्योऽजितभूषि-
- 37 वेभ्यो दुर्गाधिपेभ्यो निजब(वा)वर्षेभ्यः । स्वैभ्यः परेभ्यः कनकोत्तमानि वातांसि वाश्वान्पुल-
(य)वश्चय(वे)गान् ॥३६(३६)॥ तुगा(तुगां)द्व मा-
- 38 तंगयन्मदाद्वयान्विभूषणालीगंतद्वयनाश्च । संप्रेषयित्वा प्रविभात(ति) भूपो महामहोदारवरिव-
[वाकः*] ॥३७(३७)॥ वासीङ्गस्करतस्तु माय-

¹ The intended reading may be *śaṅkhadīpāṇī* *śaṅkhā* *śaṅkhā*.

² Two long syllables are missing here. The intended reading seems to be *śaṅkhā-śaṅkhā-śaṅkhā* *śaṅkhā*.

³ This word *paṇḍit* is superfluous and is to be omitted.

⁴ The sign of *anagāra* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

⁵ The word *paṅgāya* means 'gold' here.

39. ब्रह्मोऽस्म(स्मा)हामचंद्रस्ततः सत्तर्षेष्टवरकः कठोदिक(कु)मजो लघ्म्यादिनाबस्तुतः । तेभ्योऽस्य
तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोऽस्य वा माघः पु(पु)षो-
40. भूग्नपुसु(सु)दमस्त(स्य)म इमे व(व)होराकिण्पूपाः [॥२२॥] यस्यास(सो)न्मघसुदमस्तु जनको
बेभो व योस्वामिकाऽभून्माता रणक्षोड ए[व*] कृतवान् राजप्रस(श)स्त्वा-
41. ह्यप ॥ काश्यं राजगुणोद्ययनमयं वीराकमुत्क(कठं) महत्(ह) द्वावि(विं)शोभयद्वयं सर्वं उदितो
वागर्थसर्गोऽष्टः [॥२३॥]* सवुर्षि(विं)शत्याक्य इहामयभूवभूदे सर्गोऽ-
42. सर्गोऽष्टः ॥३॥ इति ईकागधीशतभक्त्यं १९

Slab XXI : Canto XX

[Metres : vv. 1, 6-9, 15, 20, 24, 37, 38, 34, 35, 38, 41, 55, Upagiti : vv. 2, 10, 17, 25, 31, 43-45, 48, 52, 53 Giti : vv. 3, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51 Udgita : vv. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39, 42, 49 Aryā : v. 54 Anushtubh.]

- 1 ॥ ई(ई)तिव(ड) [॥*] श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) [॥*] जमव(व)तसिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे राडोह-
नाचाम । सार्द्धंनवस्तत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतमुद्रिकानुत्य(त्यं) ॥१॥ परमेश्वरप्रसादाभिध-
- 2 गणं पंचविंशतिप्रमितः । राजतमुद्राजतकैर्गृहीतमतिनत(त्तं)नं तुरंतवर(रं) ॥२॥ कतेतुरंगस(सं)नं
षट्(ट्)शतमितरजतमुद्राभिः [॥*] कीर्तं च कनककस्तनं
- 3 ह्यमपरं हेनपुण्यवसनाति ॥३॥ नानाविधाति व(व)हृतरसंख्यानि महावरेण जीवपुरे ।
रणेशः प्रे(प्रे)षितवान् हस्ते रणक्षोडभट्टस्य ॥४॥ अथ राम-
- 4 सिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे किल कथ(थ)वाहूपाय । राजतमुद्रासार्द्धंविंशतिप्राप्तुरचितमूल्यं ॥५॥
सुंदरगजानमान(नं) गजोत्तमं ^१ रजतमुद्राणां । पंचदशज-
- 5 तेः कल्पितमूल्यं क्षमितुंदराक्यहृदं ॥६॥ अथ सार्द्धंसप्तशतमितराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं । ह्यहृद-
नामतुरंगं कनककस्तितव(व)हृत्तवसना-
- 6 नि ॥७॥ अद्वैतिनगरमध्ये प्रेषितवान्वाणपूण्डुः । हस्ते प्रसक्तकीर्तिः स्वपुरोहितरामचंद्रस्य
॥८॥ यो(यी)कानेरिप्रभवे^२ अनुपसिंहाय रावाम [॥*]

^१ Instead of *delicacies*, we require here *delicacies*. Apparently this line of the verse was intended for the 22nd canto and has been wrongly copied here by the engraver.

^२ This line of verse is redundant. It is meant for the 24th canto.

^३ This numbering should be omitted.

^४ Read *Abhayaśekhara* *carpuh*.

^५ The metre is defective here. Read परमेश्वरप्रसादं नाम यज्ज्ञ etc.

^६ This *dupda* is superfluous.

^७ The absence of *anviti* is in favour of the metre.

- 7 साईंनुत्तप्ततहलकराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं ॥६॥ मन्मूत्ति(सिं)नामकारितं साईंसहस्राद्य(चह)रजत-
मुद्राभिः । कृतमूल्यं तुरं(र)गवरं
- 8 साहस्रसिंवारस(सं)क्षममूल्यं ॥१०॥ से(स)साईंसप्तशतमितराजतमुद्रारचितमूल्यं । तेजनिधाना-
भिद्य(ध)मपि हेममयान्यव(व)राणि
- 9 बहुलानि ॥११॥ प्रेमाद्वरपूर्वं किल सो(मी)कानेरिस्फुटामिधे नगरे । प्रेषितक(वा)म् राणेद्रो
माधवजोती [मु*?]हस्ते हि ॥१२॥ रावाय भावसि-
- 10 हानिधाय हावन्नुपाकाम ॥१३॥¹ षड(ट)सप्रात(प्राति)दुक्त्रिजताप्रे(प्रे) वशसहस्रंस्तु । राजत-
मुद्राणां कृतमूल्यं द्विरव(व) तु होणहारस्य(स्य) ॥१४॥ सा-²
- 11 खंसहस्त(ख)प्रतिक³राजतमुद्रारचित(त)मू(भू)मूल्यं । तुरमं नत्तंनम(च)तुरं तुंगतर(र) सर्वशोभाय
॥१५॥ सत्साड(ड)सप्र(प्त)शतमितराजत(त)मुद्राप्रमि(मि)तमूल्य(स्य)⁴ ।
- 12 विरतजामिधमपरं ह्य(मं) सहेमा(मी)व(व)राणि राणमपिः । मुंवीनगरे नात्करभट्ट(ट्ट)कर(रे)
प्रेषयामास्म(स) ॥१६॥ चंद्रावतचं(चं)द्राय मुद्रकमति(सिं)हाभि-
- 13 धाय रावाय । साईंश्चिताप्रलतस्तसहल(आ)द्य(चह)सू(क)प्यमुद्राभिः ॥१७॥ कृतमूल्यं
गजराजं कल्लेवीलतिशुभाभिधं तुरमं [1*] साड(ड)सह-
- 14 स्वप(प्र)मित⁵राज(त*)मुद्रारचितमूल्यं ॥१८॥ मोहू(न*)सप्त(सं)सं साईंसप्तशतं कप्यमुद्राणां [1*]
कृतमूल्य(स्य) ह्यवरसं ह्यमम(मं) हेमपूर्णवसनैव(नीध) ॥१९॥ राजा-
- 15 जया मुहूर्त्वा भट्टोगाहारकानाधः । रामपुरातनगरे त्वय सधं(वै)मिद(व) ता⁶ शोपयामास ॥२०॥
भासीनुपाकाम⁷ रावतवर⁸धमरसिंहाम । राज-
- 16 शु(त)मुद्रंकावशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापश्रु(श्रु)गारं ॥२१॥ करिचं राजतमुद्रासाईंसहस्रप्रमितमूल्यं ।
ह्यमुकुटारूप(स्य) स(सा)ईंसप्तशतप्रमि-
- 17 तहस्यमुद्रया(द्रा)भिः ॥२२॥ कृतमूल्यमपरमदवं सुरतिमूर्ति(सिं)व हेमवसनोधा(नीध) । एतत्सर्वं(वै)
जोतीदेवानंदस्य किल हस्ते ॥२३॥ दत्त्वा(त्वा) जेतसमेरी
- 18 महापुरे प्रेमपूर्वमपि । संप्रेषितवानेतं स राजबीरो भूपतिधोरः ॥२४॥ जसवंतसि(सिं)हनाम्ने
रावलवर्धाय षड(ट)सहस्रंस्तु । पंचशतायै राज-

¹ The first half of this verse is missing.

² The second quarter of this stanza is too short by four syllabic instants. To set the metre aright we may read -अतायैर्विलसद्वासहस्रंस्तु ।

³ Instead of प्रतिक read प्रमितक.

⁴ This half verse is in excess form. Compare above verse 15 and n. 1.

⁵ The metre requires this syllable to be long.

⁶ This *ta* is unnecessary and hence must be omitted.

⁷ The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.

- 19 तमुद्राणां रचितमूल्यमिमं(म)हम् ॥२५॥ शुभसारधारसंज्ञं [द्वि]वेविहरिजीकहस्ते तु । इ(इं)गरपुरे
नरपतिः प्रेषितव(वा)ग्नेमयुक्तवसती(ना)नि ॥१२६॥*
- 20 प्रथमं राजसमुद्रोत्सर्गोऽस्मै रजतमुद्राणां । तत्र सहस्रेण कृतमूल्यं जसतुरगनामहयं ॥२६(२७)॥
पंचशतव(रु)प्यमुद्राक(रु)तमूल्य(स्य)
- 21 तुरगमपरं च । कनकमयाव(व)र्यव(व) म(स) वसवायाजसिंहनृपः ॥२७(२८)॥ राजत-
मुद्रकावशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापशृंगी(गा)रं । द्विपमव(व)राणि
- 22 च इदौ दोर्लभौषुप्रधानाय ॥२८(२९)॥ सिरनासं कृतमूल्यं सप्तसहस्रं(त्वं)स्तु स(रु)प्यमुद्राणां ।
द्विपमव(व)राणि स इदौ राण(वत)रां(रा)मसिंहा-
- 23 य ॥२९(३०)॥ राजसमुद्रजलाशयकार्यकृतामपगण्याय । राजतमुद्राणां वा कृतमूल्यान्पंचवि(विं)-
शतिं(ति)सहस्रं(त्वं) ॥३१॥* एकाधिकपंचाश-
- 24 द्युतपंचशताद्यकंस्तुरगान(न) । सुखदैक्य(व)ष्टिसंस्थान् कुर^२ राजन्यराज्ये स इदौ ॥३०(३२)॥*
कुलकं । ए(का)प्रसप्तं(प्त)तिलसत्पंचशता-
- 25 ये(धं)स्तु सप्तविंशतिकं । विष्णुसहस्रं राजतमुद्राणां रचितसन्मूल्यान् ॥३१(३३)॥ यद्विक-
शतद्वयमितास्तुरंगमोश्चारणेभ्य इह ।
- 26 बालप्रवाहमय्ये भाटेभ्यो भूपतिः प्रददौ ॥३४॥* सप्तसहस्रं(त्वं)वि(विं)रचित[मू]ल्यं [वा*]
रजतमुद्राणां । द्विरदनमनूपकं द्विरध्वरं साद्वंसव-
- 27 शतकं[:*] ॥३२(३५)॥ राजतमुद्राणां व(वा) कृतमूल्यं विनयसुंदरक(क) । हयमत्स्यं(न्य)
विस्तारं राजतमुद्राचतुःशतमुहीतं ॥३३(३६)॥ कव(न)कमयाव(व)-
- 28 र[वु]वं सुसज्ज(व्य)राज्याय वा(वा)पवेष्टाय । नृपभाजसिंहनाम्ने रा[ज्ञे] संप्रेषयामास ॥३३(३७)॥
लाघूमसानि(सेनी)हस्ते लाघुकं तीर्थयात्रार्थं । इत्या(त्वा)
- 29 व(व)कृतं द्रव्यं प्रेषितवान् प्रेमकृद्भूपः ॥३४(३८)॥ राजतमू(मु)द्राणां वा विंशताद्यवतु-
सहस्रकृतमूल्यान् । स वदेष्टावश उ(तु)रगाश्रिमंत्रणा-
- 30 यातनपतिभ्यः ॥३५(३९)॥ त्रिसहस्ररजतमू(मु)द्रामू(मु)ल्या(स्यां) करिणी(नीं) सहेलीति ।
तोडशरायसि(सि)हनुपस्य मात्र(वे) इदौ कुमारैभ्य[:*] ॥३६(४०)॥ सा[र्द्धं]चतु[:*]-
- 31 शतयुक्तत्रिसहस्रव(रु)प्यमुद्रिकामूल्यान् [।*] तुरं(र)गास्त्रयोदश इदौ निम(मं)वनायातनपतिभ्यः
॥३७॥(४१)॥ एकाप्रवष्टि(ष्टि)संयुतपंचशतप्रमितक-

* The metre requires this syllable to be long.

* Instead of कुर perhaps we have to read : ठाकुर .

- 32 प्यमृद्र(द्रा)णां । सप्त ददौ भूपोद्वान् निम(मं)व्रणायातनूपतिभ्यः ॥३८(४२)॥ षट्त्रि(त्रि)-
शदधिकशतयुक्त्रिसहस्र(सं)¹ अयुतरूप्यमृद्राणां । द्विशततुरंगान्स-
- 33 ददौ शासनयुतचारणौघभादेभ्यः ॥३९(४३)॥ तत्र विभेक(वेक)स्त्रितहितवि(वि)शतितुरं(र)गान्सव-
शासनिभ्योवात् [1] पूर्वोक्तसंख्यतुरगाद्याजगत्सिंहशास-
- 34 निभ्योसि ॥४०(४४)॥ श्रीकर्णसिंहशासनिकेभ्योद्वानां तनुष्टय(य) स ददौ । अमरेश-
शासनिभ्ये(भ्यः) तुरंगा(गा)न्यत्रापसिंहस्य सप्त ॥४१(४५)॥ शासनिकेभ्योष्टा-
- 35 वश हृषानुद्वसिंहशासनिभ्यस्तु । अष्टत्रिंशत्तुरगाह्वमेकं विक्रमाकंसाश(शास)निते(ने) ॥४२(४६)॥
युग्म(स्य) । हि(ह)यमेकं तु रतनसीशासनिने राणवीरोवात् । शु-
- 36 नसप्तविंशतिहृषान् संग्रामनूपस्य शासनिभ्योवात् ॥४३(४७)॥ श्रीरायमस्तशासनिकेभ्योद्वानेकवि
(वि)शतिप्रमितान् । कुभाशासनिकायाश्चमेक-
- 37 मेकोनविंशतिप्रमितान् ॥४४(४८)॥ मोकलशासनिकेभ्यस्तुरगाह्वमीरशासनिभ्योवात् । पंचहृषान्ता-
(यांला)वानुपशासनिकेभ्यो हृषान्सप्त ॥४५(४९)॥
- 38 युग्मं । येताम्रजेसीशासनिकाभ्यां(भ्यां) हृषमेकमेकमवात् । राजतनुशासिवाहनमहासमरसीकशास-
निभ्यां तु ॥४६(५०)॥ हि(ह)यमेकमेकमेकं रावतवायस्य शास-
- 39 निम(ने) [1*] मोकलसहोदरस्य वि(द्वि)शतहृषाने²भूप एवमत्र ददौ ॥४७(५१)॥ तर्लोकडा-
वि(वि)शतिसहस्रशतयुग्मसाष्टवष्टिमितः । राजतनुद्रावुंरं³ की-
- 40 ताः शतपंचकं द्विपंचशत् ॥४८(५२)॥ तुरगा लन्त्र(लं)कद्वि⁴सहस्र(स)शतकाष्टकैरिति कीताः ।
करिभोगजास्त्रयोदश वता(ता) वीरे(रे)द्रराज्य(ज)सि-
- 41 हेन ॥४९(५३)॥ पंडितेभ्यः[1*] कविभ्यश्च बंदिचारणपंक्तये । अश्वान्धनानि वासा(सां)सि
ददौ⁵ ॥५०(५४)॥ जलाशयोत्सर्गविधानमेवं कृत्वा महादानस-
- 42 मेतमेव । तथैव नानाविधदानराजी विराजते राजितराजवीरः ॥५१(५५)॥ इति श्रीराजसमृद्धी
प्रशस्त लीयत रणभोडभट सर्ग २०

Slab XXII ; Canto XXI

[Metres : vv. 1, 40, 42-45 ; Śārdūlavikrīṇṇita ; v. 2 Śragdharā ; vv. 3-21, 23-25, 28-38 Anuṣṭubh ;
v. 22 Śalini ; v. 26 Giti ; v. 27 Āryā ; vv. 37, 38 Śikharīṇī ; vv. 39, 41 Vasantatilakā.]

- 1 ॥५३ तिघ(डं) [1*] श्रीमन्मैशाय ग्यः(नमः) [1*] पु(पु)र्णे सप्तवशे शते सु(शु)भकरे
स्फुट्वावशाख्येवके माघे स[द्वि]धकृष्णसप्तमसितियो(वी) वारभ्यकाला[दितः ।]

¹ The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.

² This *śi* is scored out. Read हृषान्भूप.

³ The metre requires this syllable to be long.

⁴ This line of verse is too short by six syllables. Perhaps we have to read राजसिंहो नृपो ददौ.

- 2 पंचमि(त्रिंशत्)शतनिकृष्यकं उदिताबाढावर्षीत्यं वदे सग्नं राजसमुद्रनामकमहानव्ये तद्याग(ये) धनं
॥१॥ षट्चत्वारि(रिंशत्)शदावर्षाभ्य-
- 3 य रजतमहावृष्टिकलां(र्षा) शुभानां लक्षाणीत्यं सहस्राण्यपि दक्षिणचतुःशष्टिसंख्यामितानि ।
षट्संख्यायुक्तानि प्रको(श)दित-
- 4 षट्पुंश्चविंशत्युपात्तवर्षाभ्येवं विलम्बान्युत गणनमिव¹ त्वेकपक्षे प्रयोक्तं ॥२॥ विवेकमत्र²
वक्ष्यामि रूप्य(रुप्य)मुद्राव(र)ले(रिह) ।
- 5 सप्तविंशति(र्षा)णि धनि(र्षि)शतप्रमितानि च ॥३॥ सहस्राणि चतुःसंख्यशतानि नवतिः(ति)स्तथा ।
सार्द्धसप्ताप्रकाश्यात्(ष्यत्र) राम-
- 6 सिंहस्य वै तर्के³ ॥४॥ य(य)वल्लवचतुःसंख्यसहस्राष्टशतानि च । सप्ताशोतिकाभाष्म(न्याहुः)
पितृव्यस्य तर्के तय(या) ॥५॥ प्र(पु)त्रमोहम(न)सिंहो(हा)मयरा-
- 7 सोषासंगशोभिनः । लक्षद्वयं सहस्राणि द्वापर्यं शतानि च ॥६॥ पंचाष्टात्रिंशदधिकपद(र्षे)षा
गणनामवत् । एषा सांभलवासस्य यं-
- 8 चोलीकुलशालितः ॥७॥ चतुर्नैशाण्यष्टपुस्तसप्ततिस्त(य)मितानि च । सहस्र(स्त्रा)भ्येकशतकं
सप्तार्धं भरणे मृदां ॥८॥ य-
- 9 पुष्कौनिःसृतायां तु लेपने गणनामवत् ॥९॥ द्वात्रिंशत्सुसहस्राणि षट् शतानि सप्तावकं ॥९॥
एकमत्रान्धरापार्तं इव्य(व्यं) वा प्र-
- 10 भुपाद्वैतः । तथा प्रसादशान्तिं तल्लेखे गणनामवत् ॥१०॥ सप्त लक्षाणि संक्रान्ति
प्रतिष्ठाकरणे मितिः । एतद्वाजसमुद्रस्य पु(पु)र्व-
- 11 संख्याप्रमेयं ॥११॥ पु(पु)र्वोक्तद्वयगणनामविकः कियते पुनः । द्वात्रिंशत्संख्यलक्षानि सहस्रद्वितयं
तथा ॥१२॥ गण(ना)-

¹ The total sum spent on the actual construction of the lake amounted to Rs. 46,64,623½.

² The details of the expenditure are specified as follows:

Rs. 27,56,497½ in Rāmasimha's account (also mentioned in verse 28-29, canto XX).

Rs. 5,94,889½ in pūrvapra's or male's account.

Rs. 2,12,533½ in Mahānasimha's account.

Rs. 4,78,197 in carrying the earth thrown out of the quadrangular ditch in Paśchādī Syāmalādīśa's account.

Rs. 33,601½ in plastering.

Rs. 7,00,001 in the inauguration ceremony.

Rs. 46,64,623½

³ The meaning of the word *tapla* is not clear. It seems to be the Sanskritised form of the similar Arabic word *tarf* which is used in the sense of side, direction, etc., and is also spelt as *tarf*. We are told in verse 21, canto IX that Rājasimha, finding the work of construction unmanageable by a single hand, divided it among his officials. The expenditure on items in charge of Rāmasimha, (the ruler's 7) uncle, and Mahānasimha and Syāmalādīśa seems to have been given in verses 4-9. The word has been used side by side with other items of expenditure. The word *tapla* may therefore be translated as 'in the account of', or 'on items in charge of'.

- 24 लः^१ ॥२७॥ युगं । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेऽब्दे । श्री(श्रा)वणे राजसिंहो
जीतवादावधि ब्र(व)जन् ॥२८॥ बैरा(बैरि)ता-
- 25 सं तिरोहीस्वं शत्रुसंघे(घे)न पीडितं । राघं तिरोहीनृपतिं चक्रे निजपराक्रमः ॥२९॥
एकलक्षप्रमितिका कल्पमुद्रास्त-
- 26 तोषहीन् । पंच ग्रामलकोरटादीन्ज'घाहोप्राह्वो नृपः ॥३०॥ राजा सुवर्णकलशचीर्यं तद्देश
आगतं । तद्वत्प-
- 27 मुद्राः प(पं)वाशलाह्वान्यग्रहीस्ततः ॥३१॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेऽब्दे ।
श्रीराणोद्बोधस्तंभपाः राजगृहे
- 28 गज^२ ॥३२॥ त्रिविक्रमाश्वकृतो विक्रमार्कस्य दानतः । यक्तुं कः मुक्तमान् शक्तो राजसिंह-
पराक्रमान् ॥३३॥ राज-
- 29 सिंह विचित्रोद्यं प्रतापतपनं(न)स्तव । ब्र[नांत]स्वानपि रि[पुस्ता]पयत्यद्रुत(तं) महत् ॥३४॥
राजभयप्रतापानिः शत्रुघ्नी(स्त्री)वा-
- 30 णसि(से)घनेः । उवलत्यत्र न चित्रं तद्विदुर्कीर्तिनव—^३मपः ॥३५॥ शत्रुस्त्रीनेत्रपधाति संतापयति
संततं । श्रीराजसि(सि)ह भयतः
- 31 प्रतापतपनोद्भूतं ॥३६॥ प्रतापो वीपस्ते भित्ति[प] जगदालोककरणः शिलाभिः शत्रु-
(श्रु)णा(णा) खड्गनिक्षुरं(बं) मलिनयन्
- 32 । दशां विध्यं स्नेहं कलवयति वा प्राणपटलीपतंगालीं दग्धां कलवयति तनूपात्रवसतिः ॥३७॥
पदारचंद्रे साईं किर-
- 33 ति करबुधं रिपुगणः शिवो जगतः कर्णस्फटिकविलसत्कुंडलधरः । विधुं आले गंगां शिरसि
भुजयोः श(शु)भ्रमृजगान्वधानो
- 34 भस्मांगो जसति पयले शे(से)लशिखरे ॥३८॥ भूमा ८ — ८ भुजयोर्विदधाति पाणी
खड्गोरणं मुखरचो प्रचुरं प्रतापा(पं) । क-
- 35 नैपि मंनि(?) विमला(ला) विभूषितला यत् (कीर्तिस्तवी(वी)श भुवन(ने) तय(व) य(बं)-
भ्रमीति ॥३९॥ राजोद्बो भयतादयं जयकरो य(बं)रिचजा-
- 36 नां जवात्(व) गांभीर्यात्किञ्च सिधुरेव ह्यसहस्रिण्य(प्र)वस्तुक्लिप्तः । बं(च)के सर्वविशेषादि-
विलसद्गुणैर्वृतं नाम ते श्रीराणामणि-

^१ Sandhi has not been observed here.

^२ Three syllables are missing in the latter half of this verse and the sense is not clear.

^३ This long syllable is obliterated beyond recognition. Traces of the medial long *i* are visible.

- 37 राजसिंहनुपते वेवाः(वा) सुमेधावरः ॥४०॥ राष्ट्रप्रदो जलधिजाप्रव उत्तमेभ्यो माधव(त्वे)व
सिंहवुल्लो हरिसेवतो यत् ।
- 38 आख्यां विशेषणगवादिमवर्णयुक्ता(क्ता) व(च)के विविस्तदुचितं तत्र राजवोर ॥४१॥ श्रीरा-
णोदयसिंहसुनुरभव-
- 39 त् । श्रीम(म)त्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य आ(श्री)'अमरेश्वरो'स्य तनयः [श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो
राजजगत्पतिश्च तनयोऽस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः [श्रीजय*]सिंह एव [कृ]तवा(वा)म्बीरः
शि[लालेखितं] ॥४२॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशे शते
- 40 तपसि वा सत्पुनिमाख्ये दिने द्वात्रि(त्रि)शन्मितत(ष)त्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः [।*]
काव्यं राजसम्पुत्रमिष्टजतधेः सृष्ट(ष्ट) प्रतिष्ठावि-
- 41 येः स्ता(स्तो)त्राक्त(क्त) रणछोडभट्टरचित(त्) राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥४३॥ धाम्नीद्रुस्करस्तत्
माधवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सवे(वे)श्वरकः क-
- 42 ठोडिकुलजा(जो) लक्ष्म्यादिनाथस्त(स्त)तः । तेलंगोस्य तु रामच(चं)डा(ड) इति वा
कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभूमधुसु(धु)वनस्त्रय इमे ब्रह्मेशविष्णु(णु)प-
- 43 मा[ः*] ॥४४॥ त(य)स्वासीमधुसूदनस्तु जनको वेशी च गोस्वामिनाऽभूमाता रणछोड
ए[व] कृतवाग्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राजगुणीय-
- 44 वर्णनमय(यं) बीरा(रा)क[मुक्तं महत्*] सर्गोभूवधुर्न कविशतिगुणामि(नि)क्योर्वर्गोत्तमः
[।४५॥*]

Slab XXIII ; Canto XXII

[Metres : vv. 1, 26, 30-46 Anushṭubh ; vv. 27, 28 Upajiti ; v. 29 Giti ; vv. 47-50 Śārdūlavikrīṭa.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) ॥ त(त)ते सप्तदशोत्तीते प(प)चत्रिशन्मितेवके । शुक्लैकादशिकायां
तु चैले(वे) प्रस्थानमातनोत् ॥१॥ श्रीराजसिंहस्याज्ञातो
- 2 जयसिंहो(हा)निधो व(व)ली । मा(म)हाराजकुमारोयं अ(प्रम)जयेरो समागतः[*] ॥२॥
श्रीरंगजेवं(वं) द्रष्टुं(ष्टुं) स विस्तीं विस्तीमति ययी । पश्वाजं(जय)कुमारोयं ययी
- 3 सेनासमायु(यु)तः ॥३॥ विस्तीतः कोशयामस्थे^२ अर्वाक्षिधिर उत्तमे । विस्तीश्वरं ददर्शापं
सीत्यादरमथाकरोत् ॥४॥ मुक्तामाता

* Sandhi has not been observed here.

^२ This is redundant. Read *Amāśānāṣṣya*.

^३ The slant of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

- 4 उरोभूषा अस्ने ह्रीमांज(व)राण्यदात् । महागर्भे भूषावत् तावु[क्]तुं(म्)गतुरंगमान(म्) ॥५॥
भालाशयचंद्रसेनाय पुरोहितवराय च । गरीवदा-
- 5 सप्तप्राप्ते ह्रीमयासांति वा ह्यान् ॥६॥ महद्वृष्ट(ष्ट)कुरेभ्योदाने(न्वे)भ्योपि या(य)यो-
चितं । ततोयं जयसिंहाययो गणपुक्तेश्वरं शिवं ॥७॥ द-
- 6 ष्टा गंगातटे स्नात्वा महारूपयुक्तां ध्यात्वा । करिणौ च हयं क्त्वा(त्वा) यातो वृंदावनं
प्रति ॥८॥ धवरां च ततो दृष्ट्वा ज्य(ज्यै)ष्टे(ष्टे) राजपुरंदरं(रः) । दव-
- 7 शं दशानीयोयं राणेशो मोदमावये ॥९॥ शते सप्तदशतोते यो(ये) यद्विप्रावाङ्मुये ।
यो(य)स्य कृष्णकादश्यां सेवादे विनिरुकापतिः ॥१०॥ आ-
- 8 यातस्तस्य पुत्रस्त(स्तु)^१ आर्षो^२ अकबरामि(भ)षः । तथा तहवरः ज्ञानः प्राप्ता(प्तः) सेनास-
मायु(समायु)[तः]^३ ॥११॥ सुंदरे रा[ज]नगरे राजमंदिरमंहवः^४ । तत्सौर्धः
- 9 कल्पितास्तत्र शकुः(षतः) शकलापतोत्तमः ॥१२॥ पुत्रः सज्जलसिंहस्य पूर ... वरस्य
तः । आ[ता] मूहकर्मसिंहस्य धोरं रणमिहाकरोत् ॥१३॥
- 10 वीरदर्शोदावतः कोपि तथा विज्ञातितुष्टाः । कृत्वा युद्धं दिवं याता भित्वा(त्वा)
भास्वा(शक)[रः]^५मंडलं ॥१४॥ विधेः कलेवं(वे)लावाजां वही राजापुर(रं)वरः
- 11 । बह्वारीमहाघट्टे[र]दग्धयुद्धाच(च) वा(वा)दुजा[ः]^६ ॥१५॥ आयांतु कृतसंकल्पा अपि
या(यो)द्वं महु[क्ति]तः । नलिको(का)[यो]^७नकखो(स्तो)माः सो(शु)रसंधा महोष्ठ-
- 12 ताः ॥१६॥ राणो[क्ति]तस्तथा ज्ञातं ततो दिल्लीज आगतः । बह्वारीमहाघट्टे क(कृ)त्वा
तदारपालन(म्) ॥१७॥ ऐ(ए)कविंशतितिथ्यंतं स्थितोत्र
- 13 निशि चंकवा [ः]^८ दिव्यो(भ्यो)दयपुरं पा(प्रा)प्तो मुपु एवास्यमुपभृतिः ॥१८॥ तवा^९
अकबरः प्राप्नो महोदयपुरे ततः । तथा तहव(स्व)रः कं(का)नस्त-
- 14 कृत्यं तद्वृष्टे[ः]^{१०} कृतं ॥१९॥ ऐ(ए)कविंशं इत्युसगाह्वावकव(व)रस्ततः । अंबेरीबीरवाघट्टी
दृष्ट्वा शिविरमागतः ॥२०॥ भालाप्रतापः क-
- 15 कंटपुरवासी गजद्वयं । दिल्लीजते(र्त)न्यादानोय राणो(णे)हाय न्यव(वे)दयत् ॥२१॥ अदेसरस्वा
बल्लाहया हृषीकान्मृस्तिनां गजो(वृष्ट?) । न्य(न्य)-
- 16 वेदयप्र(भु)भृदु(भु)दे(वे)र्ननयाराचितप्रभोः ॥२२॥ रंजाशकसहस्राणि नृपा(णां) नष्टानि तद्विधः ।
दिल्लीज(श्च)रस्ततः प्र(प्रा)प्तविजयकूटेन्यवा

^१ The absence of *anāhi* here is in favour of the metre.

^२ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^३ The meaning of *anāhi* is 'an.' or 'crime'.

that *Anavārita* was a surname of Chālukya Vikramāditya I¹ who ruled from 655 to 680 A.C. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the *sattva* was named after his surname either in commemoration of his having founded it himself or was named after him by some other founder in token of his respect to him as his suzerain.² That Vikramāditya I was a great conqueror is attested by his records in which he claims victory 'in country after country and in all directions'.³ That in the south he went as far as the Kāvēri region is proved by his Gadval Plates.⁴ As for the extent of his possessions in the north, we have as yet no direct evidence. Nevertheless, it can be supposed that in these northern regions he inherited the Three Mahārāshtrakas first acquired by his father, Pulakēśin II, since we have it stated in Vikramāditya's inscriptions that he not only regained possession of his father's kingdom which had been lost to enemies but also acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors.⁵ Further it is well known that the Western Chālukyas were recognised as overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family ruling in the Nasik District. One Svāmīchandra of this family is explicitly stated as the feudatory (*pāda-prasād-śpaṇḍa*) of Chālukya Vikramāditya I.⁶ Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja of our grant, though not actually a contemporary of Vikramāditya I, evidently came under Chālukya hegemony at the time of recording the grant under study, i.e., in Śaka 615 (-693 A.C.), when his suzerain must have been Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. It is also interesting to note that it was this Vinayāditya who conducted a successful expedition in the north in which he was ably assisted by his son, prince Vijayāditya.⁷

None of the kings mentioned in our record barring Gōvīndarāja is known to us from any other source except the two other grants of Nannarāja referred to above. However, in respect of Svāmīkarāja, attention may be drawn to another person of the same name who figures as *vijāyaka* in a 7th century record of Kāpālīvarman of the Bhōja family⁸ who ruled the area around Goa in the west coast. Except the similarity of name and the proximity in point of date between the two persons there is nothing else to connect the two, much less to treat them as identical.

The area of rule of the family of Nannarāja lay as determined by the provenance of their records and the places mentioned in them roughly in the districts of Akola, Amraoti, Betul and Nagpur of Madhya Pradesh, which all lay adjacent to one another. Ancient Vidarbha roughly corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāgarathan Plates of Svāmīrāja, corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāgarathan Plates of Svāmīrāja, was issued from Nūndivardhana, the same as Nāgarathan which lies three miles south of Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The family seems to have moved south-west to the region of Amraoti and Akola where they fixed a new capital at Padmanagara from which our inscription is issued. This place may be identified with modern Padmā⁹ lying within the postal jurisdiction of Akola.

¹ Above, Vol. X, p. 101 and n. 4.

² [The word *anavārita* here is to be taken in its literal sense of 'unhindered'; it is not proper to connect it with the name or title of any person.—Ed.]

³ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 226, 227, 228.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 268, 271.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339.

⁹ I was at first inclined to identify Padmanagara with Pauni in the Bhandara District, a place which is also known as Padmapura, and where an early inscription of Bhuba Bhagadatta was discovered (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 11). In that case Umbarikā, the gift-village, might be Umreer lying about 15 miles WNW of Pauni. But since there are two other villages of the name of Pauni, one in the Betul District and the other in the Nagpur District near Ramtek, one cannot be sure as to which of these three could be Padmanagara. See Mirakhī, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 7, n. 2.

This identification is supported by the location of Umbarikā, the village mentioned; for, this is Umbari near Akola. Even the findspot of the plates, viz., Sangalooda, lies nearby. The Tiwarkhēd Plates mention another capital of the family, viz., Achalapura, the same as modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, north-east of Akola.

Of the places mentioned in our charter Padmanagara and Umbarikā have been identified in the foregoing paragraph. Tagara from which the donee hailed might be modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State. Nāgayayi, situated east of Umbarikā, may be Naigaon, near Akola. I am unable to locate Vajrapuraka, Vajvadraka and Uchehhi (or chhi) vāhala which are stated in the record to be in or near Umbarikā.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [*] Padmanagarād-Vi(rād[]*)Vi)atirnaa(rāṇa)-sthiti-pālan-āpta-yasasiśrī-
- 2 Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvayē ramyē kshīra-nidhāv-iv-śundur-abhayaśch-ohhri-Durggarā-
- 3 lō nripaḥ [*] lōk-āhlādana-kētubhiḥ pravitatāis-tājō-viś-
- 4 śh-śdayai(r)-yyēn-śahchah padavīn-vi(vīn vi)gāhya vidhivat-paksha-dva[yam]
- 5 bhāsitah(tam) || (1[*])¹ Tasya sūnur-āsi(śi)d-anēka-samara-sāhas-ā(vashṭarh)-
- 6 bhā-yasā[h] śrī-Vō(Gō)vindarājas-tasy-āśid-ātmavān-ātmaja ā-
- 7 tmany-āhita-śakti-siddhiḥ śrī-Svāmīkarājah [*]Putras-tasya ma-

Second Plate : First Side

- 8 hānubhāva-charitaḥ śrī-Nannarājah kṛiti(tī) kūntah-kāruṇikah-kala-
- 9 āka-rahītaḥ-kētuh-karālō dvishān-dhaurēyō raga-sāhas-ā-
- 10 hita-dhīyām-agrēsarō mānināḥ vaidagdī-śōddhata-chētasām-adhi-
- 11 patih-kalpa-dra(dru)mō yō-rtthīnāḥ(nām)² ||(2[*])Yas-cha samāra(sachāra)ya-viśēsha-lō-
- 12 bhād-iva sakalair-ābhigānuikair-itariś-cha guṇair-upētaḥ
- 13 Paramabrahmayah Paramabhāgavataḥ śrī-Yuddhāsur-āpara-
- 14 nāmō(mō) sas-sa(sa sa)rvān-ś(n-ś)va rāja-sāmanta-vishayapati-grāma-bhō-

¹ From Impressions.

² Metro : Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

i.

1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 3. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ii.a

8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 9. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 11. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 13. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 14. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

ii. b

16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A circular hole is visible in the center of the plate.

iii.

24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30

Handwritten text in a script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 lines. A circular hole is visible in the center of the plate.



Seal

Second Plate : Second Side

- 15 gika-purillaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādin-samanuvō(hō)dhayaty-astu vō
 16 viditam yathā-āsamābhīr-mmātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇy-āvāptayō Taga-
 17 ra-vāstavya-Vā(or Mā)ruḷa-sagōtra-Kaugi(ā)ka-pravara-Taittirīya-sa-brahmachā-
 18 riṣē Anivārit-āma-satra(ttra)-pradāyina Varmulaka-chaturvēda-pautrā-
 19 ya Bhūtagaṇabhaṭṭa-putra-Haragaṇa-divivēdāya Vatapuraka-grāmā
 20 viśā(viśā)ti-karmmā[nta](ntā) madhuka-samōtā(tam) kshētrañ-cha nivarttana-śataś
 tachchha (tach-cha)
 21 Umbarikā-grāmō(mā) dakshinī(pē)na Vaivadraka-sīma-maryyādā
 22 uttarā¹ Tatilingichchhi-bhaṭākara(rakā) pūrvvataḥ Nāgaya[yi-maryā]dā²

Third Plate

- 23 paśchimātō Chchhivāhala³ [ā]bhīr-āghāṭanāḥ⁴ kshētra[m*] bhūmicchhi(chchhi)dra-
 24 nyāyēna Kārttika-paurṇa(ruṇa)māsyām-udaka-pūrvvaṁ pratipāditam
 25 yatō-asmaḍ-vahāyair-anyair-vv-āgāmi-nṛpati-bhōgapatibhīr-samāḍ-dā-
 26 yō-pumantavya[h*] pratipālayitavyaś-cha yō v-ā]āna-timira-pa-
 27 [al-āvṛita-matir-ā[ch*]chhindyād-āchchha(chchhi)dyamānam v-ānumōdō-
 28 ta sa pañchabhīr-mmahāpātakai[s*]-sa[m]yukta[h*] syād-iti [i*] Śaka-kāla-
 29 sa[m]vatsara-śatēshu śaṭṭshu(ṭsu) pañcha[dā]śān-vā(śa-va)rabēshu Kārttika-śuddha-
 pau-
 30 [ruṇa]mi(māsyām) likhitam-iti [i*]

Seal

Śrī-Ju[ddhā]surāḥ

¹ This may be also read as utteratā Tatilingichchhi.² IM is inserted below this last line at the left end of the plate.³ This may be also paśchimātō-chchhivāhala.⁴ Some word like apalāśāṭan is to be added here. A similar omission occurs in the Multai Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 206, n. 1).

No. 15—MUNDAXHEDE PLATES OF SENDRAKA JAYASAKTI ; SAKA 602

(1 Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.

These plates were found several years ago in the possession of a Patil of Mundakhēḍe, a village in the Chalingnol taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, who edited them twice—first in the *Marathi* magazine, *Prabhāta* of Dhulia, Vol. I, No. 12¹ and afterwards in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samāśāhika Maṇḍala for Saka 1834*, pp. 169-177. As no facsimile of the record accompanied either of these articles, I was under the impression that it was not published. Several years ago, while I was studying the Bagumrā plates of Nikumbhāllasakti², I felt the need of critically examining this record in view of its importance for the history of the Sēndrakas, and I tried to trace the original plates, but could not succeed. I was, therefore, agreatly surprised when I received recently a copy of the printed facsimile of the plates from my friend, Dr. M. G. Dikshit. From the date Chaitra, Śaka 1829, as well as from the name *Prabhāta* printed on it, it is clear that the facsimile was published in the same magazine *Prabhāta* in the next issue after the text of the record was first edited by Chandorkar. This facsimile has enabled me to correct the readings of some important words in the transcript published by Chandorkar. Again, Chandorkar did not calculate the date or identify the places mentioned in the grant. For these reasons as well as because this is the only record of the Sēndraka prince Jayasakti and is important for the ancient history of Mahārāshtra, I re-edit the grant here from the aforementioned facsimile published by Chandorkar.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on the inner side only. Their size and weight have not been recorded. From the description given by Chandorkar they seem to have raised rims for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the first inscribed plate and the top of the second, there is a hole for the ring which strung the plates together. This ring is said to have carried a seal with the legend *Śrī-Jayasakti*, but no photograph of it seems to have been published.

The record consists of twenty-four lines, twelve being inscribed on each plate. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The record is, however, rather carelessly written and contains a few mistakes here and there. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in the other records of the Sēndrakas found in Gujarat and Khandesh. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows: (1) the initial *ś* resembles *l*, but has a long vertical on the right; see *śāśa*, line 14; (2) the stroke for medial *ā* is turned upward in the case of *j* as in *-dvijān*, line 6; (3) *l* has everywhere a straight vertical stroke on the right; see *-labdha-*, line 2; (4) *n* generally appears looped as in *namunnatā*, line 1, but it is sporadically unlooped as in *-nūnā-*, line 16; (5) *ṣ* final consonant is shown with a horizontal stroke on the top; see *maṣṣā*, line 21. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in line 10. Punctuation is indicated by single or double dots. The language is Sanskrit. Except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the writer has used in the eulogy of Bhānuasakti the very expression *śarad-amala-śatānta-maṇḍala-yasasī(yasāh)*, which describes Ādityasakti in the Bagumrā plates,³ and Allasakti in the Kāsārē plates.⁴ Again, the expression *Bhava-sūnur-iv-āpratihata-śaktiḥ* which describes Ādityasakti in the present plates occurs in connection with Allasakti in the Bagumrā and

¹ This No. bears the date Phālguna, Śaka 1829 which is plainly a mistake for Śaka 1828. The same mistake occurs on the first page of the previous two issues. As stated above, the facsimile of the plates published in the next number bears the date, Chaitra, Śaka 1829.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

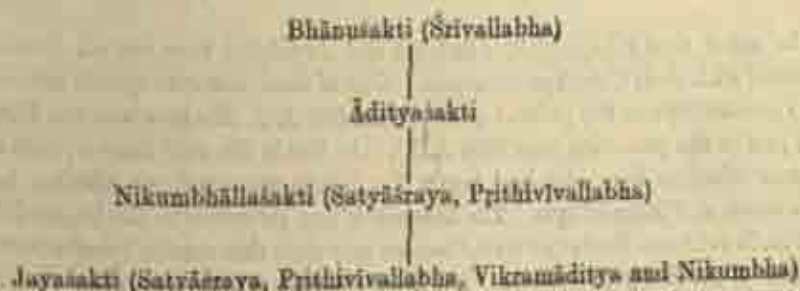
³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

⁴ G. H. Khar, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, p. 71. Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 197.

Nāgād plates.¹ The drafter of the present grant has thus drawn upon previous records of the family, and, evidently regarding the epithets as conventional, has not scrupled to transfer them from one prince to another. As for orthography, we may note that *ṣ* is used for *ś* in *Phālguna*, line 24, and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are reduplicated; see *-chātardanta-* and *vācāra-*, line 2 and *-ānuddhyāta-*, line 4.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the *Sēndraka* prince *Jayaśakti*. They were issued from *Jayapuraḍvārī*. They record the grant, by *Jayaśakti*, of a village the name of which Chandorkar read as *Sēṇākalasha*. The correct reading of the passage where it occurs is *Sēṇāḍēśha grāmaḥ*, not *Sēṇākalasha-grāmaḥ*. The village was therefore named *Sēṇāḍē*. It was included in the *Kundalikāmaia viśaya*. The donee was the *Brāhmaṇa* *Bappasvāmin*, the son of *Rāvasvāmin*, who belonged to the *Kātyāya gōtra* and the *Hiranyakēśin* branch of the *Taittiriya śākhā* of the *Black Yajurveda*, and resided at *Kallivana*. The gift was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the *Mina-rāśi* on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna* in the year 602 of an unspecified era. The year and the *tithi* are expressed only in words. From the *Nāgād* plates we know that *Jayaśakti*'s father *Allaśakti* was flourishing in Śaka 577. The year 602 mentioned in the present grant of *Jayaśakti* must, therefore, be referred to the Śaka era, and corresponds to 680-81 A.C. In this period the sun entered the *Mina-rāśi* at 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on the 17th February 681 A.C. The religious ceremonies connected with the *saṅkrānti* must have been performed after sunrise next day, the 18th February 681 A.C., which was the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* *Phālguna*.² This date shows that the *amānta* scheme of the lunar month was in vogue in Northern *Mahārāṣṭra* in the seventh century A.C. The grant was written by the *Sādhivigrahika* *Rāma*.

The present grant gives the following pedigree of the donor:—



Chandorkar read the name of the third prince as *Nikumbhallaśakti*, being probably misled by Bühler's reading of the royal name in the *Bagumrā* plates. The facsimile of the present grant, however, shows the correct reading of the name to be *Nikumbhāllaśakti*. The same reading of the name occurs in the *Nāgād* plates published by Mr. G. H. Khare. We now know from the *Kāśārē* plates that the proper name of the *Sēndraka* prince was *Allaśakti*. This occurs not only in the text of the grant, but also on the seal of the plates. *Nikumbha* was evidently a *biruda* prefixed to his name. The same *biruda* is seen to have been assumed by *Allaśakti*'s son *Jayaśakti* in the present plates. The *biruda* was evidently derived from the name *Nikumbha* of *Allaśakti*'s grandfather, mentioned in the *Kāśārē* plates. He had another name of *Bhānuśakti* which is noticed in the three other grants of the family, including the present one. His descendants *Allaśakti* and *Jayaśakti* seem to have assumed his name *Nikumbha* as a *biruda*, probably because he was the founder of this *Sēndraka* branch which flourished in *Gujarat* and *Khandesh*.

¹ *Sanskritānta* (Masāḥi), Vol. VIII (October, 1939); above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 194.

² This *tithi* commenced only 15 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

The present grant describes both Allāsakti and Jayāsakti as *śamaḍhigata-paścha-mahā-śabda*, i.e., as having attained the right to the five great sounds. They both were evidently subordinate chiefs, owing allegiance to the Chālukya Emperor of Bādāmi. Bhānuśakti, though described in a more grandiloquent style, probably enjoyed no better status.¹ As his grandson Allāsakti was flourishing in 653 and 656 A.C., Bhānuśakti may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. He was probably placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēśin II after he had conquered these provinces from the Kalachurians. No records of the reigns of Bhānuśakti and Ādityaśakti have yet been discovered, but Allāsakti is known to have made three grants, two of which, recorded in the Kāsārē and Bagumrā plates, are dated in the Kalachuri era and one, viz., that in the Nāgad plates, in the Śaka era. The earliest of these, viz., that in the Kāsārē plates is dated K. 404 (653 A.C.) and registers the donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēja, modern Pimpalner in West Khandesh. The second, known as the Bagumrā plates, dated K. 406 (656 A.C.), registers the gift of the village Balisa, modern Wanasa near Tēn in South Gujarat. The third record, viz., the Nāgad plates, though issued from Kāyavātāra, modern Kārwan in Gujarat, mentions the grant of a village in the *viśaya* of Nāndīpuradvārī which is probably identical with Nandurbār in West Khandesh. This grant is dated in Śaka 577 (655-56 A.C.). These records show that Allāsakti continued to hold Gujarat and Khandesh at least till 656 A.C. Sometime thereafter, he seems to have lost Gujarat; for the next date from that part of the country is K. 421 (671 A.C.), furnished by the Surat plates of Śrīyāsraya-Śilāditya, which register the grant of the village Āsajjigrāma, modern Astgaon, not far from Tēn. From the Mānōr plates,² recently published by Mr. Krishna Deva, we learn that Dhārīśraya-Jayasinhha, the younger brother of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I, founded the Navsārī branch in 669-70 A.C. Thereafter, the rule of the Sēndrakas seems to have been confined to Khandesh. As shown below, the places mentioned in the present Mundakhējā plates can be satisfactorily located near the western border of that district.

It may be noted that Bhānuśakti, Allāsakti and Jayāsakti bore certain *birudas* which are usually associated with their Chālukya suzerains. One of these deserves special notice. Jayāsakti calls himself Vikramāditya in the present grant, dated 681 A.C. His suzerain was Vikramāditya I, who had died just in the preceding year (680 A.C.). As this is the only known grant of Jayāsakti, we do not know whether Jayāsakti had borne the *biruda* previously or whether he assumed it only after the death of Vikramāditya. The absence of any reference to the imperial family in the present grant lends colour to the latter view,³ but we may note that similar *birudas* were assumed by other feudatories of the Early Chālukyas. The Mānōr plates, for instance, show that Maṅgalarasa, the son of Dhārīśraya-Jayasinhha, had assumed the *biruda* *Vinayāditya* before Śaka 613 (691 A.C.) during the reign of the Chālukya emperor Vinayāditya. The present grant does not, therefore, give any indication that Jayāsakti had thrown off the yoke of the Early Chālukyas.

No descendants of Jayāsakti are known but, as I have suggested elsewhere⁴, the Sinda kings who flourished in Khandesh in the 10th century A.C. may have belonged to the same lineage. Like the Sēndrakas, they also claimed to have descended from the lord of serpents. Later, a family called Nikumbha is known to have flourished in the Khandesh District. It is known from the

¹ Chandelker's view that the Sēndrakas were independent kings who helped the Early Chālukyas to establish themselves in the Kanarese country is not supported by any evidence.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18.

³ Dr. Fleet also inferred that the Bagumrā plates belong to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance. See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom. Mus., Vol. I, Part II, p. 361*. Since then we have known of several records of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas which make no mention of the reigning emperor.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 166 f.

Pāṭaṇ inscription of Śaka 1128; but it is not likely to have been connected with the Sēndrakas, as it traced its descent not from the lord of serpents but from the Sun¹.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, Kundalikāmalā, the headquarters of the *śiṣṭya* in which the donated village was situated, is probably identical with Kundaigaon, 14 miles west of Nāndgaon near the western border of the Khandesh District. No place exactly corresponding to the donated village Sēnāpā can be traced in the neighbourhood, but Saundagē which lies about 10 miles north by west of Nāndgaon may represent the ancient village. Jayapuradvārī, from where the plates were issued, may be identical with Jeur which lies about 7 miles almost due north of Nāndgaon. Kallivana where the donor resided is undoubtedly Kalvaṇ, the chief town of the Kalvaṇ taluk of the Nasik District.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³[1*] स्वस्ति [1*] जयपुरद्वारीतो मेरुमही[ध]रशिखर[स्त्रि]रुचिरसमुन्नते
विकसितयशस(सि) [म]हति सेन्द्रकरा[त्रा](जाना)म-
- 2 न्वयेनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटो[प]समरसंघट्टलब्धविजयी(यो) विजिताशेषरिपुगणः स्वविक्र-
म(मा)-
- 3 ककान्तमहीमण्डलः प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमकुटनिघृष्टपा[द]पंकजो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
ण्यश्री-
- 4 संपदुपेतः शरदमलशशांकमण्डलामलयशसः(यशः)⁴ श्रीवल्लभभानुशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
नुद्धयातः स्वभुण(ज)म-
- 5 शिमयूलचक्रवलप्रकाशिताशेषदिवक्त्रकृत्स्नकवर्तिलक्ष्णोपेतो विपुलघनपुण्ययशसः(यशः)-
कुसुमनिकरो-
- 6 यशोभितसकलवसुधातलः समुद्र इव क्षितिस्थितिराजकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगा(र्ग)-
भोरो देवद्विजातिस्वजनवां-
- 7 धवोपभुज्यमानविभवो भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहृतशक्तिः⁵ श्रीमदादित्वशक्तिस्त[स्य] पुत्रस्तत्पा-
दानुद्धयातो व्यपगतस]-
- 8 जलजलधरव्योमत[ल]शरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोवितानलंघितांभोधिपरापरः(पारापारः) सेन्द्र-
ककुलगगनचंद्र]-

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 242.

² From the photo-zincograph published in the *Prabhāṭa* (Marāṭhī) for Chaitra, Śaka 1829.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ This expression is used to describe Adityasakti in the Bagumrā plates, and Allāsakti in the Kāsār plates.

⁵ This expression occurs in the description of Allāsakti in the Bagumrā and Nāgād plates.

- 9 मा[^{*}] समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभश्रीनिकुंभान्त्वशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्र-
स्तत्पादानुद्धातो विगतघन-
- 10 पटलेन्दुमण्डलामलकुलतिलक^xकृत^yयुगनरपत्न्यतिथयितस्सच्चरितः शरणागतासिंहरः प्रस-
भाभिकृष्टान्य-
- 11 राजश्रीः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभविक्रमादित्यनिकुंभश्रीजयशक्तिः
- 12 सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्रामकूटायुक्तकमहूतराधिकारिकादी[न्^{*}] समनु-
बोध-

Second Plate

- 13 यत्पस्तु वः संविदित(तं) मया परलोकाप(पे)क्षत्वम(मं)गीकृत्य महत्फलं [हि]
श्रुत्वा] [ततः] कुन्दलिकामलविषयान्त-
- 14 र्गतेसेणाणा एष ग्रामः^z सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सर्वदातदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभे[दि]कापरिही-
णा[भ्यन्तर]सिद्धि]-
- 15 कः [भू]मिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेश्य[ः] आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः गुत्रपी[व-
(त्रा)न्वयकमोप-
- 16 भोग्यः कलिवान[ग]वास्तव्यकाश्यपसमोत्रतितिरिक³हिरण्यकेशिब्राह्मणरेवस्वामिसूनोर्व्वणस्वा-
मिने वसिचरुवैश्वदे(दे)-
- 17 [वा^{*}]ग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रिय(भो)त्सर्पणात्वं(त्वं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भिवृद्धये ब्राह्मणमह(हा)जनसमेताय
- 18 [फा]ल्गुण(न)बहुलदशम्यां पुण्ये तिथौ⁴ भगवति सवितरि मि(मी)नराशि संवक्रान्ते
उदकातिसर्गोण प्रतिपादितो यतोस्मद्वैश्यैर-
- 19 न्यैर्वा[गामि]भूपतिभिर्नलवेणुकदलिसारसंसारजलबुद्बुदोपमं च जीवितमवधार्य्यं
शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायं [च]

¹ Chandorkar read -तिलककृत- but the sign inscribed above कृ is that of *jātedmāliya*.

² Chandorkar read सेशाणकनयग्रामः but the correct reading is clearly as given above; compare -कोविपाणां एष ग्रामः in the Vajñā plates (above, Vol. XII, p. 34) and कुमारिवक्षो एष ग्रामः in the Samarni plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 299).

³ Read तैत्तिरीय-

⁴ Read पुण्यतिथौ.

၁။ ဘုရားရှင်တို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၂။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၃။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၄။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၅။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၆။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၇။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၈။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၉။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၀။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၁။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၂။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၃။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၄။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၅။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၆။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၇။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၈။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၁၉။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၂၀။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၂၁။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၂၂။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၂၃။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်
 ၂၄။ နတ်ဘုရားတို့၏အမည်ကိုသိရန်အတွက်

- 20 योवन(नं) मिर(रि)नदीसलिलगत्वराणि चैश्वर्याभ्याकल्या(लया)स्मदायोनुमंतव्यः
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यास(मे)न
- 21 व्यासेन [1*] 'व(ष)ष्टिवर्ष(पं)सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
च्छेता चानुम(मं)ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[11१॥*] विद्याटवीश्वतोया-
- 22 सु शुक्कोटरवासिनः[1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदामं हरन्ति ये [12॥*]
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य व-
- 23 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) [13॥*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
पलाद्रश युधिष्ठिर [1*] मही महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छैयोनुपा-
- 24 लनाम्* [14॥*] संवत्सरशतषट्के द्व्युत्तरके [फाल्गुण(त)बहुल^३ दशम्यां लिखि-
त(तं) चैतत्सान्धिविग्रहिकरामेने(ने)ति [11*]

No. 16—CHATESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHAKRA, NEW DELHI

This beautiful *prasasti* is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black granite. It is kept in the temple of Śiva, that goes by the name of **Chāṭāśvara**, in the village of Kisanapur or Kisanpur (Kṛishnapura), in the Cuttack District of Orissa. This village is situated about 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack. The inscription seems to have been examined first by Bābu Nagēndranātha Vāsū as early as November 1893. He noticed it in Bengali, in 1894, in his *Vīrakāśha*, Vol. VI, p. 229. Later on, in August, 1898 he read a paper on it, giving its full text and translation, which has been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I (History, Antiquities, etc.), pp. 317-327. No facsimile of this *prasasti* has so far been published elsewhere.

After Vāsū's treatment of this inscription, no other scholar seems to have cared to examine it closely, though it has been referred to by various scholars in connection with the history of Orissa. In the winter of 1938, the writer of this article, in the course of his official tour in Orissa, happened to visit Kisanapur, where he studied the inscription from the original slab. As a result thereof, it was found that the text presented by Vāsū is as inaccurate in places as his interpretation of it is erroneous. The present writer had occasion to comment on this inscription in the Hindi monthly *Bhāṣā*, September 1951, pp. 153-158, as also in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, 1952, pp. 11-13, where the importance of the inscription as well as a few examples of the defects in Vāsū's treatment of it has been pointed out. These may be considered as enough justification for a re-edition of the inscription.

¹ Metre of verses 1-4 : *Anuṣṭuph*.

² This clause is superfluous.

The inscribed surface measures 31" x 18". It contains 25 lines of writing. The engraving is beautifully executed, and is fairly well preserved throughout, except a few scratches about the middle of lines 17 and 18. These, however, do not cause any difficulty in the reading of the *aksharas* affected.

The **alphabet** of the inscription is the eastern variety, proto-Bengali, of the thirteenth century A.C. Some scholars prefer to give this script the name Gaudī.¹ Forms of *lh*, *j*, *t*, *ś*, etc., which resemble the modern Oriya and Bengali forms of these letters, are noteworthy. The forms of initial vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* and *ē* may be seen in lines 6, 8, 22 and 8 respectively. The sign of *vivarga* is remarkable inasmuch as it consists of two small circles, one above the other, with a horizontal top stroke on the upper circle. The form of *p* looks somewhat like that of *y*. The forms of some of the conjunct consonants are worthy of note, such as *stas* and *śja* in line 1, *rtis* in line 3, *vyā* in line 7, *mbrā* in line 12, and *shja* in line 7. This last shows that the subscript *j* resembles *t*. The form of *f* otherwise may be seen in *mukufē* in line 2. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the composition is in verse throughout, except the obsequies in the beginning. There are altogether twenty-five verses in various metres. The verses are not numbered; but the end of the first half of every stanza is marked off, as a rule, by a single *daṇḍa*, and the completion of every stanza likewise by a double *daṇḍa*. The style is highly ornate.

As for **orthography**, no distinction is made between the signs for *b* and *v*. Properly speaking, the sign for *v* stands also for *b*. In giving the text, I have read it correctly as *b* wherever *b* is required.² A consonant after *v* is generally doubled, cases like *stis* in line 6 being exceptions. In those like *amarsa* in line 5 the rule of reduplication does not apply at all. In such cases the consonant after *v* is correctly left single.

Grammatically, the pronominal use of the word *devya* in verse 13 is interesting. Such a usage is rare, but we have instances of it in Sanskrit literature, as in Māgha's *Śilapitradhā*, III, 57: *janmī-ajāta-śkhalanair-an jātu devyē-py-amuchyanta vialta-mārgāḥ*. In verse 9, the verbal form *ajasi*, in the causative sense, is a solecism, which is repeated in *jeñā* in verse 10. Similar solecisms are not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions. On the seal of Bhāskara-varman of Prāgyōtisha, for instance, we have *ling jāto dēvān śrī-Ratnavatīn* *Kalyāṇavard*.³ To quote an earlier instance, we have *rasundharīn-tanayam prapajā* in the Mandasor inscription of Mūlava Samvat 524, referring to the Gupta king Gōvinda-gupta.⁴ The word *śuddhān* in verse 7 has possibly to be taken as synonymous with *kivāḍān*, which would be of lexical interest. The construction, however, seems to be faulty inasmuch as a *tām* was essential in the subordinate clause and that is absent. Instead of *śuddhān*, something like *tām-śca* would thus have been better. These observations, it may be admitted, hold good only in case the interpretation of the verse in question as given below be acceptable. The verse no doubt is a hard nut to crack.

The main **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Kāmāntaka, i.e., Śiva, evidently identical with the present Chāṭṭāvāra temple. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to who exactly was responsible for raising this edifice. Vasu ascribes it to Anaṅga-

¹ Dr. D. C. Sircar, for instance, justifies this designation (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 236; *IBQ*, XXVIII, pp. 130-1). The script of the present inscription compares well with that of Śaṅkṣāvara's inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhadra II; above, Vol. VI, plate facing page 292.

² The confusion between *v* and *b* is not only a paleographical feature, but also a phonetic peculiarity, which is noticeable in certain inscriptions even of the Gupta period. See Dr. G. S. Gai's note in the *Journal of the Gangasātha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

³ Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nalanda and Its Epigraphical Material* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66, Calcutta, 1942), p. 70.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 15, text 1, line 4.

bhima II,¹ whereas a careful perusal of the text, even as it is presented by the said scholar, will show that it was Anāṅgabhima II's (really III's) minister, **Vishṇu**, who built that temple. Bābū Manomohan Chakravarti, who, by the way, proved this Anāṅgabhima to be Anāṅgabhima III (and not II), has evaded the issue by merely observing: "Several years would have elapsed between the minister Vishṇu's fight with the Yavanas and the finishing of the temple."² Bābū Rākhāl Dās Banerji, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note by attributing the construction of the Śiva temple in question to Gōvinda who was the said Anāṅgabhima's grandfather's minister.³ The confusion is probably due to the fact that Anāṅgabhima's grandfather's name also happens to be Anāṅgabhima and that both he and his minister, Gōvinda, also figure in the present inscription, as we shall presently see. Dr. Hemchandra Ray, however, correctly ascribes the erection of the temple to Vishṇu.⁴

Our inscription mentions only four members of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga: (1) Chōḍagaṅga, (2) his son Anāṅgabhima, (3) his son Rājendra, and (4) his son Anāṅgabhima. Not taking the earlier rulers of the lineage into consideration, Vaṣṇu took the second of the aforementioned members as Anāṅgabhima I and the fourth as Anāṅgabhima II. In the context of the full genealogy, however, these two stand as Anāṅgabhima II and Anāṅgabhima III respectively, one of their forefathers (Vajrahasta by name) being Anāṅgabhima I.⁵ It may further be observed that a variant form of this name, which frequently occurs in inscriptions, is Anivaṅkabhima, and that Rājendra of our inscription is to be equated with Rājārāja III. The full genealogy as well as the events connected with the various members of the dynasty has recently been reviewed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his edition of the Nagari plates of Anāṅgabhima III: Śaka 1151 and 1152.⁶ The portion of the genealogy contained in the present inscription stands as follows:

- (1) Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. C.)
- (2) Anāṅgabhima II (4th son of 1) (1190-97 A. C.)
- (3) Anantavarman-Rājārāja III (son of 2) (1198-1211 A. C.)
- (4) Anāṅgabhima III (son of 3) (1211-38 A. C.)

Again, as indicated above, in connection with Anāṅgabhima II, our inscription mentions his minister Gōvinda; and in connection with Anāṅgabhima III, it describes his minister Vishṇu. As a matter of fact, the Chōḍaśvara inscription is a eulogy of this Vishṇu himself. Of the total of twenty-five verses, the poet has devoted as many as thirteen to Vishṇu alone, describing his valour, learning and charities. The first eleven verses, descriptive of the Lunar Race and some of the later Gaṅga rulers belonging to it, serve as introduction, while the concluding stanza mentions the poet's name and fame. A perusal of the whole inscription leaves one with the impression that Vishṇu was that type of a minister who is all in all in a state, while its ruler counts as a mere figure-head.

The contents of the inscription are, briefly, as follows. It opens with a symbol for *siddham* followed by *Om* and obeisance to Śiva. Verse 1 is in praise of the Ocean and verse 2 in that of the Moon, born of the Ocean. Verse 3 refers, in a conventional way, to the kings descending from the Moon, i.e., those of the Lunar Race. Verses 4 to 6 describe, in a general way, king Chōḍagaṅga

¹ JASS, Vol. LXVII (1898), p. 319.

² Ibid., Vol. LXXXII (1903), p. 120.

³ P. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1930, p. 255 and p. 262.

⁴ H. C. Ray, *The Dynamic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 478.

⁵ For a full genealogical list of the later Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, see Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 387-388.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

(i.e., Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga). It is of interest to know that, in verse 4, he is described as an incarnation of the Narasiṃha *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu. We may parenthetically observe here that, as is known from other inscriptions, Chōḍagaṅga's ancestors were all staunch devotees of the god Śiva, and that Chōḍagaṅga himself was one such in the earlier part of his life; but that, about 1112 A.C., he started adoring Viṣṇu as well, later on becoming a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. His descendants all adhered to the Vaiṣṇava faith.¹ Verse 7 describes Chōḍagaṅga's son Anaṅgabhīma (II) as a peace-loving ruler. Verse 8 mentions his able minister, Gōvinda, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Verse 9 introduces Anaṅgabhīma (II)'s son Rājendra (Rājārāja III), whose son Anaṅgabhīma (III) is described, in verses 10 and 11, as a valorous and magnificent ruler. Verses 12 to 22 are descriptive of Anaṅgabhīma (III)'s minister, Viṣṇu. In verse 12 he is stated to have stabilised the empire of the lord of Trikalāga (i.e. Anaṅgabhīma III). Verse 13 represents him as a great warrior. Verse 14 alludes to his having routed a king of Tammāga, while in verse 15 mention is made of his fight with a Muslim ruler (*Yaman-dārmādeva*). Verse 16 refers to his vigilance and war-preparedness, ensuring safety and security to the empire of the lord of Utkala (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III). Verses 17 and 18 contain a poetic description of his glory (*paśas*). Verse 19 adverts to the *Tulāpuruṣa* gift which, it is indicated, he ceremonially gave on the sea-shore near Puri. Verse 20 contains a poetic description of sea-breezes and informs us that the minister Viṣṇu caused pools and tanks to be constructed along principal roads. Verses 21 and 22 describe his proficiency in the *Vēdas* and various *śāstras*. It may, in passing, be remarked that it is on the strength of these two verses that Viṣṇu may be taken as a Brāhmaṇa. Otherwise, neither his caste nor his parentage is expressly stated in the inscription. Besides, we are not in a position to say whether he was in any way related to Gōvinda, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Anaṅgabhīma II. Verse 23 informs us that Viṣṇu erected the temple of the Destroyer of Cupid (*Kāmāntaka*), i.e., Śiva. In verse 24 a long life is wished to this temple as well as to the *prastāsi*. The author of the *prastāsi*, a poet, Bhāskara by name, introduces himself in verse 25, as the last item.

It may be realised that this eulogy gives us more of poetry than of history. The translation of the text appended hereto will give an idea of the heights of imagery and hyperbole to which the poet Bhāskara has soared. He has exhibited his skill well; but, alas! he has not been understood so well, with the result that what little of historical value his poem contains has suffered distortion. The obscurity that prevailed over the identity of the builder of the temple has already been pointed out. Following Vassu's translation, Banerji says: "According to this inscription either Gōvinda or Anaṅgabhīma III erected several pleasure-houses at Pārushōttama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpuruṣa* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."² Now, this statement is wrong. In the first place, it is neither Gōvinda nor Anaṅgabhīma III, but Viṣṇu, who should be credited with the works of public utility enumerated. These, again, in reality consist only of tanks. He constructed no pleasure-houses and no roads. A perusal of the text and its rendering (of verses 19 and 20) given below will show that the so-called pleasure-houses refer to the toy-hillocks of jewellery for the *Tulāpuruṣa* gift, magnified by the poetic fancy into so many replicas of the Mount Mēru, the abode of the gods, and that, so far as roads are concerned, Viṣṇu only dotted them with tanks here and there, and had nothing to do with their constructions. Besides, even the excavation of tanks may not be taken as a personal charity of Viṣṇu. It was presumably a part of the liberal policy of the government with Viṣṇu as its chief minister. What stands to the credit of Viṣṇu as a person, judging from the description given, is the great gift of *Tulāpuruṣa*, apart from the building of a Śiva temple, the main object of the inscription. It may be observed that the *Tulāpuruṣa* is the first of sixteen

¹ Ibid., pp. 239-40.

² R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 262.

mahādānaḥ, 'great gifts,' enumerated and elaborately described in the *Purāṇa*.¹ In the case of the particular gift in question, the donor gives away in charity his own weight of precious metal and stones (gold, silver, ornaments, jewels, etc.).

Historically, the allusions to the wars waged by Vishṇu on behalf of his master, Ananṅabāhū III, are more important. They are, however, so vague that they do not add much to our knowledge. Verse 14, shorn of its hyperbole, means to convey that Vishṇu fought with a king of Tammā and possibly harassed him. We know that Tammā was the capital of a branch of the Haihaya of Malākōṣṭa, now represented by a small village called Tamā in the Lāṣṭhā Zamin-dāri of the Bilāspur District in the Chātingarh Division² of Madhya Pradesh.³ We know also that these rulers came into conflict with the Gaṅgas of Utkala (Orissa). In fact, Ratnadēva II of the Haihaya line is known to have inflicted a defeat on the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, the great-grandfather of Ananṅabāhū III.⁴ It is, however, not known as to who the adversary of Vishṇu was. It may be argued that the author of the *prastāva* would have given us a more detailed and definitive information on the point, if the war were really a major one. Chakravartī infers from the poetic description that 'the fight took place in the groves on the banks of the Bhīmā river at the foot of the Vindhya hills'.⁵ It is true that the *Vandhyāśrīr-ukhāśima bhīma-taṭini-kṛpā* of the original does lend itself to that sort of inference, yet it is open to various objections. In the first place, the word *bhīma-taṭini-kṛpā* may not refer to a river of the name of Bhīmā, as we have taken it to mean. In fact, no river of this name is known to exist in the region concerned. The well-known Bhīmā or Bhīmaratī, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā river, is too far in the south. It is thus more probable that the compound *bhīma-taṭini-kṛpā* is to be rendered by 'in the fearsome groves along rivers'. The choice of the word *bhīma* in this context seems to have been dictated by the poet's liking for alliteration. After all, the poet is describing the bewildered state of his hero's adversary running about in all directions, and not the site of any battle.

The reference to Vishṇu's encounter with a Muslim ruler in verse 15 is even more obscure. Chakravartī's supposition that this 'refers probably to some invader of Gīyās-ud-dīn Iwaz, the fourth Bengal ruler'⁶ lacks corroboration.

It is needless to dilate upon the faulty text and the free rendering of it presented by Vāsu, resulting in misconceptions some of which have been shown above. As indicated above, the inscription is to be treated more as a piece of poetry than as a bit of history.

TEXT*

[Metres: V. 1 *Śūlāśrī*; v. 2 *Upajit*; v. 3 *Śrāṅghā*; v. 4 *Mandūkā*; vv. 5-7, 10-17, 20 *Sārdūlavikṛpita*; vv. 8, 9, 21, 25 *Vasantāṭilakā*; v. 18 *Horio*; v. 19 *Prithvī*; v. 22 *Vandhyāśrīr-ukhāśima*; vv. 23, 24 *Mālinī*.]

१ सिद्धम् ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ स यस्मिन्मेनाकः स्मरति जनककोटललितं
यदन्तः श्रीकान्तः श्रवति गृहजामातृपदवीम् । सुरेश्वस्तन्मन्वज्यसतमनुभूय
व्यवित यस्मुपासत्यं सोषश्चरति सरि-

* The sixteen great gifts are: *Taṭṭagavata*, *Hiranyagavata*, *Dhātugavata*, *Kalpavṛkṣagavata*, *Śūlāśrī*, *Hiranyabāhūdhara*, *Hiranyagāṇḍī*, *Hiranyakāṇḍī*, *Hiranyakāṇḍī*, *Paṇḍitāṅgavata*, *Dhātū*, *Vasantāṭilakā*, *Kalpavṛkṣagavata*, *Rakṣasāṅgavata* and *Metāṭilakāṅgavata*. For their description, see the *Malaya Prastāva*, chapters 273-288. Compare also H. Müller's *Chaturvargyāśraṇī*, *Dāntakāṇḍī*, *Prakaraṇa V*.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII (1924), p. 207.

² H. C. Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, p. 470.

³ *JAS*, Vol. LXXII (1908), p. 449.

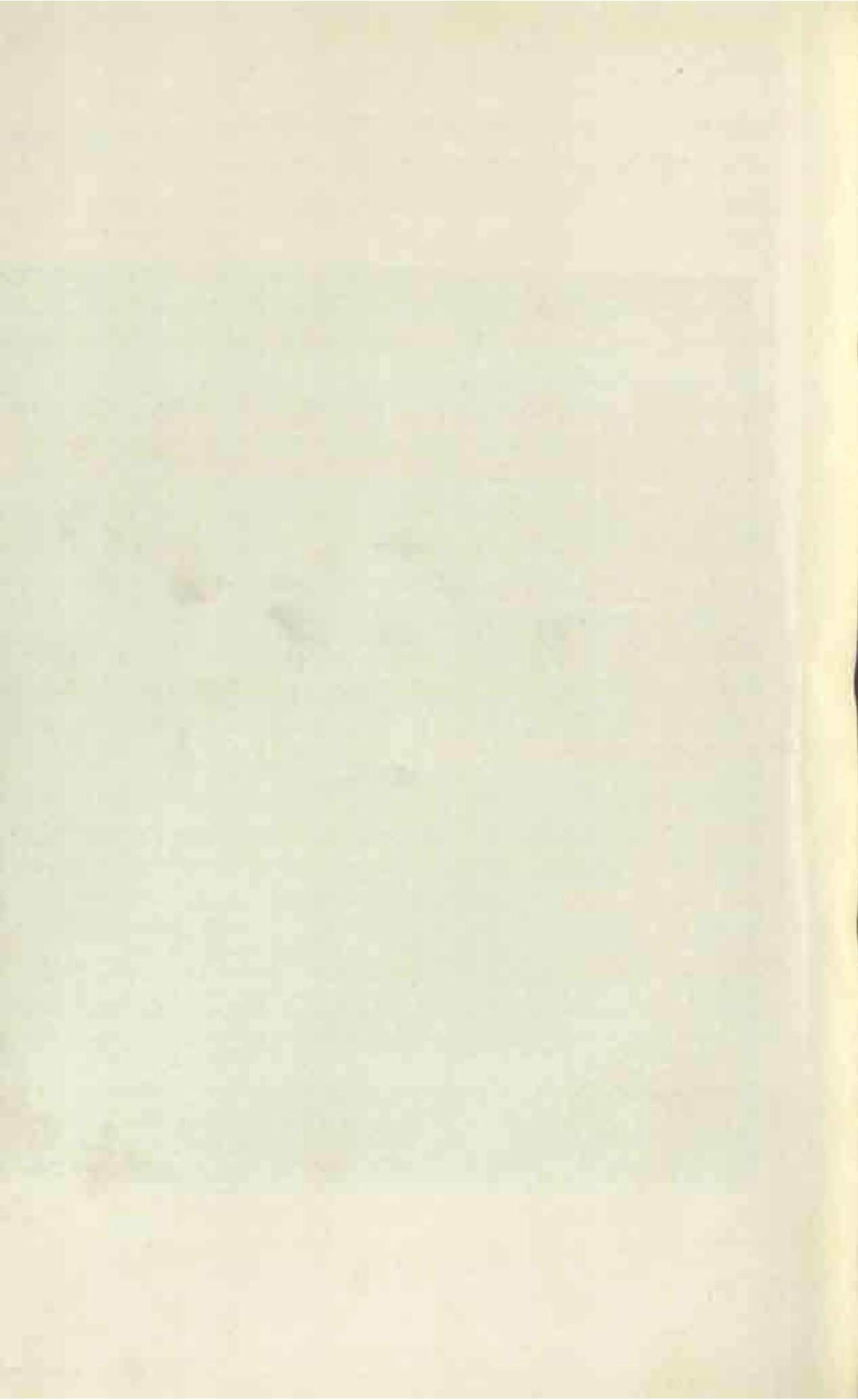
⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ From the original and from inked stampings.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 तामेकमुभगः ॥[१॥*] तस्मादभूद्विस्मयमादधानः कलानिधिविष्वविजोचनानाम् ।
यमर्पयामास गुणानुरागाक्षे[क्षे] मुरारिर्मृकुटे पुरारिः ॥[२॥*] भूपास्तस्माद्व-
भुवुर्विस्मयसमरोदञ्चदाश्चर्यवीर्यजयो-
- 3 तिज्ज्वलावलीढप्रतिभटकरटिस्त्यानदानप्रवन्धाः । येषां कीर्तिप्रवा[हे] प्रतिपदमृदयस्त्वर्द्ध-
नीमङ्गसौख्यप्रेङ्खलन्तो न केनः कलयति जलधिस्तानि सीतायितानि ॥[३॥*]
तेषाम्ब्र(वां वं)शे विण्दयशसा-
- 4 ञ्चोदगङ्गाक्षिनीन्द्रव्याजव्यक्तं नरहरितनोभ्योतिराविर्बभूव । दण्पो(ण्पो)दामद्विप-
मदनदीतीर्थसंन्यासिना यन्निस्त्रिंशेन प्रतिनृपतयः प्रापिता मोक्षलक्ष्मीम् ॥[४॥*]
धम्मिल्लं करपल्लवे कलितवान्प्रागेव वै-
- 5 रिथियः स्मेरामर्षतराङ्गतेन मतसा निस्त्रिंशवल्लीन्ततः । चक्रे वैरिवधूजगस्तनतटीव्यो
मुक्तमुक्ताः पुरः पश्चाद्दुर्गन्वासिन्धूरमदप्रस्यन्दिगण्डस्थलीः ॥[५॥*] यत्कल्लोलित-
मण्डलापकुटिलाटोपम्फु-
- 6 रत्नाध्वसैर्व्यङ्गाणप्रकरप्रहारतरलैः प्रत्यर्थिभिः पार्थिवैः । चण्डाशोद्वि मण्डलारपटलं
निभिच्च तन्मन्युना मन्ये निर्वृतिगर्जितैरनुसृतो निर्व्राणसीमा रसः ॥[६॥*]
आसीत्सुनुरनङ्गभीमनृप-
- 7 तिः पुण्यातपत्रन्ततो न स्पृष्टः कलिकालकल्मषमसीकल्लोललीलापितैः । केयं
मन्त्रकला यदुन्मदकरिव्यूहं वि(हं वि)हायामुना शुद्धामेकपदे वृधे कलयता
साम्राज्यमासादितम् ॥[७॥*] स्वैरं श्रुति-
- 8 षवगवोभिस्पास्यमानो गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः । राज्ञः क एष महिमा
यदसावनेन साम्राज्यभारवहने विदधे धुरीणः ॥[८॥*] सवा(वां)नतप्रतिमहीपति-
केषापाशशेवातवलिशिख-
- 9 रे नखरावहंसाः । यत्पापपङ्कजगृहाश्रमिणः स्वर्पन्ति राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन ततः
क्षितीन्द्रः ॥[९॥*] जजेतो तमनङ्गभीमनृपति यस्य प्रतापानलज्वालासम्ब(संव)लितैः
सुवर्णशिखरो याति द्रवत्वं
- 10 यदि । आदार्यतमहर्षिशं यदि धना मुञ्चन्ति धारोत्करानाथाः पूरयितुं तथापि
विजयी यद्दानकेलिक्रमः ॥[१०॥*] जैलोक्यं विमलीकरोति यदि तत्कीर्तिर्भूषा
स्वर्द्धनी कण्ठे चेद्विलुठन्ति

[illegible]



- 11 तद्गणितयो विहमोक्तिकानां सजः । तत्पादाब्जनव्यवृत्तिव्यतिकरं भूषाविधिव्यञ्ज-
भूष्यत्यधिकितिपालभालफलके कः पटुवन्धग्रहः ॥[११॥*] तस्याथ क्षितिपाल-
भालवदभीनिद्रास्त-
- 12 पादाङ्गुलैर्विष्णुविष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान्साचिव्यमव्याहृतम् । श्वेतच्छत्रसतानि यस्य
यशसा निर्माय किम्ब्रूमहे साम्राज्यं त्रिकलिङ्गनाथनृपतेरेकातपत्रोक्तम् ॥[१२॥*]
ये याताः शरणं
- 13 रणाङ्गणशिखरस्स(स्सं)न्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो [यै]र्वा दुर्दमदोर्विलासरसिकैरुत्तातसङ्गैः स्थितम् ।
आयुज्यं यदमी द्वयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः पादं प्राप्ता निर्वर्-
निर्वृतिप्रणयिता प्र-
- 14 त्ययिनः पार्थिवाः ॥[१३॥*] विन्ध्याद्रेरधिमीम भीमतटिनीकुञ्जे तटेम्भोनिधे-
विष्णुविष्णुस्सावसाविति भयद्वै तन्दिशः पश्यतः । योगाभ्यासपरिश्रमेण न
तथा वैखानसानामिदं विश्वं
- 15 विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्माणपृथ्वीपतेः ॥[१४॥*] कर्णोत्तंसितसायकस्य
सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः किम्ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्द्रसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।
यस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनि-
- 16 नां व्योमाङ्गणे नाकिनामस्वानेननिमेयवृत्तिभिरभूत्रैर्महानुत्सवः ॥[१५॥*] साहस्राः
परितः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेलन्ति यूथेर्गजाः प्रेङ्खद्भिः पथि पुण्डरीकपटलै-
द्विचक्रमा-
- 17 कम्पते । सस्वा(संवा)सः कटकेषु मौलिषु पदन्यासः कुलदमाभृतां [कु]द्वे यत्र
न काचिदुत्कलपतेः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीवतिः ॥[१६॥*] क्षमापीठं कियदम्बरङ्किय-
दथ स्वःसोधमेतत्किद्विचक्रं किय-
- 18 देतदेव कलय ब्रह्माण्डखण्डङ्कियत् । आस्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरणं यत्रे-
दमामोदते यत्र [स्फु]र्जति यत्र वा निवसति स्वच्छन्दमेतच्चराः ॥[१७॥*]
तपततनयामभ्यादत्तेवत्तंसयितुं शिवः कुवलयकुलं
- 19 कर्णोत्तसेन विभ्रति सुभ्रवः । विचकिलवनोत्सङ्गे भृङ्गीर्विद्वान्त्व[लि]नः स्वनंज्जगति
जनितश्वेतादौते तदीय[य]*प्रोभरेः ॥[१८॥*] अनेन पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनीपु-
षाराग्निधेस्तटीषु घटितास्तुलापु-

- 20 स्थाहोममूमीभूतः । विश्वामवसतीस्य[त] कन्यता बलाराजिता शचीवदनवारिजे
तरनितास्सलीलं दनः ॥[१३॥^{*}] पन्वानः सरसा शतैस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्गिता
यत्तदा स्मेराम्भोजगभीरग-
- 21 बभंकुहरध्वस्ताध्वलेदोम्मोयः । अन्तःसौरभतारजीकरमयैः पाशेयभारैरमी मन्दं
मन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पविकानम्भोप्रवेलाजिताः ॥[२०॥^{*}] आन्वोक्षिकी कुटिलमंजत
यं कदाक्षैर्व्यस्य तमी वदनताम-
- 22 रसं चुचुम्ब । स्वैरं यदीयहृदये विजहार वार्ता वं दण्डनीतिरणि निम्भंर-
मालिलिङ्ग ॥[२१॥^{*}] उदयदोषादपथप्रवर्तनस्त्वलद्गतीनि श्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः ।
चकार तत्त्वप्रतिपत्तिसम्-
- 23 दाम्पदं पुराणानि पुनर्ज्ञानि यः ॥[२२॥^{*}] कनककलशभावं भावयामात भास्वानजनि
रजनिजानिः स्फाटिकः पूर्णकुम्भः । ध्वजपटनदुलश्रीर्व्यञ्ज च व्योमगङ्गा
विरचितसमुत्तेदं धाम
- 24 कामान्तकस्य ॥[२३॥^{*}] विभुवनभयशान्तिङ्कुलुमेकाग्रवेन्तर्ज्वलजपमिव यावत्कुर्वते
पव्यंतेन्द्राः । सदनसिद्धमुदञ्चत्केतुञ्जप्रतिष्ठाभिह कलयतु तावद्गोयताञ्च
प्रशस्तिः ॥[२४॥^{*}] लोका-
- 25 इचतुर्दश न माति यशो यदीयं विद्याचतुर्दश न तृपयति यस्य बुद्धिः ।
मन्वन्तराध्यापि चतुर्दश यस्य सूक्तिर्न म्लानिमेति स कविः किल भास्करोऽस्याः
॥[२५^{*}] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Obedience to Siva!

(Verse 1) Hail to the Ocean, the sole (local) lord of (all) the rivers, (submerged) in whom the famous (mount) Mainika (still) cherishes the memory of his (childhood's) frolics in the parental lap,^{*} in whom Vishnu is (enjoying himself) as son-in-law at (his father-in-law's) home,² (and) who

^{*} Mt. Mainika, son of Mt. Himalaya from Mīnā or Mīnākā, is described here as absolutely care-free, because he was lucky enough to have escaped the calamity when Indra clipped the whips of the mountains. He owes his escape to his friendship with the Ocean. The word *jambhū* in the original stands for both *jambū* and *jambū*, 'father and mother', according to Pāṇini, I, ii, 67 or I, ii, 70.

² Vishnu is known to be Mahādhātavya, i.e., 'one who resides on the waters of the great ocean'. The ocean is his father-in-law, because his wife, Lakshmi, happens to be the daughter of the Ocean.

freely distributed ambrosia¹ among the gods (*even*)² after having experienced torture at their hands at the time when they churned him!

(Verse 2) From him (the ocean) was born the Moon, causing wonderment to the eyes of one and all, whom Vishnu placed in his eye, (and) whom Śiva placed on his forehead,³ out of loving regard for his virtues.

(Verse 3) From him (the Moon) sprung kings, the glowing flames of whose amazing prowess manifesting itself on the (ever) expanding battle-fields consumed the swollen stream of rut of the enemy elephants, the union with the celestial Gaṅgā rising every moment through the ceaseless influx of whose fame caused such a (thrill of) joy to the Ocean that he started rollicking with surging waves, the which revels he keeps indulging in (to this day).⁴

(Verse 4) In the family of those (kings) of the spotless fame did the glory of the Narasimha incarnation (of the god Vishnu)⁵ manifest itself in the guise of the king Chōdagaṅga whose sword a veritable hermit on the sacred banks of the river of rut of the (enemy) elephants flying into a frenzied rage, helped the hostile princes attain the blessing of salvation.⁶

(Verse 5) With his mind agitated by the palpable displeasure, he (Chōdagaṅga) grabbed, in his hand (so soft) as a fresh leaf, the chignon of the enemy Fortune even before⁷ he clutched his creeper-like sword, (and similarly) he first rendered the gorgeous bosoms of the ladies of his enemies bareft of their pearls (and) afterwards⁸ (he did so) the broad temples⁹ of the boisterous scent-elephants¹⁰ (of his enemies), from which rut was trickling profusely.

(Verse 6) At his indignation, the hostile chiefs, obviously frightened by his scimitar being brandished and looming large (to their horror), (and) shuddering under the volley of the multitude of his arrows, sought after the joy of complete-extinction type, as if priding themselves on eman-

¹ Literally, 'installed an abode-house of ambrosia for the gods.' Ambrosia (*amrita* or *amṛta*) is one of the four-teen gems that the Ocean yielded when churned by the gods and the demons. These include the Moon and Lakshmi as well.

² The implication being that he treated benevolently and generously even those who wronged him grievously.

³ While Śiva's carrying a crescent on his forehead is well known, the idea of Vishnu's bearing the Moon in the eye goes back to the *Vedas*, where he is described as 'having fire as his head and the sun and moon as his eyes' (*agnim-ūrddhā cakakruṣi chandram-ākṛyau*). It is on account of this that one of Vishnu's thousand names is *Varī-śekhara*, i.e., 'one who has the sun as one of the eyes' (see *Vishnu-sahasranāma*, with Śaṅkarāchārya's commentary, verse 93).

⁴ In order to appreciate the poetic fancy here one must know that *śrī* (fame) is conceived as a white liquid while the waters of the celestial Gaṅgā (really speaking, the Galaxy or Milky Way in the heavens) are regarded to be milky. The augmentation is thus supposed greatly to add to the gracefulness and charms of the fancied lady, hurrying to her lover, with the heaving bosom.

⁵ Narasimha of the original is comparable with *Narasimhavarpuḥ* of the *Vishnu-sahasranāma*, verse 3.

⁶ A florid substitute for saying: 'he killed his enemies.'

⁷ The alleged reverse order of *unquishing* and *molestation*, rhetorically speaking, indicates the agility of action and confidence of victory on the part of the person whose valour is described here.

⁸ As for the temples of elephants having pearls, they are traditionally known as one of the various sources of pearls. The tradition is recorded by Mallinātha as follows: *Kurūtre-jūṣṭa-srīṣṭa-śaṅkha-matya-śhī-śabdy-udbhava-saṅgāṇi muktīphalāni prathitāni* *iti* *śāstra* *tu* *śabdy-udbhava-saṅgāṇi* *iti* *śāstra*. 'Pearls are known in the world as emanating from elephants, clouds, boars, conch-shells, fish, snakes, oyster-shells and bamboo. Of them, however, those coming from oyster-shells are most common.' For details, see under *muktī* in the *Śabdakalpadruma*.

⁹ A scent-elephant, *gandha-sindūra*, is supposed to be one of the most excellent kind of elephants. It is defined as *Yasya gandham smādīśvya sa śīṣhanti prathivipāṭh sa vai gandha-gajō nama vipathī-majay-amitā*. 'A scent-elephant is that having smelt whose scent the rival elephants take to flight; such a scent-elephant brings victory to the king (who owns it).'

(Verse 17) Just think (of it)! How extensive (after all) is the surface of the earth where his (Vishnu's) Fame can comfortably sit! How spacious is the sky where she can stretch her feet! How big is the mansion of heaven where she can enjoy herself! How roomy are the quarters of the space where she can leap about! And how expansive is this fragment of a universe where she can dwell!

(Verse 18) The world having been (white) washed by the heaps of his fame, owing to the (all-enveloping) whiteness produced (thereby), Śiva grabs at Yamunā for adorning (his head), fair damsels carry blue lilies for their ear-ornaments, (and) in the heart of the jasmine groves the bees make out their mates (only) by the buzzing sound.¹

(Verse 19) On the shores of the sea, favourite of (the god) Purushōttama,² he (Vishnu) raised many a veritable Mēru (mountain of gold) while performing the *Tulāpurāṣa* ceremonies. (Consequently) Indra, seeing (not one but) a hundred pleasure-resorts (resembling Mēru), cast askance amorous glances on the lotus-like face of (his consort) Śachi.³

(Verse 20) He (Vishnu) dotted the roads with hundreds of lotus-pools, at convenient intervals. From that time onwards, the sea-breezes, with their fatigue and weariness of the way removed by (their resting in) the deep inner cavities of the blooming lotuses, carrying provisions for the journey—provisions consisting of the spray pregnant with the fragrant essence—gently follow the way-fatiguers.

(Verse 21) Logic regarded him with favour! Lore of the *Vēdas* kissed his ruddy lips! Ethics had a free play in his heart! Statecraft, too, embraced him lustily!

(Verse 22) As for the *Parāyas* (the old persons, so to say),⁴ he, himself being a repository of the wealth of clear understanding of the real meanings (of the *Vēdas* and the like), revived (and rejuvenated) them; (for), owing to the great defect (and the derangement, attendant on old age, of the humours of the body, known as *tri-dōṣa*) through the perversion of the views about the *Vēdas* (and the decay⁵ in the faculties of hearing and seeing), they were leading (people) on the wrong path and thereby becoming unpopular (and going astray and stumbling).

(Verse 23) This temple of Śiva has been built by him (Vishnu), where the Sun has assumed the form of its globe⁶ of gold, the Moon has become its crystal pitcher full (of water),⁷ and the celestial Gaṅgā (is apparent in) the fluttering beauty of its banner.

¹ Traditionally, the waters of the Yamunā are black whereas those of the Gaṅgā are white, and it is white lilies that ladies take for making them into ear-pendants. The bees are naturally black. The confusion, such as Śiva reaching for Yamunā instead of for Gaṅgā, is wrought by the fame which has turned everything white, poetically speaking.

² The allusion seems to be the beach near Puri in Orissa, where there is a famous temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha, so closely associated with the minister Vishnu's patron, Ananigabhinava III.

³ Mythologically, Mount Mēru consists of gold and gems, and is the abode of the gods. In the *Āmṛitakōśa*, I, 49, we have such significant synonyms of it as *Himādvī* ('mountain of gold'), *Ratnasāgara* (gem-pool) and *Devāloka* ('abode of the gods'). The sight of a hundred such delightful abodes must needs rouse a desire for dalliance in Indra, the lord of the gods.

⁴ The analogy with old persons is kept up in the attributes that are given in this verse to the *Parāyas*. It need hardly be mentioned that the word *parāyas* means 'old.'

⁵ The use of the word *vīkṛanta* in the sense of *dementia*, *dewy* or *doddering*, is best illustrated in the *Śrīmad-bhagavad-gītā*, II, 63:

Kṛōdhāt bhavati sammūḷh
sammūḷhī smṛitī-vīkṛantaḥ |
smṛitī-bhṛāntāt buddhi-nāś
buddhi-nāśāt prasaṅgāt |

⁶ By this is meant the spherical member of the pinnacle of a Hindu temple, from which rises the bud-shaped spire.

⁷ This obviously refers to the pitcher of water, which is kept suspended or placed on a tripod over the *śaśa-līga* in the *amṛta* sanctum, the pitcher having a tiny hole at the bottom to allow water constantly to drip on the *līga* below.

(Verse 24) As long as the great mountains¹ remain inside the ocean, as if engaged in the *jala-japa* prayers² for the removal of dangers from and the establishment of peace in (all) the three worlds, so long may this temple keep up the grandeur of swelling heaps of foam³ in this world, and so long may (this) eulogy be sung (as well)!

(Verse 25) That well-known Bhāskara is the poet of this (poem), whose fame is hardly contained in (all) the fourteen worlds⁴ that there are, whose intellect is hardly satisfied with (all) the fourteen lores⁵ that there are, and whose elevated speech never loses its freshness throughout (all) the fourteen aeons⁶ that there are.

No. 17—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

A.—Kāyapa Image Inscription from Silao

This inscription has been published by me.⁷ It attracted the attention of Professor Dr. E. H. Johnston of the Balliol College, Oxford, England, who was good enough to offer some illuminating comments on it in a letter, dated the 18th October, 1941, addressed to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. Dr. Chakravarti kindly supplied me with the relevant extract from that letter. This extract runs as follows :

"Owing to various circumstances I have only recently seen Dr. Chhabra's interesting article in *Epigraphia Indica* on the Kāyapa image inscription at Silao. On one or two points however he has overlooked references, which would have modified his interpretation. If you would be good enough to send this letter to him, he might be interested to look up those I mention, and if he wishes to publish a supplemental note, he is welcome to make what use of my remarks he likes; there is no need to mention my name.

"On page 330 he refers to *Buddhacarita*, xvii, 12, in Cowell's edition; but the whole of the text in Cowell from xiv, 33 on is a nineteenth century addition by Amṛtānanda, who was Hodgson's pandit in Khatmandu. Asvaghosa did give a full account of Mahākāyapa's conversion, and an English translation of it from the Tibetan and Chinese by me is to be found in *Acta Orientalia*, XV, canto xvii, 24 ff. There is also an earlier translation in German from the Tibetan only by Fr. Weller in *Das Leben des Buddha von Asvaghosa*.

¹ The reference here is to the submarine mountains.

² In an ordinary *japa*, the votary sits in a quiet corner and mutters prayer or repeats a formula (bore in an undertone or inarticulately), but in a *jala-japa*, as the term indicates, he is required to keep sitting under water all the while.

³ One has to imagine that the exterior of the temple was originally white-washed, and that the main item of the up-keep of a temple usually consists of a fresh coat of lime-wash at least once a year. The poet no doubt wished that the temple built by Vishnu might be well looked after and might endure for ever, but the *phāsa-pūja-pratīkṣā* of the stanza lends itself equally to a totally opposite and unlooked-for sense: the *solidity of a heap of foam*, a mocking reference to the ephemeral nature of man-made things.

⁴ The broad division of the universe into three: earth, heaven and the nether world, is here replaced by its more elaborate classification into the following fourteen sections: *bāh*, *bhūvar*, *svar*, *mahas*, *janas*, *rupar*, *saṃpā*, *atala*, *vitāla*, *rustāla*, *lātāla*, *māhātala* and *pātāla*. The first one refers to this earth, the next six are above it, one over the other, and the remaining seven are under it, one below the other.

⁵ The fourteen traditional lores are four *Vedas*, six *Vidāngas*, *Itihāsa*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya* and the *Purāṇas* collectively as the fourteenth.

⁶ The fourteen *manvantaras* constitute but one day of Brahma. They comprise 4,320,000 human years. Six such periods have already passed, we are living in the seventh, and seven more are yet to come.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXV, 327 ff. and plate.

"In verse I, should not *jyāna* be taken in the technical sense, as described in Rhys Davids-Stede, Pali Dictionary, s. v. ? It is a puzzle to me that the term does not appear to occur in Buddhist Sanskrit. I would suggest the meaning here is "of immeasurable intelligence" (or "power of perception"?).

"The last verse refers to the legend that Mahākālī attained Nirvāṇa, but after it his body was preserved by magic, and he entered the Gurupāda mountain, where he awaits the coming of Maitreya. Hsuan Tsang's account of it differs slightly from this and from the verse, in making his Nirvāṇa be deferred till the meeting with Maitreya. For the canonical accounts see Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, 144, and much more fully in J. Przyluski, La Légende 'Acoka 167 ff. (Is this latter important work not available in Indian libraries ?) Dr. Chhabra is clearly not satisfied with his own translation and has not seen the significance of *adhigāya*, which refers to *adhigāhāna*, the magic-spiritual power of Buddha, by which he causes things to endure, or a Bodhimatya to explain the most esoteric points of doctrine. For references see La Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, ch. iii, 31, and ch. vii, 119 and E. Lamotte, Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā, 56 ff., and Suzuki, Studies in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra, 377.

"Despite the last, I think it is unusual to find the power attributed to anyone except the Buddha. It is of course a specifically Mahāyāna doctrine, and the Hinayāna adopted it from them. I take it that the verse means "This Kāśyapa, who passed into Nirvāṇa and yet kept his body in existence by his magic power just for the good of the world, resides (lit. shines) in the Beautiful Gurupāda mountain; i. e. inside the mountain, not on it."

I have nothing to add, except one remark in connection with Dr. Johnston's explanation of the last verse. It might be considered right provided the *śi-yam* of the original be taken as referring to Kāśyapa himself. It is, on the contrary, presumed that we are concerned here with the statue and the inscription on its pedestal. And when the latter says *śi-yam-ābhāti Kāśyapaḥ*, it obviously alludes to the stone image of Kāśyapa,¹ and not to Kāśyapa as a person. Such being the case, would it not be correct to say 'on the mountain, not inside it' rather than 'inside the mountain, not on it'?

Further, I am inclined to connect *Gurupāde girau vamyē* with *nirvṛtāḥ* and not with *śi-yam-ābhāti*.² The difference it makes is as obvious as it is consequential. According to the latter construction, the statue must necessarily have been set up on the Gurupāda hill itself, whereas according to the former it might have been established anywhere else as well. In fact, the possibility of its having been erected in the vicinity of the village of Silao, if not at Silao proper, has already been shown.³

B.—Chandrabandī Rock Inscription, Śaka 803.

This inscription has been edited by the late C. R. Krishnamachari.⁴ It is a Kannada record and pertains to the Jaina faith. It consists of only six lines, the last two of which comprise the following *Ārya* in Sanskrit:

अनवरतशस्त्रदानप्रविमलचारिप्रज्जलपरेश्वरम् ।

इतिनिदाघविघातं कृप्यात् श्रीसिद्धि(स्व)मन्दोदः ॥⁵

¹ It has been pointed out that "the inscription is virtually a label to the image" (ibid., p. 335).

² Ibid., p. 333, note 12.

³ Ibid., p. 327, para. 1, p. 331, para. 2.

⁴ The Kannada Inscriptions of Koptā (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 12, Calcutta, 1935), pp. 6-7, plate I (b).

⁵ It may be pointed out that the sign of medial (long) *i* is not distinguishable from medial (short) *i* in this inscription, and that the rule of *sandhi* has not been observed in *kṛpāyāt* *śrī*.

The learned editor introduces this verse by remarking that it "expresses a wish that the glorious Sarvanandindra may 'dispel the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of his conduct'. The reading in the photograph appears to be *jala-dhāraiḥ*—, in which case it would refer to the waters of his pure conduct." His translation of the couplet accordingly runs as follows: "May the glorious Sarvanandindra wonderfully effect the destruction of the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of (his) ceaseless teaching and (his) absolutely pure conduct!"

First of all, the possibility of the reading *jala-dhāraiḥ* is ruled out by the fact that it militates against the metre, not to speak of the dubious nature of the use of *dhāraiḥ* for *dhāraibhiḥ*.¹ Secondly, the term *nidāgha*, that has been taken in the sense of 'drought,' usually means 'heat,' 'summer,' or 'hot weather.' This primary sense of the word appears to be quite appropriate in the given context. In fact, it is doubtful whether the word *nidāgha* has ever been used in the sense of 'drought.'

It is, however, the last word of the couplet that the present note seeks to draw particular attention to. *Indra* in *Sarvanandindra* is evidently not to be equated with *Bhaṭṭār* in *Sarvanandi-Bhaṭṭār* that occurs in the Kannada portion. The word *indra* appended to the name Sarvanandin plainly refers to Indra, the lord of gods, the god of rains, with whom Sarvanandin is metaphorically identified. The rest of the verse will bear it out that we have here a clear instance of the figure of speech, called *Rūpaka*, and that the very Indra is the mainstay thereof. The idea embodied in the verse thus becomes manifest: as the god Indra allays the oppressive heat by pouring rain, so may the holy Sarvanandin dispel the evil by spreading knowledge and thereby turning the common herd into good characters.

Finally, as implied by the above free rendering, the long compound in the beginning also lends itself to an interpretation slightly different from the one offered by Śrī Krishnamachariu. According to him, it speaks of two diverse things: *śāstra-dāna* and *pravivāda-chāritra*. And the *chāritra* he takes as referring to that of Sarvanandin himself. It would perhaps be preferable to treat the two things not as separate, but the first as the cause and the other as its effect, and thus the *chāritra* as referring to that of the people at large. This would not only justify the plural number employed in the expression, but would also be more in consonance with the adage *vidyā dadāti vinayam vinayāt yāti pāratam*, etc. A more literal rendering of the stanza would therefore be: "May Indra, (the god of rains,) (in the guise) of the holy Sarvanandin, in his wonderful way, put an end to the (blazing) heat (in the form) of the evil by means of rain-clouds (in the shape) of perfectly flawless characters (produced) through his ceaseless teaching or continuously disseminating knowledge (among the people)!"

¹ What has been taken for the length mark (or medial ā) on the letter *ā* seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

² Considering the religion of the teacher spoken of, the *śāstra* here may be taken as adverting to the Jain scriptures, but may as well be taken in its broader sense of knowledge as defined in the *śāh*:

अनेकसंशयोद्धेदि परोक्षार्थस्य वक्ष्यम् ।

सर्वस्य लोचनं शास्त्रं यस्य नास्त्यन्व एव सः ॥

Mr. P. B. Desai, Epigraphical Assistant, has kindly pointed out to me that the inscription is in the nature of an epitaph and that the concluding expression in the Kannada portion, *śaṅkṣaṇa-sānta mudipidar*, translated as 'completed the vow of renunciation,' implies, as similar expressions in similar Jain inscriptions do, that Sarvanandin died. In that case, the blessings invoked in the Sanskrit *Ārya* would sound rather inconsistent unless, of course, Sarvanandin's agency as preacher or teacher, after his death, be understood to be continuing through the succession of his disciples.

C.—Balsānī Inscription : Śaka 1106

This short inscription of four stanzas, rather indifferently engraved, has been published by Dr. M. G. Dikshit.¹ Its text seems to be defective here and there. I had an opportunity of examining Dr. Dikshit's article on it at the time when it was going through the press. I even made a suggestion or two regarding its reading. The observations offered here are the result of a study which I subsequently happened to make of this interesting record. It presents certain difficulties that are still awaiting solution. Dr. Dikshit's provisional identification of the king Krishna figuring in it, for instance, with a member of the Ābhira family of Bhambāgiri needs corroboration. And his explanation of the line read by him as

यः के(ह)ण्यस्य नहीपतेः करतले कलनिं पिष्ट्वा(च्छा)चल(त्तम)

'who in no time made over the earth...to the possession of the king Krishna' does not seem to have hit the nail on the head.

In the present note, however, I propose to draw attention to a more obvious point, namely the object of the inscription. "The object of the inscription," says Dr. Dikshit, "is to record that the *Paṇḍita* repaired the Royal *Maṭha* (*Rāja-maṭha*), standing on the banks of a river, at Balsānaka, for the inhabitation of Brahmins."² The relevant text *प्रा(प)कारव्यवस्थं च नमं निरंतरं बहुनिवासहेतोः* has accordingly been translated by him as "he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitation of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery."³

The use of the term *maṭha* in the original has given rise to what I may call a misconception as to the exact purport of the record. It has been taken in its ordinary sense of 'monastery,' whereas it has in all probability been employed here in its secondary sense of *devālaya* or 'temple.'

In the very opening sentence of his paper, Dr. Dikshit informs us that the inscription 'is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple.'⁴ And in the absence of any specific reference to the contrary in the inscription, we may be justified in accepting that the *maṭha* mentioned therein refers to the very temple itself where the inscription is found.

Going through the earlier reports on the epigraph, one gets at the root of the confusion. Mr. H. Cousens first drew attention to its existence 'upon the *maṭha*.'⁵ Mr. R. D. Banerji, who happened to examine it later on, has asserted that it is found on a temple and not in the *maṭha*.⁶ It appears that both the scholars in reality referred to one and the same building, the former naming it *maṭha* after the manner of the inscription and the latter calling it temple in accordance with its actual appearance. The mistake, however, seems to lie in the fact that to Mr. Cousens, the term *maṭha* meant nothing else but 'monastery.' To him the building in question was thus a monastery, because it was labelled, so to say, as *maṭha* whatever its form and size. One finds him describe it as such in his *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*.⁷ In this publication he gives also a plan of the *maṭha*,⁸ from which one can see that the modest dimensions of the structure answer more to a simple fane than to a monastery.

It remains to be shown that *maṭha*, meaning 'temple', is found not only in lexicons, but also actually used in old inscriptions. The Dhauti cave inscription of the time of Śāntikara,

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff. and plate.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 309.

⁶ *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 55.

⁷ *An. Prop. Report, A. S. I., Western Circle, 1918-19*, p. 45.

⁸ *Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series, Vol. XLVIII*, pp. 23, 26-27.

⁹ *Ibid.*, plate XXVIII.

for instance, records the erection of a temple, where the term employed is *maṭha*.¹ The word *maṭha*, occurring in line 8 of the Kaman stone inscription, has been taken as referring to a temple of Śiva.² The Alagum inscription, dated in the sixty-second regnal year of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chāḍagaḍga, obviously refers to a temple of Śiva, under the name of Gartīśvara, again using the word *maṭha* for 'temple'.³ Instances of *maṭhi* and *maṭhikā* (diminutive forms of *maṭha*) in the sense of 'shrine' or 'cell' are also found in inscriptions.⁴

If now, in view of the foregoing discussion, we accept that the *maṭha* of the inscription refers to a temple, the question arises as to which particular deity it was sacred to. The answer is: to Brahman. This is indicated by the very words *निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः* which may now be rendered as 'for the permanent residence of (the god) Brahman.' The word *brahman* thus retains its primary sense. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the inscription begins with an invocation to the very god Brahman. And, as if to lend conviction to all this, we have a report by Mr. Cousens himself that among the sculptured stones, that lie about at the ancient site of Balaṅkā, there is an image of Brahman.⁵ It may, therefore, be supposed that this image must originally have been enshrined in the *maṭha* spoken of in the inscription. It is called *rāja-maṭha* or 'royal temple,' which possibly signifies that it was built originally by a king. It may be worth while to investigate as to who this king was. Considering that temples devoted to Brahman are few and far between,⁶ the present specimen though now deserted, may be counted among rarities.

No. 18—NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

H. K. NABASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS

The sculpture bearing a short one-line inscription engraved at its base, which is published below, was discovered in 1940 at Nāgārjunikonda, Guntur District, Andhra State, by Mr. K. Ramamurti, the Senior Conservation Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras, who was then in charge of the Archaeological Museum at that place. It is a mutilated image in high relief on a white marble slab that was found half buried in the debris of rubble and stones on the northern slope of the Nāgārjuna hill, overlooking the river Kṛishṇā. In the process of clearing the debris, Mr. Ramamurti discovered traces of a large many-pillared hall, at the extremity of which the image under review was found. The partly exposed pillars of this hall are made of marble similar to that used for the other monuments of this place. The building, of which these pillars are the survivors, perhaps enshrined under its roof the very image which forms the subject matter of this article. A search for the missing portion of the image round about the region proved of no avail. The image is now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Nāgārjunikonda itself. When I visited this place

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 264.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 330.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 47, text line 14.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 225, text lines 26 and 27.

⁵ *Medieval Temples of the Deccan*, p. 23.

⁶ An article on The Temple of Brahmi at Khod-Brahma, by Mr. Henry Cousens, in the *Ann. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, pp. 171-78, may be consulted with advantage on this point.

in 1940, I took a photograph of it and a couple of estampages of the inscription at its base, both of which I publish here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.¹

The lower half is all that is preserved of the image now. Even so, the sculpture is of considerable iconographic interest. It depicts a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards. The image is profusely ornamented. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with what look like rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated *pūṣpa-ghaṭa*, the representation of which is a common feature in the Buddhist sculptural art of this period at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Amarāvati and elsewhere. The anklets and other jewellery adorning the ankles are again typical of the ornaments portrayed in contemporary sculpture. On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in a single line in **Prākṛit** language and **Brāhmī** characters assignable to the 3rd century A. C.

The inscription does not give us any clue as to the identity of the image. Nevertheless, the recording that it was caused to be made by a queen who is described as an *a-cidhuvā*, 'one who has her husband alive', and a *jīnapatā* (Sanskrit *jīnapatrā*), 'one who has her child or children alive', gives room for the surmise that it must have stood for a cult image and that its sponsor was a follower of that cult. The cult of worshipping the naked forms of either the male or female, the one in the form of the *liṅga* and the other in the form of the *yoni*, both representing the generative principle in nature, is a very ancient and wide-spread one. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have brought to light numerous female terracotta figurines akin to those discovered in Baluchistan and in countries of Western Asia, around the Aegian coast, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. These figurines are identified as the representations of the Great Mother or the Goddess of Nature. India is known to have been the home of the worship of the Divine Mother, Ādyā-Śakti, Prakṛiti or Pṛithivī, the Earth.² Apart from the terracotta figurines referred to above, an interesting oblong sealing found at Harappa depicts, on one of its faces, a nude female figure, upside down, with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb.³ This is considered as depicting the Mother Goddess in her role as the author of fertility. Another instance of a figure akin to this is afforded by a small repoussé gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female recovered at Piprahva which is believed to represent the Earth Goddess.⁴ The inscribed sculpture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa also seems to be a representation of the Mother Goddess in her aspect as the Goddess of fertility or fecundity. It is in all probability a votive image dedicated as an offering in response to the fulfilment of certain wishes or desires.

As for the contents of the inscription, Queen Khamḍavalā who figures for the first time in this record is described as Mahādēvī and the wife(?) of Mahārāja Siri Bhavala Chāṭamūla. The latter is probably identical with his namesake who is mentioned as a son of Siri Vira Puruṣadatta and Mahādēvī Bhāṣidēvā and as the brother of Queen Kodabaleśiri, in inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself.⁵ In an inscription from Reṇṭāla, not far from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,

¹ Photograph No. 1906 of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India; inscription No. 470 of 1940-41 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² B. K. Mukerji, *Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 19-20.

³ Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 62, pl. XII, 12.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1898, p. 579, pl. opp. p. 579, figs. 11 & 15.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and inscriptions G and H. The king's name occurs variously as Bhuvula Chāṭamūla in inscription G (page 34, plate V, line 7) and Bhuvula Chāṭamūla (in inscription H, line 10, plate V, reverse).

NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION



the name of this king occurs in a slightly different form as Ehuvala Siri Chāntamūla.¹ The expressions *a-vidhavā* and *jīva-putā* used in describing the queen are noteworthy. The latter occurs in an inscription on brick from Mathurā, assigned to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C.² and also on some inscriptions of the Śuṅga period on the railings from Bodhi-Gaya.³ In literature these words are commonly employed either as an auspicious mode of addressing a lady leading a married life or when such ladies are referred to.⁴

TEXT

Sidha[m*] [⁵ Mahādēviya a-vidhavāya jīva-putāya Mahārā] ja-siri-
[Ehuvala Chāntamū]la-patī[ya] [⁶ Khamḍuvulāya kārītātī] [⁷]

TRANSLATION

Success. (This image is) caused to be made by Mahādēvī Khamḍuvulā, (who is) an *a-vidhavā* (i. e., one with her husband alive) and (who is) a *jīva-putā* (Sanskrit, *jīva-putrā*, i. e., one who has her child or children alive) (and who is) the wife (l) of Mahārāja Siri Ehuvala Chu[m]-tamūla.

No. 19—MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, GOOTACAMUND

Ablūr is a village about 6 miles north of Hirekerūr, the present day headquarters of Kōd taluk, Dharwar District. Traditions are current in those parts asserting that formerly it was a very big city¹⁰ and included within its extent the present day neighbouring villages of Bhōgāvi Sotkōṭi, Nūlgēri, Dūpadhalji and Yattinhalji. According to another tradition Ablūr is the birth place of Sarvajña,¹¹ a popular Kannada poet (circa 1700 A. C), and a house near the Sōmāvara temple is shown as the place where he was born. In one of his *tripadī* verses Sarvajña states that he was born at Ambāūr¹² which is identified with Ablūr.

¹ *As. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1936-37, p. 82, para. 11, Ins. No. 349.

² *As. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India*, 1911-12, p. 128.

³ *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 149, l. n. 3; cf. *Jīva-putā* in the Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra Sātākarni and *Jīva-putra-putrā* in the inscription of Prabhavastigupta in the *Select Inscriptions*. (These references were kindly pointed out to me by Dr. D. C. Sircar.)

⁴ *Bhartṛmuni-triṣaṭ-śat-saṁskṛta-śāstra*—*Māyamañjari*, v. 99, *Jīva-putrā-tathā strigah—Rāmāyana*, *Yuddha-kāṇḍa*; *Jīva-putrī sūtra-līlā*—*Dharmagandhī Yuddha-kāṇḍa*—*Mahābhārata*, *Adiparva*, ch. 144. (I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Dr. V. Baghavan for these references).

⁵ The punctuation is indicated by a hook-like mark.

⁶ This portion of the inscription bears numerous scratches on the stone somewhat obliterating the letters enclosed in the brackets.

⁷ The stone has slightly peeled off here and with it the lower half of the letter *pa* has gone. There is a distinct mark of an *anusvara* over *ti*. Probably the expression is *putīya*, a corrupt form used in the name of *putāya*.

⁸ This expression obviously stands for *kārītā itī*.

⁹ The slanting stroke at the end seems to stand for the punctuation.

¹⁰ The *Ablūrā-charita*, to which a reference will be made in the later part of this article, also says that it was an extensive city.

¹¹ R. Narasimhaiah: *Kannada Kavacharita*, Vol. II, p. 532.

¹² Channappa Uttangi: *Sarvajña Yachasputra* (3rd edn., 1935), verse 8.

Over half a century ago the late Dr. Fleet noticed in this journal seven inscriptions¹ from this place, three of which were edited in full. In the course of my annual tour during the field season of 1951-52, I visited Ablār (January 1952) and explored its antiquities. My investigations revealed that this village contained a large number of inscriptions many of which were not known to Fleet and that some important points connected with its antiquities were also lost sight of. In all I discovered thirteen more inscriptions. I propose to study a few of these here briefly.

Most of the interesting facts regarding the activities of Ēkāntada Rāmayya,² the militant protagonist of the Śaiva upheaval, are centred in the temple of Sōmśvara. Besides the epigraph E³ furnishing a graphic account of his miraculous exploits⁴ this temple contains an inscription above a panel of sculptures depicting the scene of Rāmayya's encounter with the Jainas as described by Fleet.⁵ As there are some errors in the understanding and reading of this record (F) by Fleet, I may point them out here in the first instance.

Firstly, it is a label inscription and the word *tāvu* appears to have been used in a rather technical sense denoting 'a place representing the scene of.' We meet with its variant *tāu* and *tāvu* in other inscriptions at this temple, which we shall study presently. The expression *tāvu* may be derived from the Sanskrit root *sthā*, though it appears to have been influenced in its formation by Prakrit. It is interesting to note in this context that the labels in Tamil incised near the sculptures representing incidents in the Pallava history, found in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram, similarly end with the word *idam*⁶ meaning likewise 'a place, etc.'. Secondly, the epigraph is not incomplete and none of its letters is missing as supposed by Fleet. The first line ends properly with the word *kudureya* and continues in the second. At the end of the second line, again, it is unnecessary to supply some letters through brackets as done by Fleet. For its continuation is found on the front side of the parapet wall and it reads almost exactly as conjectured by Fleet. The whole inscription now reads as follows:—

TEXT (Fleet's F)⁷

- 1 Śrī-Brahmēśva(śva)ra-dēvarallī Ēkāntada-Rāmayyam basadiya Jinan-oddav-āgi taleyan-aridu
haḍeda tāvu || Saṅka-gāvuṇḍam basadiyan-oḍeyal-iyade ājuna-kudureya-
2 n-oḍḍicalu Ēkāntada Rāmayyam kādi geldu Jinan-oḍedu liṅga-pratiṣṭhe(the)yam māḍida
tā[vu] [||*]

TRANSLATION

This is the place representing how, at (the temple of) the illustrious god Brahmēśvara, Ēkāntada Rāmayya laid a wager, at the cost of the Jina of the shrine, of cutting off his head and received it back again. When Saṅka-gāvuṇḍa would not let him destroy the shrine of the Jina,

¹ Above, Vol. V, pp. 213 ff.; inscriptions A to G.

² The epithet *Ēkāntada* appears to have been acquired by Rāmayya after his victory over the Jainas. In lines 28-29 of inscription E the propriety of this epithet is justified on the ground of his firm and single-minded devotion to Śiva. But it appears reasonable to add that he might as well have claimed it to bring into contrast his great achievement which consisted in vanquishing the doctrine of Anāikānta that characterised the Jaina faith.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.

⁴ It is of interest to note that the achievement of Ēkāntada Rāmayya against the Jainas is also described in one of his compositions in the *Ragala* metre by Harihara, a Kannaḍa poet of about the 13th century. Harihara's account agrees in many respects with that of the Ablār inscription E.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, pp. 260-61.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135.

⁷ *In situ* and from an impression.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

Inscription I



Inscription II



First portion

శ్రీ జడతదానందయ్యంకూడరంగరస్రవతు

Middle portion

దురక్షణ శ్రీ సరియూర్నగరీ బంగదవడరంగ

Last portion

రంగనగరీ రంగనగరీ రంగనగరీ రంగనగరీ

arraying his men and horses against him, Ēkāntada Rāmayya fought and vanquished them. He smashed the Jina and installed the *līṅga* (in its place).

Now I will take up two more inscriptions in the same temple. These deal with the same theme as the above, viz., Ēkāntada Rāmayya's victory over the Jinas. These are also of the label category. They are not dated, but evidently belong to the same period as that of the above epigraph. They may be assigned approximately to 1200 A. C. on palaeographic considerations.

INSCRIPTION I

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the left of the entrance into the inner shrine of the Sōmāvara temple. The sculptures represent a dignitary with attendants on one side and a row of Śaiva devotees on the other. A person holding a document in his hand is shown prominently in the middle. The epigraph reads:—

TEXT¹

- 1 Śrīmad-Ēkāntada-Rāmayyanga Saṁka-gaṇḍavum-
- 2 ḍaṁ-ōḷeyam kuḍuva tūḍ[vu] []*

TRANSLATION

This is the place (*depicting the scene*) of conferring the certificate (*of victory*) upon the illustrious Ēkāntada Rāmayya by Saṁka-gaṇḍa.

INSCRIPTION II

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right of entrance into the inner shrine of the same temple. The sculptures depict the scene of a Jina placed horizontally ready to be broken amidst a group of local officials and Śaiva devotees. The epigraph reads:—

TEXT²

- 1 Yū(Ē)kāntada Rāmayyangaḷu Jinanaṁ-ōḍeḍu.
- 2 līṅga-pratishṭheyam māḍida tāvu[]*

TRANSLATION

At this place (*is depicted the scene of*) Ēkāntada Rāmayya breaking the (*image of*) Jina and setting up the Śivalīṅga.

INSCRIPTION III

This is an independent inscription by itself, made up of labels. It is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right side of the parapet wall at the entrance proper into the same temple and just opposite to Fleet's E. The characters are of about the same period as those of the foregoing records. The panels of sculptures as well as the inscription divide themselves into three portions pertaining to different episodes in the lives of Śaiva saints. The first series of sculptures consists of the figure of Śiva in his divine form followed by that of a Śaiva mendicant standing before a devotee holding a long piece of cloth in his hand. The second series represents a devotee with his wife carrying a child in her arms and a Kāpālīka *bhikṣu* facing them. The last is the figure of a seated man holding an object like a small round bat. The labels below these sculp-

¹ *In situ and from impressions.*

² *In situ and from impressions.*

whereas Bijjala was a protagonist of the orthodox Brahmanical creeds,¹ Basavēvara was a reformist directing his attacks against the rigidity of Brahmanical dogmas and practices and preaching his new cult of liberality and equality amongst the devotees of Śiva.² A volume of epigraphical and other evidence is now available to prove that Bijjala, like all members of the Kalachuri house, was a staunch follower of Śaivism and had no particular interest as such in Jainism. Thus the theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala stands thoroughly exploded.³ When Fleet wrote in this journal more than half a century ago, he expressed his doubt⁴ in regard to the historicity of Basavēvara on account of the paucity of sources then available to him. Subsequently the discovery and publication of a substantial number of literary works and epigraphs which constitute quite reliable and contemporaneous documents, have established him as a historic figure beyond all doubt.⁵ Of paramount importance in this context is the evidence of the Arjunavāḍa inscription published in this journal.⁶

We are in possession of more epigraphical evidence now to show that besides Rāmayya and Basavēvara, there flourished in this century other sponsors of the Śaiva movement, whose aggressive activities must have contributed to its success. We may illustrate these observations from the contents of two inscriptions. An inscription at Anṇigūri⁷ in the Dharwar District, referring itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Virā-Sōmēvara IV and dated in 1184 A.C., introduces a feudatory chief of the Sagara family named Virā-Goggidēva. An ardent upholder of the Śaiva faith, he is described as 'a fire to the Jaina scriptures' and 'a death to the adherents of the Jaina Law.' The record further characterises him as 'an eagle to the snakes which are the Jainas' and 'a hunter of the wild beasts in the form of followers of the Jina.' Another epigraph from Tālikōṭi⁸ in the Bijāpur District, referring itself to the same reign and bearing a date in the same year, furnishes the following facts about another feudatory, Mahāmāyājūḷēvara Viruparasa. This Viruparasa propitiated god Hara by his multifold devotion and was busily engaged with the advocates of the rival faiths. He launched a regular crusade as it were against the adherents of other sects. A conflagration to the forest of Jaina creed and adept in demolishing the Buddhist Canon, he pulverized the Jaina temples and raised the thrones of Śivaliṅgas. Thus did he vindicate his solemn oath and hold aloft the banner of Śiva in the three worlds. By virtue of such achievements he was endowed with the encomium of innumerable Śaiva devotees, both of the past and present generations. Lastly we may note here the significant circumstance that both Virā-Goggidēva and Viruparasa of the above two epigraphs lived in a period slightly later than that of Basavēvara and that their spheres of activities too were confined to the northern parts of Karmāṭaka. This might have been responsible for the confusion of later writers attributing to Basavēvara active hostility against the Jaina creed.

¹ I have discussed this topic and illustrated it with extracts from Harichara's above-named work in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karmāṭaka, delivered at the Karmāṭa Research Institute, Dharwar, in 1951. They are now published: see *Karmāṭa Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 102 ff.

² The *Sayings of Basava* are replete with utterances that testify to these observations. They show that his chief opponents were Brahmanas of the orthodox school wielding influence in the society. The Brahmanas and their practices are criticised severely and more often in his utterances than the Jainas to whom only passing references are made. The following among others are a few passages criticising Brahmanism: *Basavagadya: Śloka: Vachanapada* (pp. 48), Nos. 571, 576, 583, 588, etc.

³ The 'Kalachuris of Karmāṭaka' referred to above: *Kar. Sāh. Pari. Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 113-14. Also see Girind Pa's *Māru Upaṅṅāṅga*, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 242.

⁵ *Māru Upaṅṅāṅga*, pp. 59-62.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 9 ff. and 17.

⁷ Bombay-Karmāṭak Collection, No. 207 of 1923-24. The text of this and the following inscription are not published. Their short summaries only have been given in the *Annual Reports on S. I. Epigraphy* for the years concerned. But I have utilised their texts with the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 68 of 1929-30.

No. 20—PARBATIYA PLATES OF VANAMALAVARMADEVA

(I Plate)

P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI AND D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTAMUND

A set of three copper plates was discovered by a cultivator while tilling his field at the village of Parbatiyā which lies about three miles from the town of Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. It was secured by Mr. Biswadeb Sarma who was then a student of the Law College, Gauhati. Mr. Sarma handed over the plates to his teacher, Mr. S. K. Datta, Barrister-at-Law, then Principal of the Law College. Ultimately they were presented to the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, where they are now deposited.

The plates measure 10" by 6.2". They are held together by a ring to which a seal, similar to those found with the charters of the ancient kings of Prāgyōtisha, is soldered. The seal is oval in shape with its diameter measuring lengthwise 4.7" and breadthwise 4.3". It has a conical projection at the top and contains, on counter-sunk surface, the emblem of an elephant facing front, below which, separated by a cross-bar, is the legend in characters similar to those employed in the inscription on the plates. The legend is written in three lines and reads:

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmān-Prāgyōtish-ādhip-ānva-
- 2 yā mahārājādhirāja-īri-Vaṇam[5]-
- 3 lavarmadeva[3 ||*]

The first and the third plates have writing on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 59 lines of writing, the first plate having 15 lines, the second 16 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse, and the third only 13. The borders of the plates are raised; but the rims of the first plate are damaged and the last line of the inscription on its face is partially obliterated. The upper border of the obverse of the second plate is also slightly damaged towards the right. With the exception of certain *akṣaras* in the last line on the first plate as well as the vowel-marks of a few *akṣaras* in the first line of the same plate and also of line 1 on the obverse of the second plate, the inscription is in a good state of preservation. The *akṣaras* are neatly and beautifully incised. With the exception of the third plate, all the inscribed faces of the plates have one or more *akṣaras* in the margin opposite the ring-hole or in the space left out near about the hole. In the margin of plate I (reverse) there is the single *akṣara* *īri*, while plate II (reverse) has similarly *sa*. But in the space near the ring-hole of plate II (obverse) there are the stray *akṣaras* *īri*, *īri*, *sa*, *sa* and *sa* (†) together with two indeterminable marks, which are all fashioned here and there without any order. They, however, do not appear to have been the *akṣaras* inadvertently omitted in the inscription on the faces of the plates in question. The *akṣara* *īri* may of course be taken as a *maṅgala*; but the other *akṣaras* can hardly be accounted for.¹ The plates together with the seal weigh 258 *talas*, while the seal alone weighs 127 *talas*.

The characters employed belong to the East Indian variety of the Siddhamātrikā or Kuṭila script of the ninth century, sometimes called Early Nāgarī or Proto-Bengali.² Indeed it is the *Gauḍī lipi* or the East Indian script as known to Al-Bīrūnī³ and was the source from which the Bengali alphabet and the allied Assamese, Oriya and Maithilī scripts gradually developed. The inscription employs several times the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 58), *i* (lines 4, 10, 19, 22, 23, 53), *u* (lines 41, 50) and *ṛ* (lines 13, 28, 50, 52). Initial *ṛ* is of the ordinary type in all the cases,

¹ For similar stray *akṣaras* on the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamalavarman, see P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāma-rāya-Mana-dēvi*, p. 62 and note 2.

² Some of the *akṣaras* (cf. *a*, *ā*, *ṛ*, *y*, *ś*, medial *i* and *au*, etc.) closely resemble their Bengali-Assamese forms.

³ Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173; cf. *JRASB*, L, Vol., XIV, 1948, pp. 145-16; *IAQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 120-31.

except in line 23 where the lower part has a double curve instead of the usual one. Medial *ā* has no less than three different forms. In addition to the usual sign resembling a *dayda* put at the right of consonants and generally joined above with their top *mātrā* (cf. *Kaṭṭā* in line 1), there are some cases where the stroke is a little curved towards the right and reaches only down to about half the length of the consonants (cf. *krīṭā* in line 2), while in others it comes only a little down and then goes up, leaving a sharp curve below and ending in a stroke curved towards the right above the head of the consonants (cf. *paṅk-āṣṭa* in line 1). Medial *u* and *ū* are usually of the ordinary types; but the forms of *chyu* (cf. *chyuṭar* in line 2), *vu* (cf. *dāvūṭ-ōru* in line 23), *vū* (cf. *ārūḍhair* in line 11) and others are interesting. *Bhū* has been written in two different ways. The ordinary sign for medial *ū* has been employed in some cases (cf. *ābhāt* in line 53); but often the *ū* sign is formed by joining the sign for *u* with a *dayda* put at the right of *bh*; cf. lines 9 (*bbāt*), 12 (*bbāt*), 18 (*bhūā*), 20 (*ābbhāt* for *ābhāt*), 24 (*bhūmishā*) and 25 (*bhūri*). Medial *ē* is formed by lengthening the left end of the top *mātrā* of the consonant in a curve forming almost a loop at the end; but it is yet shorter than the developed sign of the *mātrā* reaching the bottom of the line. The akṣara *ḥ* has not been distinguished from *z*. The consonant *jh*, which is of rather rare occurrence, is found in the conjunct *jjhī* in line 43. The final consonants *ṛ* (lines 5, 12, 54, 57, 59), *ṛ* (lines 51, 53) and *m* (lines 4, 7, 8, 23, 35) occur many times in the inscription.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The prose portion exhibits the quality called *śāś* in a considerable degree in imitation of the style of masters like Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (cf. lines 33-46); but the versification is rather weak, there being several cases of metrical errors (cf. verses 3, 9, 19, 26, 27). The formal part of the charter from the beginning down to *Vanamālavarmmadēvāḥ kṛdātī* in line 48 is the same as in another record, viz., the *Tesput* plates,¹ of the king who issued the charter under discussion, except that two passages of considerable length have been omitted in the present inscription, perhaps inadvertently. As some mistakes are common to both the records (cf. *ādyasya* for a word like *yuktasya* in verse 9 and *vijagrihuḥ* for *jagrihuḥ* in verse 21), it seems that they were prepared from the same draft which was faulty. There are altogether thirty verses (actually 29 verses and only the first half of another stanza). Of the five verses in the latter part of the document, two are the common imprecatory stanzas, while the remaining three describing the donee are written in a style which is definitely worse than that of the stanzas in the formal part of the record. Weakness in the composition even of the formal part is exhibited by the repeated use of some expressions; cf. *adhīnāthātā* in lines 7-8; *nīkīṭāka* in lines 16-17; *āśīka* in lines 17, 20, 26; *anḥri* in lines 9, 14, 30; *vaṛi-ōva* in lines 10, 12; *anugā* in lines 13, 19; *vṛāta* in lines 30, 36. The number of orthographical errors, although not many, is not inconsiderable. The conjunct *agh* has been written as *ah*. The word *pushkariṇī* is found in the form *pushkiriṇī*. *Anusvāra* has been used instead of the final *m* in the imprecatory verses quoted at the end of the record. As regards other orthographical features, the consonants *g*, *ṇ* and *dā* have been reduplicated after *r*; but *m* and *v* have been only occasionally reduplicated under the same condition, while *th* and *y* have not been subject to reduplication. *T* has been reduplicated when followed by *r*.

The inscription is not dated even in the regnal reckoning of the king who was responsible for its issue, although that was expected considering its age and locality. There is, however, no difficulty in determining the approximate date of the charter. As a record of the father of its issuer, viz., the *Tesput* stone inscription of Harjaravarman,² is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.C., the inscription under notice has to be assigned to a date about the middle of the ninth century A.C.

¹ See *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1840, pp. 766-67; *Kāmarūpa-śāśana-śāli*, pp. 25-26.

² *Kāmarūpa-śāśana-śāli*, p. 187.

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *śaśāṭi* and two verses of adoration, the first in honour of the *Lōbitya-sindhu*, i.e., the river Brahmaputra, and the second in honour of the god *Pinākin*, i.e., *Śiva*. Verse 3 introduces *Naraka*, the son of *Ādivarāha* (i.e., *Viṣṇu*) and the goddess *Earth*, and the next verse says how *Kṛṣṇa* killed *Naraka* but allowed to go unpunished the latter's two sons, *Bhagadatta* and *Vajradatta*. Verses 5-6 describe how, when *Bhagadatta* obtained the lordship over *Prāgyōtisha*, his brother *Vajradatta* went to the forest where he propitiated *Iśvara* (probably the god *Śiva*) by his penance and obtained through the god's favour the lordship over *Uparipattana* as well as the future lordship of *Prāgyōtisha* for his descendants. Verse 7 introduces a later king of *Prāgyōtisha* belonging to *Vajradatta's* lineage, whose name is given as *Sālabha*. The following two verses appear to say that, when *Sālabha* joined in heaven the past kings of the country beginning with *Sālastambha* and ending with *Harsha* (i.e., *Harshavarman*), his brother *Arathi* became king. Verse 10 describes *Arathi's* queen *Jivādēvi*. Verses 11-12 describe king *Harjara* (i.e., *Harjaravarman*) who was the son of *Arathi* and *Jivādēvi*, while verses 13-15 say how *Harjaravarman's* queen *Maṅgalā* was an incarnation of the goddess *Lakṣmī* on the earth. Verses 16-23 give a description of king *Vanamāla* (i.e., *Vanamālavarman*) who was the son of *Harjaravarman* and *Maṅgalā*. Verse 24 says how king *Vanamālavarman* rebuilt a fallen temple of the god *Hētuka-Śūlin* (i.e., *Śiva*) into a magnificent building. Lines 47-48 mention *Paramāśvara Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja* a magnificent building. Lines 47-48 mention *Paramāśvara Paramahatthāraka Mahārājādhirāja* *Vanamālavarman* who was a devout worshipper of *Mahāśvara* (i.e., *Śiva*), meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of his parents and issued the charter from *Haḍapēśvara*. Lines 33-46 give a lengthy description of the city of *Haḍapēśvara* in prose. This passage suffers from the omission of a number of words at the end, although they can be restored from the *Terpur* plates of the same king, referred to above. The description suggests that the city was situated on the bank of the *Lōbitya-bhattāraka* (i.e., the river-god *Brahmaputra*). The river is said to have passed by the *Kāmakōṭa* hill, on the top of which were installed the god *Kūmāśvara* and the goddess *Mahāgaurī*. The following passage in prose and verse in lines 48-58 records the grant which is followed by two imprecatory verses in lines 58-59. The king made a gift of the village called *Hapōśagrāma* which was attached to the *maṅḍala* or district of *Svalpa-Maṅḍōka* situated in *Uttara-kōṭa* and was bounded by *Akshidāhikā* in the east, the tank of *Chandikā* (possibly the goddess of this name) in the south-east, *Dīrghāṅga* in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bush of bamboos or reeds in the west, a *salmali* tree in the north-west, a big *āl* (possibly an embankment) in the north and the tank of *Dhavalā* in the north-east. The gift village is said to have been made *a-chāpa-bhata-pravṛtta* (i.e., not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, or, more probably, by policemen and *peons*) and *mutt-āparitara* (i.e., not endowed with the right to enjoy taxes from temporary tenants). There is no specific mention that the village was made a rent-free gift. The donee was a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Chūḍamaṇi* who was the son of *Jōjjata* and was the eldest of four brothers, the other three being *Dāṣabhā*, *Garga* and *Sambhu*. It is said that the brothers were all living jointly without separation, because they feared in that the loss of *dharma*. Apparently the grant was made in favour of the head of the family but was meant to be enjoyed by all the four brothers and their descendants. The grant is said to have been made with a view to increasing the merit and fame of the king's parents with the request that it might be approved by all.

As regards the absence of any clear indication in the charter whether *Hapōśagrāma* was made a rent-free gift, it may be pointed out that the *śāśāṭis* of ancient Indian rulers were of

* Various forms of the mother-goddess are associated with *Assam* and especially with the *Śākta* *Pīthas* at *Kāśhāyā* near *Guwahati*. Cf. *The Śākta Pīthas* (J.R.A.S., Vol. XIV, 1915, No. 1), pp. 11-16, 47-48, and notes.

several categories. In many cases, land was granted as a free-gift and a rent-free holding.¹ Sometimes a piece of land was sold at a specified price but was made a perpetually rent-free holding.² In some other cases, the land is said to have been 'given'; but a specified rent was fixed for it.³ There were other cases (cf. the charter under discussion) in which land was given without any clear specification whether it was made a free-gift or a rent-free holding. There is little doubt that in many cases the word 'given' actually meant 'sold' and silence about making the land rent-free is an indication that it was revenue-paying, although certain concessions may have often been allowed to be enjoyed by the holders.⁴ In ancient India, often the sale of land was theoretically represented in the form of a gift. This is definitely suggested by the *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 114: *sthāvarasya vikraya-pratishēdāt... dāna-prakarsaich-cha vikraye-'pi kartavye sa-hiranyam-ulakam datvā dāna-rūpēya sthāvara-vikrayam kuryāt*.⁵ That Hapōsagrāma was not made a rent-free holding and may have actually been sold seems to be suggested also by the absence of the customary list of officials and subordinates who were usually addressed by the kings while making free gifts of land.

The reference to the joint family in which the four Brāhmana brothers Chūḍāmaṇi, Dīpōbhā, Garga and Śambhū were living together is very interesting. It is said that they did not get separated for fear of the loss of *dharma*. This seems to acknowledge the right of the sons to demand partition of the family property (even during the life time of the father) as provided for in the so-called *Mitāksharā* system of inheritance. It is interesting to note that some early writers on law (e.g., Gautama, 28, 4; Manu, IX, 111) favour partition because it tends to increase *dharma*. Manu says that "the brothers may stay united, or separate in case they desire an increase of *dharma*; by living separate *dharma* increases; therefore separation is meritorious." As indicated by Brihaspati and Nārada, when the brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them, but when there is a partition those acts are separately performed by each,⁶ and this explains the reference to the increase of *dharma* by Manu. According to Śāṅkhya-Likṣita, however, brothers may stay together, since being united they would prosper materially.⁷ This view was no doubt shared by the members of the Brāhmana family mentioned in our record. The fear of *dharma-kṣaya* referred to in the inscription points to the fact that such acts of *dharma* as the worship of the gods and manes and the entertainment of guests were easy for a joint family with its undivided property but difficult for each of the tiny families partitioned out of it with the small resources at its disposal.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only legible record, besides the Nowgong plates⁸ of Balavarman, of the Mlōchchha dynasty of Prāgyōtisha, which was founded by Śālastambha and was preceded by the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, represented by Bhāskara-varman and his predecessors, and succeeded by the Pāla dynasty founded by Brahmapāla, although both the dynasties of Śālastambha and Brahmapāla claimed to be offshoots of the ancient Nāraka or Bhauma line. According to verses 9-10 of the Bargeon plates⁹ of king Ratnapāla of the third dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings (i.e., the Pāla house of Brahmapāla), the kingdom of the descendants of Nāraka passed to the Mlōchchha-*ādhipātān*

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 417.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 347-9.

³ See *JPASH*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

⁴ Cf. *JASB*, 1932, pp. 4 ff.

⁵ Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmashāstra*, Vol. III, p. 567.

⁶ See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

⁷ Kane, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *JASB*, 1907, Part I, pp. 289-93; *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śruti*, pp. 73-80.

⁹ *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śruti*, p. 24.

Sālastambha, the twenty-first king of whose line was Tyāgasimha; this king having died childless, the subjects, preferring a scion of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, made Brahmapāla their king. Of these twentyone rulers of the Mlēcchha house of Sālastambha, mentioned in verse 7 of our record (cf. the expression *asy-ānagā*¹ indicating the relation between Vajradatta and Sālastambha) as a branch of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, we have inscriptions of three kings only, viz. (1) Harjara or Harjaravarman to whom belong the Hayungthal plate² and the Tezpur rock inscription³; (2) Harjaravarman's son Vanamāla or Vanamālarman who issued the Tezpur plates⁴ and the charter under discussion; and (3) Vanamālarman's grandson Balavarman who issued the Nowgong plates referred to above. Of the four published records of the family, Harjaravarman's inscriptions, one (the Hayungthal epigraph) of which is fragmentary as only one of the plates has so far been found, are both in a miserable state of preservation. The original of the Tezpur inscription of Vanamālarman is now lost and its transcript, published as early as 1840 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, is palpably full of mistakes of all sorts. The late Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya made an attempt to emend the faulty transcript of the record with the help of imagination; but the result could hardly be satisfactory. The only published record of the family, reliable from the historians' point of view, is thus the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, although this epigraph also suffers from a few damaged letters. Under the circumstances, the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālarman under publication remove a number of defects and doubts in the history of the Mlēcchha or Sālastambha family of Prāgyōtisha.

In the first place, from the published wrong text of verses 7-9 of the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālarman, it was so long believed that king Prālammbha was the father of Harjaravarman. The clear reading of those verses in our record shows that *Prālammbha* was a wrong reading for *Sālammbha* and that Harjaravarman's father was not Sālammbha but the latter's brother (apparently younger brother) named Arathi. It further shows that the reading of the name *Aratha* in verse 9 is wrong. The theory about the existence in this dynasty of a prince named *Aratha*, regarded as the son of Arathi who is mentioned in the passage *chakra-ārathi* (Chakra and Arathi) in line 9 of the indistinct Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, is thus entirely imaginary.⁵ Secondly, it was so long believed, on the strength of the wrong reading of verse 5, that it was Bhagadatta who is said to have received the lordship of the territory of Uparipattana. It is, however, clear beyond doubt from our record that, while Bhagadatta obtained the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha, his brother Vajradatta secured lordship over Uparipattana through the grace of Jivara whom he had propitiated.⁶ Thirdly, the name of

¹ Ibid., pp. 48-51.

² Ibid., p. 187.

³ Ibid., pp. 68-69; *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1840, pp. 796-67.

⁴ *Kamarūpa-Samantasamhitā*, introduction, p. 20. The reading and interpretation of verse 8 of the Hayungthal plate are not beyond doubt. According to Bhattacharya (op. cit., pp. 48-49, 51-52), Harshavarman, who seems to be placed immediately before Sālammbha in our record (cf. *śat-Harsa-ānagā* in verse 5), was followed on the throne by his son Balavarman; then in the family were born the princes Chakra and Arathi, and the son of the latter, whose name is not traced in the record but is suggested to be *Aratha* (on the basis of the wrong reading of verse 9 of Vanamāla's lost plates) became king; Jivadeti, mentioned in the following verses 9-10 and described as the mother of Harjara in verse 11, was the wife of Aratha's successor Prālammbha (sic, Sālammbha). We now know that Sālammbha was succeeded by his younger brother Arathi, who was the husband of Jivadeti and the father of Harjaravarman. It seems therefore that the second half of verse 8 of the Hayungthal inscription has to be so interpreted as to indicate that the throne passed to the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi and that the younger of the two brothers was the husband of Jivadeti. If this has to be accepted, then it has possibly to be suggested that Chakra was another name of Sālammbha and that the rule of Balavarman intervening between that of Harshavarman and Sālammbha was ignored in Vanamāla's records because that king was succeeded by Chakra *alias* Sālammbha after a very short rule.

⁵ *CE Journ. Asian Res. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

Harjaravarman's queen, who was the mother of Vanamālavarman, is given as Śrīmatīrā in verse 15 of the published text of the lost plates, while the Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman (line 24) has it as Maṅgalārī. The correct reading of the name in Vanamālavarman's inscription is now found to be *śrī-Maṅgalā*. The real name of the queen thus seems to have been Maṅgalā or Maṅgalārī. Fourthly, the name of Harjaravarman's mother was read in the lost plates as Jivadā (verse 10), although the Hayungthal plate gives it as Jivadēvi (line 13). The present record shows that *Jivad=āi* suggesting the name Jivadā is a wrong reading for Jivadēvi. Fifthly, verse 24 of the present record as well as of the lost plates refers to the rebuilding of a fallen temple of Hētuka-Sālin (Śiva) by Vanamālavarman. Whatever may be the real significance of the word *hētuka* in this context, Bhattacharya's emendation *Hāṭapa-Sālin* to indicate the god installed at the city of Hāṭappēvara seems to be entirely beside the mark. Sixthly, it is usually believed that the name of the capital city of the second dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings was Hārūppēvara. This is no doubt the reading of the name preferred by R. Hoernle in line 29 of the Nowgong plates of Balavarman. It must however, be pointed out that Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two *akṣaras* of the name are not quite distinct; possibly *sarū*".¹ In line 21 of the Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, Bhattacharya reads the name as *Hāṭappēvara* (although not the slightest trace of *ā* sign on *h* is found in the photograph of the plate published by him) and corrects it to Hārūppēvara.² In line 1 of the Tezpur stone inscription³ of the same king, the reading seems to be *Hāṭappēvara*, although Bhattacharya suggests *Hārūppēvara*. The late Mahamahōpādhyāya H. P. Sastri reads the name in this record as *Hārūppēvara*.⁴ As regards the first *akṣara*, however, he says, "The *ā* stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock; but we know from other inscriptions of this dynasty that the name of the capital was *Hārūppēvara*." In regard to the second *akṣara* of the name, he says, "There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of *ra*. Hence the Government Epigraphist (H. Krishna Sastri) read it as *Ma*". In a note⁵ on the reading of this damaged inscription, that master epigraphist, F. Kielhorn, read the name as *Ha. ppēvara* and observed as follows: "Of the name which follows upon *svasti*, the initial consonant (*h*) is clear, but it is uncertain whether the first syllable of the name is simply *ha*, or *hā* or *hu*; and the second syllable, which I have omitted, is quite doubtful. The same name we apparently have in line 5 of Plate IIb of the Nowgong District plates of Balavarmadeva of Prāgyōtisha where by Dr. Hoernle it has been read *Hārūppēvara*, with the note that the first two syllables might possibly be *sarū*. But in the published photograph of the plates the second syllable hardly looks to me like *rū*, and in the impressions of our stone inscription to read *rū* seems impossible."⁶ It will thus be seen that the reading of the first two *akṣaras* of the name *Hārūppēvara* is doubtful in all these cases, though the first of them is probably *ha* and not *hā*. As to the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarman, the name is found in the rough transcript published in the *JASB* as *Harajitana*, although, it may be pointed out, the letter *ḍ* has always been read by the transcriber as *v* as a result of the

¹ *JASB*, 1897, p. 291, note 29. See also Kielhorn's remarks on the reading of the name, quoted below.

² *Vide Kāmarūpa-Śāstrī-śrī, p. 50 and plates facing p. 47, Cf. Journ. As. Soc., Vol. I, No. 4, p. 111, note B.*

³ *Vide ibid., plate facing p. 187.*

⁴ *JBORS*, 1917, p. 515, notes 1-2.

⁵ *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 203 dem Jahre 1900, pp. 465-71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

- 17 प्रथं ॥२३॥ ज्ञापयित्वा^१ अक्षरस्वा(स्तवा) तत्र संभागतः । तत्रा हस्तप्रणीतां शुष्पप्राद्व
नी(का)गतः ॥२४॥ नही(ही) प्रति तदायातो राज्ञे-
- 18 द्वो रोषपोषितः । कोटवीधामतः^२ शीघ्र(ध्र) ततः सेनासमो(मा)वृतः ॥२५॥ संप्रेषितो
भीमसिंहः कुमारो राणभूभुजा । ईडरु(ध्व)सम-
- 19 तनोत्संहसा(सा) ततो गतः ॥२६॥ बडनगरं लुडितं^३ मय चत्वारि(रि)शतसहस्र(ज)मिताः ।
राजतमुद्रा जगृहे बडविधौ भीमसिंह इह
- 20 ॥२७॥ अहमदनगरे लक्षद्वयप्रमितकल्पमुद्राणां । वस्तुनां लू(लु)टनमिहे(ह) कारितवान्भी-
मसिंह(ह)व(व)ली ॥२८॥ एका महामतीवि-
- 21 विषाडिता लघु(घु)मसीदिनुविशती । दे(वा)लपपातयः प्रकाशित(ता) भीमसिंहवीरेण ॥२९॥
राणामहीमहेंद्रस्य^४ आलया वित्त उ-
- 22 लुकः । महाराजकुमारधीजयसिंहो नामः(म)^५ ॥३०॥ आलाकचंदसेनेन बोहानेन समूह(भु)ता ।
तथा सव(व)लसिंहेन रावेण रणम्-
- 23 रिणा ॥३१॥ केसरीसिंहनाम्ना लङ्काया रावेण शोभितः । राडोडगोपीनाथेन^६ अरिसिंहस्य
सुनुना ॥३२॥ जगवंतादिसिंहेन धन-
- 24 राजन्यराजिभिः । सहितः स्वाहितजयं कर्त्त(र्त्तुं) हितसमीहिते ॥३३॥^७ अयोध्या सहस्राणि^८
अश्ववारचरावलेः । सद्दिवसिसहस्राणि
- 25 पडातीनां महात्मनां ॥३४॥ संगे गृहीत्वा प्रथमं विप्रकूटतटीं प्रति । ततस्ते टक्कुरा
रावी संगरं चकृत(च)न्मवाः ॥३५॥ सहस्रसंख्या-
- 26 निवर्त्तीशलोकां जघ्न(घ्न)गंजयम् । येनागतास्तत्तुरगाभिःभूतस्तवकम्बरः ॥३६॥ पंचाशत्-
रगान्भीरा गृहीत्वा ताडयवेदयन्(न्) ।
- 27 कुमारजयसिंहाय जयसिंहो मुखं दधे ॥३७॥ जयसिंहः कुमारोश्च श्रीराजेश्वरस्य दशनं ।
कृतवान्क(क्त)तकृत्या(त्यो) वा महारणकृतौ
- 28 कृतौ ॥३८॥ शकतावतस्य शक्तस्य केसरीसिंहमंगः । गंगह्वर इत्येष कुमारपदवीं वषत्
॥३९॥ अष्टादश द्विचान्मताह-
- 29 यीषानुष्टुसंचयान् । दिल्लीशंसंघादानीय राजेन्द्रायै न्यवेदयत् ॥४०॥ राजेश्वरेण कुमारोश्च
भीमसिंहो बलीनि(कान्ति)तः । प्रेषितो-

^१ The absence of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

^२ Read *luptam*, *lū* would be Hindi.

^३ *Masidi* stands for *masjid*, i.e., mosque.

^४ This fourth quarter is too short by two syllables. Perhaps the intended reading was *Jayachit-Si-masidi*.

- 30 कञ्जराख्येन तथा तह्वरेण च ॥४१॥ ज्ञानेन संगरं चक्रे शङ्करशोरभोष[भं] । उत्तमं
देवसूरीं ता(तां) महानाति नवोप(प)मः । ॥४२॥
- 31 घानोरानगरे चक्रे पुष्टं योद्धुर्विक्रमः^१ । बा(बी)कासोलंकिवीरीय छट्ट(घट्ट)रक्षां रणं व्यधात्
॥४३॥ राणेदेण कुमारोप गज ॥^२
- 32 सि(सि)हो व(व)सात्वि(न्वि)तः । प्रस्थापितो व(व)भजायं तद्वे(द्वे)गमपुरं महत् ॥४४॥
राष्ट्रवप(पं) कृष्णमुद्रासन्नत्रयमवापि वा । इत्वं(स्वं)व मिल-
- 33 न^३ कार्यं मया राणेन निश्चितं ॥४५॥ शौरगजेवं दिल्लीश उक्तवान्त्स [त]द्व(द्व)तरं ।
विधेः कलेवं(वं)साज्जातं वस्तदत्र ववाम्यहं ।^४
- 34 ॥४६॥ श्रीराजोवयसिहसुनुरभवत्^५ श्रीमं(म)प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीधमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्ण-
सिहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राण-
- 35 जगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्मादा(द्वा)र्जसिहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिह एव कृतवान्वीरः शिलावे(ले)खितं
॥४७॥ पु(पु)णं सप्तदशे शते तपति वा
- 36 सत्पुणिमाख्ये दिने द्वाविंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसू(सु)प्रमिष्टजस्येः
सुष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तो-
- 37 वाक्त(क्त) रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्या[ह्व]यं ॥४८॥ युग्मं । अ(आ)सीद्भास्करस्तसु
माधववु(वु)धोऽस्माद्वामर्ष(र्ष)इस्ततः[*] स-
- 38 स्म(त्स)र्वेश्वरकः कञ्जो(र्वे)डिकुलजो लक्ष्मणादिनायस्त(स्त)तः । तेज(वं)गोस्य तु रा[मचं]द्व
[इ]ति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधु-
- 39 सु(सु)वनस्त्रय इमे व(व)ह्येणविष्णुपम[ः] । ४९॥ यस्यासा(सी)न्मधुसूदनस्तु जनका(को) सेनो
च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ए[व*] कृत-
- 40 धानाजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राणगुणोपवर्णनमयं वा(वी)राकमुक्त(क्तं) महत्^६ ।^७ द्वाविंशोभवदत्र
सर्गं उचितो वागर्षसर्गस्कुं(स्कु)टः ॥[१५०॥*]
- 41 [चतु]वि(विं)शत्याख्य इहानवद्वयमुदे सर्गोर्षसर्गोन्नतः^८ ॥५१॥ इति श्रीराजप्र[श*]स्त(स्तो)
श्रीराजसर्ग(गर)श्रीप्रस्त श्रीसर्गद्विंशत्य^९ स[र्गः]

^१ We have probably to read *yuddam-adhikula-vikramah*.

^२ These two *daudas* are superfluous.

^३ A more correct form would be *śāman*.

^४ This *dauda* is superfluous.

^५ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^६ The portion of verse from chapter to "anatah" is redundant here ; it is meant for the twenty-fourth canto wherein it comes in the thirty-sixth stanza.

^७ The meaning of this part is obscure ; this line of writing in any way is superfluous.

Slab XXIV ; Canto XXIII

[Metres : vv. 1-3, 9-13, 43-52 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 4-8 *Bhujangaprayāta* ; v. 44 *Sārdūlavikrīṭa*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः^१ ॥ शते सप्तर्जोतीति सप्तत्रिंशन्मितेऽङ्के । कास्तिके शुक्लदशमीदिने
राणापुंरि^२वरः ॥१॥ नानाविधानि [दा]-
- 2 नाति इष्टं दात्वा(त्वा) त्यक्तं । द्विजादिभ्यो हरिं द्यात्वा जपमालां करे दधत्
॥२॥ हृदि संस्थाप्य च जपमालाम् स्वनाम च । समय-
- 3 : स्थापयन्तीर्क(र्कलोके) भूलोकं त्यक्तवाद्यपः ॥३॥ इदानीं महादानमुद(दं) द्विजेभ्यस्तथा वाः
सपत्ताः सुवर्णादिपुत्राः(र्षाः) । तदुक्तं फलं शं-
- 4 श्र(ब)लं संदधानीं नृपो दुर्गमस्वर्गमार्गाय यातः ॥४॥ महादानसन्म(न्म)दपरतंजसंघाः कृता
दादणा तेभ्यस्तत्सर्वरूपः(पाः) । तदा(दी?)योष्व-
- 5 निःश्रेणिकाश्रेणिकानिः शित्तिस्पर्शहेनं विमान(नं) समान(नं) ॥५॥ महद्रेण संप्रेषितं मेदिनीद्विः
समाबद्धं विष्णोर्मणैः संवृतद्वय । स
- 6 नाकं सुखं प्राप धर्मेण साकं महाराजसिंहो नरैरेषु सिंहः ॥६॥ महद्रेण संमानितस्तेन
विध्यासने स्वा(स्था)पितो मानितस्तोषितो
- 7 यत् । महादानमालातटागप्रतिष्ठा(ष्टा)करो विष्णुनामग्रही धर्मपूजे(र्षाः) ॥७॥ ततः स्वीय-
बेकुण्डलोके त्वकुण्डप्रभाषो हरिः प्रेषयि-
- 8 त्वा विमानं मुद्रा(दा)ऽऽकार्यं संस्थापयामास युक्तं स्वपूर्वोद्भवं संयुतं राजसिंहं ॥८॥
ततः(तः) कर्णजे नगरे सिधिरं आगतमोड(ड)नी ।
- 9 जयतिहो जयमयः सत्पंचदश वात्सरान् ॥९॥ उत्तलं च कृतवाग्बीरो राजसिंहसत्सिधिरिति ।
रि(र)रञ्ज रणवज्रोवं कोणा(णी)म-
- 10 शौहिवीरतिः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तत्रिंशन्मितेऽङ्के । मार्गशा(शी)र्षे शीर्षमार्गप्रकाशी
मार्गशाखं वः ॥११॥ वसत्का(न्क)र्णजे नग-
- 11 गरे जयतिहो महामनाः । श्रुत्वा तद्वरं ध्यानं देशसूरी विलंघ्य च ॥१२॥ आवात(नं)
षट्मर्षावात्सीलिनं कोपयितः । स्वभ्रातरं भीमसिंहं
- 12 भीमं बाष्पे(वा प्रे)षयस्तं तु ॥१३॥ बीकासीलं किनं दृष्ट्वा तं समादवास्य तत्परं ।
महाभीमो भीमसिंहो बीकासीलं किनं ब(व)रः ॥१४॥ अध्वनु-

^१ This pa is superfluous.

- 13 मल्ल(कठ)सत्वा(संन्या)नि दृष्टस्तहबरोमव(व)त् । विवाष्टकांतं गु(क्तो)ष दाहमुक्त(वत्) कु-
विष्णु(कठ)विः ॥११॥ घानोरापा^१श्चं अग्यातो जयसिंहो इलेलवा [१^२]
- 14 छुपप्रवेशशैलेध्वामो(या)तो ह्याग(गो?)वृ(वृ)तोस्य तु ॥१२॥ मार्तो वस्ते राणलोकेगोमुदापट्ट
आगतः । वडा घट्टास्ततो राणातोके[नोके]वु विष्णु-
- 15 तैः ॥१३॥ रत्नसीरावतेनापि स्थितं घडे(हे) शिलोक्तं । वलेलवां न शक्तोभूत्वा गंतुं
कथंचन ॥१४॥ अय श्रीजयसिंह(हे)न ज्ञाताकरो व-
- 16 रसाभिधः । प्रेषितो मि(मे)लनं कर्तुं तेनोक्तं मार्गवामिना ॥१५॥ इ(से^३)लव(वा)न(नं)
प्रत्येवं भवानिल्लीशमानितः । सहस्राण्यध्वाराणा(णा) सगय(संगे पं- ?)
- 17 चदशात्र ते ॥१६॥ राणेइस्यकराजग्यो घट्टं वडा स्थितो भवान् । निःसरस्व(स्व) व
मिडिचतो राणेइस्य तव स्फूर्द ॥१७॥ स्नेहस्तत्रपप्येतया-
- 18 यातस्त्वमतः परं । नवावे(वावे)नोध्यते च(वे)तं घट्टाश्रिःसारवाम्यहं ॥१८॥ उच्यते
केस्थापयामि नवा(वा)वेन तदेरितं । पथीत्सु(इचात्से^४)न्य मनायाति मा-
- 19 स्तु तेनापि वारणं ॥१९॥ घट्टप्रयस्य मार्तस्य वृष्टयर्थं प्रेषिता भटाः [१^५] तैलनवा(वा)वेन
तु कंदवृष्टालयोवृडं ॥२०॥ ततो न निःसृत्तत्र [न^५]बाव(बाव)-
- 20 स्तवनंतरं सहस्व(स्व) कण्ठमुद्रास्तुद्रत्यै(त्वं)कर्म द्विजातये ॥२१॥ अग्रेसरुत्त च त^५
नवा(वा)वो रणकेसरो । निःसृतोर्ग्येन(न) मार्गेण राज्ञी त-
- 21 आपि संग्रवान् ॥२२॥ रत्नसीरावतो रत्नं वे(यो)धाना(तां) मार्गतो जवात् । रं(र)णं
चये निःसरणं नवा(वा)वः का(क)प्यतो व्यधात् ॥२३॥ इत्वं इलेल-
- 22 आनस्तु निः^६मृतो य(घ)ट्टलक्षणात् [१^६] दिल्लीशांतिक आगतः पृष्टो विल्लीश्वरेण
मः(सः) ॥२४॥ त्व(त्वं) निःसृत किमावातो सणा(राण)कस्यान् गो
- 23 गतः । इलेलपा(वां) तयोवाय(व) नाशं लब्धं मया ग्रनो ॥२५॥ राणे(णे)डो मम
[य^७]इचात् हंतुं मां समुपागतः । घोषा ये मारितास्तेन नानाहं तेन निः^८:-
- 24 गु(तः) ॥२६॥^८ अस्मा(आ)भावाप्रित्यमेव लोकानां तु चतुः^९शता(तो) । मृता हंत श्रिः(ति)सुतस्तत्^९
भुत्वा दिल्लीया आकुलः ॥२७॥^९ अथाकवर आवातो मि(मे)ल-
- 25 न(नं) कर्तुंमुक्तः । राणाश्रीकर्मसिंहस्य द्विता(ती)वस्तनयो बर्वा ॥२८॥^९ गरीब-
वासस्तत्पुत्रः इयामसिह इहागतः । कृ(कृ)त्वा मि(मे)लनवार्ता(र्ता) तां

^१ This *ph* appears like *gh*, while next to it there is a superfluous *danda*.

^२ The reading of this latter half of the verse is not clear; possibly we have to render it as follows: *airmāham* in *Nandhān* *krītam* *ghaṭṭa-tropam* *drīḍham*.

^३ Read *agresarān* *zhu* *krīta* *tan*.

^४ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 26 पराधृत्य गतो दुर्वा ॥३२(३३)॥ ततो द^१स्तलगावस्तु मिलने^२ दाडधमातनोत् । तथा
हसगंशली^३ मिलनस्य^४ विधि(धि) व्यधात् ॥३३(३४) जयसिहो-
- 27 य मिलन^५ कर्तुंमुद्योगमातनोत् [१^{*}] श्रीमद्राजसमुद्रस्य^६ अग्रभागे स्थितस्ततः ॥३४(३५)॥
सहस्राण्यवधारणां सप्त स सप्तकविधां । सध्वे स्थि-
- 28 सः सप्तसप्तिसप्तजः समाव(ब)नी ॥३५(३६)॥ जयसिहः स्थितः स(प्त)नामसप्तिसमे ह्ये ।
तत्प्रेम्हा(क्ष)कजर्जः प्रोक्तं अष्टवारमयं जगत(त्) ॥३६(३७)॥ प-
- 29 दानीनामयुक्तं संगे स्थापितवाग्रभुः । तदा पतिमयं प्रोक्तं जगद्गुदा जनेधुं(धुं)धं
॥३७(३८)॥ महापौर्यो महार्थयो जयसिहस्ततो व(ब)नी [१^{*}]
- 30 शालेद्र चंद्रतेनास्य बो(बो)हानं स्थापयन्पुरः ॥३८(३९)॥ रावंसव(ब)लसिहास्य परमार-
द्विरोमणि । चंदीमाल महाराव राठोरान्वीरठक्कुरान्
- 31 ॥३९(४०)॥ चौडावतान्ने चंडान् शक्तान्शक्तवतांस्तथा । रानीवतान्नेवाजान्नाजान्नाज-^७
न्यदुर्जयान् ॥४०(४१)॥ सयत्तिवर्वादिषा^८संगे संगे^९
- 32 संस्थाप्य से(सो)स्तवः । राणेद्रो रणदुर्धयो(यो) मिलना^{१०}चा(धो) मुदाञ्चलत् ॥४१(४२)॥
रक्तध्वजैः(जैः) शोभमाना भाति नावां मद्विधाः । सप्तलवटुमा
- 33 गोधा एकज स्वापिताः किम् ॥४२(४३)॥ वे(वे)रिछाहणे(णे)मंहोपरकुलं सद्रतवृंदरहो
राजचक्रव(च)वंडच बाडवस्ति(शि)ल्लिफुल्लप्रतर्पवु(वु)तः [१^{*}]
- 34 उद्युग्गोविधर्मं(हो)मिनिवहंमंवाद्यापूर्ववा नाभीये(ये)न युतो^{११} विराजति जयो राणा^{१२}संभः^{१३} कि
परः[१^{*}] ॥४३(४४)॥ क्षोरंगजेवयोरस्य दिल्ली-
- 35 अस्य सुतस्य सः । जगत्प्राणसुरप्राणप्राजस्य प्रतापिनः[१^{*}] ॥४४(४५)॥ आक्षया
ति(वि)सतसिधुगा(गी)भीर्यगुणसागरः [१^{*}] इल(ले)लगा महावीरो हसप्राज(प्रा)-
- 36 दपुरितः[१^{*}] ॥४५(४६)॥ तथा हरा(म)नचल्लीला(ली) अ(ल)म्येपि म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भुभुजे(ज) ।
राठोयो रामसिहास्यो रतनामपुरस्थितः[१^{*}] ॥४६(४७)॥ हाडाकिशोरसिहास्यो गौडभु-

^१ The sign of asygraha is unnecessary.

^२ Though the correct form of this word is *salān*, yet our author invariably uses *salān* which is Hindi.

^३ *Sundā* is not observed here for the sake of the metre.

^४ *Sundā* is not observed here.

^५ The intended reading of this portion seems to be *sarvāṇāṁ śāstrāṇāṁ śāstrāṇāṁ*.

^६ This except is redundant.

^७ There is a superfluous *daśā* here.

- 37 पस्तथापु(प)रे [१^०] हिट्ट(हिट्ट)म्लेच्छ(छ)महावीरा आयातः संमुखं सुखात् ॥४७(४८)॥
दिल्लीपतोर्मः स्वोर्ध्वे च देशपालैः समावृतः । जयसिंहो विभाजाय^२ विष्णा(ष्णा)लेर्मय-
- 38 मावृतः ॥४८(४९)॥ ततः^३] श्रीजयसिंहाख्यः पूर्वोक्तोऽष्ट(८)शतुर्युतः । गरीबवासनाग्नौ
स्वपुरोहितवरेण वा ॥४९(५०)॥ श्री[सु]प्रथा(था)नवे[श्ये]न युक्ते(क्तः) मुयोनितेय-
- 39 साः(सा) [१^०] महानाग्यो [मह(०)गीयो(यो)] महोत्साहो महामताः(तः) ॥४९(५१)॥
हि(हि)ट्टम्लेच्छ(छ)महावीरदेशनाथशिरोभिन्नः(तः) । यमा(आजमा?)द्यमुरवाणमर्धदेशं समाततो-
- 40 त् ॥५०(५१)॥ आजमाख्यमुखा(मुरवा)णो रणेऽस्मादरं भूयां । अकरोद्दिनयोपेतसु(स्स)
शे(स्ने)हमनुद्वेगम् ॥५१(५२)॥ एकादश मजो(जा)नस्या(स्या)श्चत्वारिंशन्मिताम्
- 41 शुभान् । आजमाख्याय राने(नें)[द्रो]प(वं)यामास सुवर्षयान् ॥५२(५३)॥ आजमाख्यः मुरवाण
एक मरुत द्वि(एकं मरुतमं द्विप?) । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्याश्चान्तेहमयस-
- 42 नवयोः ॥५३(५४)॥ संजातजामिता भूया(यः) समूहं रानमृज्जे(जे) । द्रवो(वी) महान्हमयं^४
मिलनं त्वनयोर्भूत(त्) ॥५४(५५)॥ दलेतया(त्ता) तवोवाच सुलतान शु-
- 43 ष्ण प्रभो । अय(यं) वीरस्त्वं दलेतो राना जालसिरोमणिः ॥५५(५६)॥ रावः सव(व)सिंहोयं
रत्नसीमानरावतः । ओहावत रणे च(चं)डाः शक्ता(क्ताः) शक्तावतास्तयो(था)
॥५६(५७)॥ य-
- 44 दमारश्च राडोस(डा)स्तथा राजावतोत्तमां(माः) । रणे सि(सि)ंहाः पर्वतेषु मार्गमदपुरुतमाः
॥५७(५८)॥ मृगयुग्मे(मे) महायोधा ज्ञातव्यं विजतावु(वु)धे । दिल्लीजेन य-
- 45 रां — —^५ रानोक्तया रजितुं धु(धु)वं ॥५८(५९)॥ अस्तमा(मो)प्युक्तवानेदं सत्यमेव न
संशयः^६ ॥(१) संतुष्टो जयसिंहा(हो)म इवावाहां कृतावतार(कृतावरः) ॥५९(६०)॥
जे(ज)वसिंहो महाभागो वी-
- 46 [रः] शि[विर]मातुः । सखावी(आग्य)तः शीघ्र(घ्रं) मिलनं [मज्जता]दरात्^७ ॥६०(६१)॥
[युग्मेः] सर्ग इति त्रयोविंशतिनामा सर्गः ॥

Slab XXV ; Canto XXIV

[Metres : vv. 1-10, 16-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 11 *Upajāti* ; vv. 12-15, 33-36 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 28 *Argā* ; v. 29 *Upajāti* ; vv. 30-32 *Gul*.]

- 1 ॥ सिध(र्ध) श्रीगणेशाय स्म(नमः) [१^०] येष्मा^१ अमरसि(सि)ंहाख्यौजयुक्तस्य धर्म(र्मि)जः ।
राने(ने)दराजसिंहस्य राजराजस्य संपदा ॥१॥ हेमनो दध सहस्रयो(हस्रो)दसी-

^१ The two sets of *śaṅkha* and the figure 47 appear above the line.

^२ The reading of these four syllables is probably intended to be *bāhār-ajāa*.

^३ The sense is not clear here.

^४ This third *pāda* is too short by two syllables.

^५ The absence of *śaṅkha* here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

- 2 सकैः¹ पूर्णतो भूतः । शुद्धात्मने व(वि)सृष्ट्यावास्तुलाया अनुलाभ्यः ॥२॥ मा(म)हासेतो
हस्तिगोत्रात्सक(सकं)धे वं(वं)धुरमुदरं । तोरणं भाति गौरी-
- 3 स्वाधोरणं तुल्यद्वया² ॥३॥ महोच्च(उच्च)लतया किवा³ ऐरावतकुलस्त्वितिः ॥४॥ हस्तिग्रेया
मृ(मृ)जित धत्ते विजयस्योच्चभूषणं ॥५॥ वत्ताकुसुम-
- 4 [मास्ये]वा⁴ सत्तल्लेखामवस्ततः [१*] इक्षितं तुलसीहृत् हस्तिपेना(ना)कुण्डलं ॥५॥
मा(म)हातोरणमेतत् गौरीकीर्त्याज्जितो हतं । प्राङ्गलं साजति-
- 5 युगं भुजयोभाति मृ(मृ)पतेः ॥६॥ द्वितीयं तोरणं तत्र पादवैरित लघु सुंदरं । तया⁵
अमरसिंहारूपोत्पत्तिविचित्रकृतं ॥७॥ राणोदर-
- 6 जतिहृत् पट्टराजा(रजा)तिवितया । श्रीराजराजतिहृत् माया भिषप्रतापया ॥८॥ सदाकुर्वति-
नाम्नया या तुला रूपमयी कृता । आस्ते
- 7 तत्तोरणं विजं हस्तिग्रा(ग्रा)हस्तपुष्पं(ग)वत् ॥९॥ आस्ते गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितशिरोमणेः ।
कृतायाः स्वर्णपूर्णमास्तुलायास्तोरणं महत्
- 8 ॥१०॥ गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो रणोदरामः । आस्ते कृतायाः किल
तेन रूप्यद्रा(द्रा)जतुलायाः शूनतोरणं सत् ॥११॥
- 9 श्रीराजोदरतिहृत्पुनरभवत् श्रीमं(म)प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीअमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य
वा । पुत्रो रणजगत्पति(ति)हृत्
- 10 तनयोस्मादाजतिहृत्स्य वा पुनः श्रीजयसिंह एष कृतवान्वीरः शिलाज्जलेजितं ॥१२॥ पुणं
सातवसे शते तपति वा सत्पूर्णना-
- 11 स्ये दिने द्वाविंशन्मितवस्तरे सरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः । काण्व(व्य) राजसमुद्रनिष्टजलयेः
सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्रावतं
- 12 रणोदमहूरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥१३॥ युगं [१६*] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवदुषोत्समाजाम-
चंद्रस्ततः [स*]स्वर्णविक्रकः क-
- 13 ठो(ठो)दिकुलजो मरुत्यादिनामस्तु(स्त)तः । तैर्लंगोस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कुर्यात्स्य वा
माधवः पू(पु)त्रोभूम्पुसुदनस्य इमे व(व)-
- 14 ह्येकविंशतयाः ॥१४॥ यस्यालीमपुसुदनस्तु जनको वेणो स गोस्वानिजाभूमाता रणोद
ऐ(ऐ)(व*) कृतवाग्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वय(यं)

¹ In v. 28, Canto XVII, the quantity of gold mentioned is 12,000 *udis*.

² Perhaps we are to read *talayni-rokhi*.

³ The absence of *sanāhi* here is intentional and is in favour of the motto.

⁴ *Sanāhi* has not been observed here.

- 15 । काव्यं रावण(गु)णौघवर्जितमयं [वीरांकयुक्त*] ऋतुवि(र्वि)जयस्य इहानवद्वयचूरे तर्गो-
र्वसर्गोन्नतः ॥१५॥ राजप्रशस्तिर्वयोम(यं) प्रतिष्ठः स्वा-
- 16 जगत्पत्न । संवतो(ना)वादिनालानां पाठार्थं जायतां ध्रुवं ॥१६॥ नारायणाविपुष्पा-
त्प(रम)राणैरान्वयवर्णनं । कर्णस्थितं स्वा[स्क^०]णी(णी)-
- 17 च्वपुत्रपौत्रमुजप्रवं ॥१७॥ रामादिरामस्तुतिपुष्पाव्यं रामायणोपमं । श्रुत्व(त्वा) धने धनेश[ः^०]
स्यात्काव्ये काव्यो गृहतिरि ॥१८॥ ना-
- 18 नाराजेतिहासकृतं पद्यं स्याद्भारतोपमं । भारत्या भारतीमुख्यः पठम्भारतस(स)द्वये ॥१९॥
वा(वा)ह्मणो व(व)ह्मणवर्चसो वा(वा)ह्मणो वाह्मणी-
- 19 यंबान् । वंश्यो लभेद्वनं श्रुत्वा शृ(शृ)ङ्गो नदं तपाविलं ॥२०॥ संस्तव्यं वित्तमन्वेभ्यः
पठन्तम्यो(भ्य)स्तेवमानुयात् । इभ्यतां भुवने नरयो
- 20 नालभ्यं तस्य किञ्चन ॥२१॥ विप्रोऽग्निहोत्रशामेभ्यः क्षत्रियोऽश्विनलभ्यः । वंश्यो धनी
स्यात्काव्यस्थः श्रिया सुस्थो भवे-
- 21 द्ध्रुवं ॥२२॥ राज(जा) श्रुत्वा चक्रवर्ती शौर्यगामीर्वयंबान् । देशस्वास्थ्यं लभेद्वरिषिजयं
कुरुते सत्ता ॥२३॥ पठन्कुरङ्गागव-
- 22 तनवमस्त्रयसत्कथा । द्याकंठं सुस्तनूभूत्वा वेंकुठं प्राप्नुयादिव ॥२४॥ दयाल^२ साहस्यं
कृतवान् खेरावावस्य भारणं । त-
- 23 स्तेजुदु(दु)डभिप्राह(हं) वनहेडाख्यलुटनं ॥२५॥ धारापुरा(री)भारणं च मसीदिततिपातनं ।
व्वस्तं [वक्ते]^३ महमवतगरं लुटने [निल?^०]
- 24 ॥२६॥ महामसीविपत्तनं कृतवान्समरे कृतीः(ती) । इत्युक्तः प्रभुवीराणां पराक्रमवित्तिर्णयः ॥२७॥
जगदीशमिथं(थ)तमयो
- 25 मायूरहीरामणिर्महामिथः [१^०] राजसमृद्धजलाशयसूत्रनिवेशो परिक्रमणे ॥२८॥ द्वादशशतमणमितिकं
धान्य(न्य)[स^०]हीध्रं
- 26 महासेती । द्वादशशतमणमितिकं धान्याद्वि(द्वि) कांकोलीस्थे ॥२९॥ सेती संस्थाप्य तथा
सायंसहस्राष्ट्र(चष्ट्र)कप्यमुद्राणां ।
- 27 च्(ह)त्वा इब्बुकणं सरूपमुद्रादिकं तदार्थिभ्यः ॥३०॥ पट्टिद(द्वि)नयमेतमयं — ७ तथा
राजसिंहदेवेन । उक्तं जनस(सं)म-

* The correct form is *labhita* ; better read *vinidita*.

^२ Read *Dyala* for *Dapala* for the sake of the metre.

^३ *Bandhi* has not been observed here.

- 28 [३] मिथोऽस्मन्निकटतः पुरः कुक्क(रु)ते ॥३१॥ इत्थुस्ताहेन तवा भ्य(भ)वतथा मिथः पुरः स्थितो नृपतेः । धान्याग्रा(द्रो)म(न्य)नमार्ध(मर्धि)-
- 29 वजाय इत्वा(त्वा) प्रियो नृपस्यासौत् ॥३२॥ श्रीराणोदयमिहसुनुरभवत् श्रीमन्प्र(मत्प्र)तापः[*] सुतस्तस्य श्रीशमरोऽश्वरोस्य
- 30 तनयः श्रीकरण(कर्ण)सिहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीवर्पासिह एष कृतवान्बो-
- 31 रः भित्ताऽऽलेखितं ॥३३॥ पूर्णं सप्तवक्ष्ये धते तपति वा सत्पुर्णिमास्य(त्वे) दिने द्वात्रि(त्रि)शमितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिह-
- 32 प्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः[*] सुन्द(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्रावत(वत्) रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥३४॥ युगं [॥*]
- 33 धासीङ्गास्करतस्तु पा(सा)वधुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वरकः कठो(ठो)दिकुलजो सधन्या- विनायस्तु(स्त)तः । तेलंगो-
- 34 स्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोन्मधुसूदनस्त्रय इमे व(व)क्ष्येय विष्णुपमाः ॥३५॥ यस्यासीन्मधुसूद-
- 35 नस्तु जनको वेशी च गोस्वामिनाऽनुन्माता रणछोड ए[व*] कृतवाग्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राणगुणीधवर्णनमयं [वीराकयुस्त*] च-
- 36 तुर्धि(विं)शत्यास्य इहामवङ्गवमुदे सर्गोर्धसर्गो(र्ध)तः ॥३६॥ दुहा^१ ॥ राणो कौडी रजपूत जेवड ता जामो [?] । समुद्र फे-
- 37 रण सुतः राणा तुहीज राजसी ॥३७॥ ऐजो खोरंग काह मेगल मुगल मारिजे । राणो राघे राह रजवट भरीयो राजसी ॥३८॥ दुहा(बोहा) [॥*]
- 38 संवत् १७१८ माहवदि ७ नीमघोडवारो महुरत हुमोजी शतराठाकर^२ मेत^३ कमः करवा ॥ राणावत माहासीधजी रामसीध-

* Sandhi is not observed here.

^१ That is, *ladd*, a couplet. From here onwards the composition is in the local dialect. It begins with two *ladd*s which, however, do not conform to the metrical scheme. The text, however, is left uncorrected.

^२ The sense of these two *ladd*s in Mewārī seems to be —

1. A great Rājput (*lady*) is the queen who gave birth to a lion (*sāhara*)—a son who could turn the ocean—and that is yourself, O Rājāsī.

2. You kill all these Mughals of Aurangzeb, O Rājā, thou art the only way, as thou art, O Rājāsī, full of martial spirit. Only Rājā Rājāsī, who is full of martial spirit, keeps the boastful Mughals of Aurangzeb under his control.

^३ *Metā* means so many, such and such.

^४ Same as Hindi *mil-jur* 'together'.

- 39 जी राणावत भाउसी[ध]जी ।¹ बुडावत दत्तपतिजी मोहनसी[ध]जी । रावत मृणकरणजी
बुडावत केसरीसीधजी बुडावत भोक-
- 40 मसीधजी मोज(जा)वत नरसीधदासजी [मो]ज(जा)वत गरीबदासजी राठोड मीधजी राठोड
रामचंदजी राठोड हमीजी राठ(डो)ड मोकमसीध-
- 41 चितागरा(विप्रकार) ॥ साह रां(रा)मचंद्र बेचाणीतह कतुपंचोली राम(न)जराभावात सा
मुकदवधपंचोली हरराम[सिध] जो लघु(लु) पंचो[ली] बाध
- 42 गजवर मुकंद गजवर कित्यानमुत जगनाम उरजणमुत सालो लघो असीहरजी
जगनाथमुत मेधोमनो [॥²] संवत १७३२
- 43 प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) हुडीज मुन(धुमं) भवतु थीरस्तु मु(सु)स्व(न)धार मोहन[जी]मुत मु(सु)वधार
मुपजी मु(सु)भं भा... वत:

¹ The *caroma* is shown here with two dots.

² A similar list of mssms is found also towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII and IX.
MGIP—81—3DGA/53—25.5.55—459.

resemblance between the forms of the two letters.¹ The Parbatīyā plates under discussion read the name of the capital city of the second line of Prāgyōtisha kings (i. e., the house of Śālastambha) unmistakably as Haḍapōśvara which was apparently also the reading of the lost plates. This seems to suggest that the readings intended in the records of Harjaravarman and Balavatman were Haḍappōśvara and Haḍappōśvara respectively.

The inscription mentions a number of geographical names including those of a river and a hill. The adoration to the river-god Lōhitya-sindhu (cf. *Lohitya-bhaṭṭāraka* also in the Tezpur plates), i. e., the Brahmaputra, is very interesting. The same river is also adored as *Lauhitya-vāridhī*, *Lauhitya-sindhu* and *Lauhitya-ity-adhipatiḥ* in the records respectively of Balavarman who was the grandson of Vanamālavarman, of Ratnapāla who was the son of Brahmapāla founder of the Pāla dynasty (the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings), and of Indrapāla who was the grandson of Ratnapāla.² The kings apparently held the river-god in special veneration. But more interesting is the reference to the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra as a 'sea'. This seems to be associated with the tradition about the existence, in early times, of the Eastern Ocean (i. e., the Bay of Bengal) near Dēvikōṭṭa which is modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District in the northern part of Bengal, and with the presence in the central region of Bengal of large *bāls* or lakes like the Chalm.³ Wide areas in the Mysensing District of Bengal (now in East Pakistan), through which the Brahmaputra at present passes, are spoken of as the 'sea' even today. It is a low-lying country which for six or more months of the year is under water; in that area, communication by boats of maundage varying with the stream and season is always possible. The coast line of this 'sea' may be taken to be passing through Bhairab-hāzār, Bājītpur, Nikli, Dōmpārā and Tarāil and then towards the north-east. To the west of this line, the country is a bed of dead and dying rivers. Equally interesting is the mention of the Kāmākūṭa hill, on which the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Mahāgaūrī are said to have been installed. The same deities are also mentioned in the Guākuchi plates⁴ of king Indrapāla of the Pāla dynasty or the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings. The land granted by this charter is described as *Uttara-kūṭa Mandi-vishay-āntahpāti-Paṇḍari-bhūmī*—*'pakṛishṭa-dhānya-devisahar-āpatika-bhūmī*, i. e., the land of an inferior quality yielding 2,000 [*drōṇas*] of paddy out of the area called Paṇḍari (modern Paṇḍuri Mauza in which the Rangiyā station on the old Assam Railway is situated) in the Mandi district pertaining to Uttara-kūṭa. This *Uttara-kūṭa* (literally 'the north bank') was apparently a division of the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha lying on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In the description of the boundaries of the above land, the Guākuchi inscription mentions several times *Mahāgaūrī-Kāmēśvarayōḥ sūta* (or *dēva-sūta*)-*sāsana-Paṇḍaribhūmī*, i. e., the land called Paṇḍari which was a gift land belonging to the deities Mahāgaūrī and Kāmēśvara. The names of the hill Kāmākūṭa and the god Kāmēśvara would suggest that the goddess Mahāgaūrī was no other than Kāmēśvari otherwise called Kāmā or Kāmākhyā (literally 'the goddess with the name Kāmā') whose temple stands near Gauhati⁵ in Assam. According to the *Kālikā*

¹ Cf. *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śaṭī*, p. 59, note 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 92, 117.

³ Cf. *pāṇḍr kṛā Dēvikōṭṭa-mandīp pāchīmā* (sic, *pārī*) *Pāṇḍarāśvī-śaṭī* in *Bhūnepati-Rāyamukuta's Padukamandikā* (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 201). For references to the sea bordering on the country of Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa, see Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 201; *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vāṅmukhī-ed.), *Kālikāpāṭha-kīṇḍa*, chapter 42, verse 30, etc.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śaṭī*, p. 126-27.

⁵ Cf. *The Śāktic Pilgrims*, pp. 12-13, 15.

Purāṇa,¹ Kāmarūpa was one of the four main Śākta Pīṭhas where resided the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Kāmēśvari (installed on the Nīla-parvata). Another passage of the same *Purāṇa*² speaks of the hill, on which the Pīṭha was situated, as Kāmagiri, no doubt the same as Kāmākūṭa. The *Piṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpiṭhanirṇaya*), a standard work on the Śākta Pīṭhas, also connects the Yōni-pīṭha with Kāmākhyā on the Kāmagiri.³

It has been suggested⁴ that the capital of the second line of Prāgyjyōtisha kings, called Hapōsāvara in our record, was probably situated at Daka-Parbatīyā in the vicinity of modern Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. Although nothing can be said definitely on this point, the find of the present record in that area seems to support the suggestion. Hapōsagrāma, which was the village granted by the charter under discussion, cannot be satisfactorily identified. It was situated in the Svalpa-Maṅgōka (literally the smaller Maṅgōka) *maṇḍala* (district) pertaining to the Uttara-kūla division which, as already indicated, is also known from other records of the ancient kings of Prāgyjyōtisha.⁵ Interesting in this connection is also the mention of another similar division called Dakshina-kūla, no doubt lying on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, in Balavarman's inscription.⁶ The name Svalpa-Maṅgōka suggests the existence of another *maṇḍala* called Brihan-Maṅgōka or the bigger Maṅgōka; but nothing can be said in regard to the territorial unit with the exception of the fact that it lay to the north of the Brahmaputra. Akshidāhikā and Dirghāṅga, which are mentioned as boundaries of Hapōsagrāma and appear to have been names of villages, also cannot be located with any amount of certainty. The word *hetuka* in the name of the god Hētuka-Śūlin, a dilapidated temple of whom was rebuilt by Vanamālayarman, may be geographical or personal name referring either to the area where the temple was standing or to the man who was responsible for the original temple and the installation of the god. But it is difficult to be definite on this point, although persons named Hētuka are known from Indian literature.

Prāgyjyōtisha, famous in ancient literature, was the country, the heart of which lay in the modern Gauhati region of Assam. From the fourth century A. C., sometimes the name of the country is also given as Kāmarūpa, a designation possibly associated with that of the goddess Kāmā, Kāmēśvari or Kāmākhyā.⁷ According to Chinese sources,⁸ the boundary between this country and Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal was the river Karatōyā, and to the east of Kāmarūpa "the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached to the south-west barbarians [of China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao." The territory called Uparipattana in the records of Vanamālayarman is not known from other sources. Since, however, the name seems to indicate literally 'the town above,' the region, which was apparently not far from Prāgyjyōtisha, may have been no other than the hilly eastern land mentioned by the Chinese and referred to above. In line 46, while showing his knowledge in the science of erotics, the author mentions the women of the Karmāṭa country which may be roughly identified with the Kannaḍa-speaking area of South-western India.

We are thankful to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra who has kindly offered some suggestions for the improvement of the transcript and translation of the inscription.

¹ Chapter 64, verse 43: Kāmarūpa mahā-piṭha tatha Kāmādevīn āśritā | Nīlān cha parvata-śrēṣṭhikān nāthān Kāmādevīnān tathā ||

² Chapter 18, verse 42: Kāmarūpē Kāmagirau nyestatā-pīṭai-maṇḍalam.

³ Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 47: Yōni-pīṭham Kāmagiran Kāmākhyā tatra śrēṣṭhā.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-Śāstra-śaṅkṣā*, introduction, p. 22n.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 80, 116, 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷ *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 15.

⁸ See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 185-87.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1 *Scandharā* ; verses 2, 18, 29-30 *Anushubh* ; verses 3-6, 8-9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23 *Āryā* ; verses 7, 12-13 *Indravajrā* ; verse 10 *Gītā* ; verse 14 *Paśantatilakā* ; verses 16, 25 *Mandūkīrītā* ; verse 20 *Rathōddhatā* ; verses 24, 26-27 *Sārdulavikrīḍita* ; verse 28 *Upajātī*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Svasti | Śrīmat-Kailāsa-bhūbhṛt-prithu-kanaka-silā-saṅchay-āspṛhān-ōtthair-
śār[air]-hūma-paṅk-āvila-tu-
- 2 hīna-jadaiḥ śikta-vaimāni-sārthaḥ | ambhaḥ-kriḍā-prasakta-pravara-suro-vadhū-kāsa-hasta-
chyutair-vvō nākō-
- 3 śa-dru-prasūnair-arupita-salilō-vyāt-sa **Lohitya**-sindhaḥ || [1*] Sa punāstu Pinākī vō yan-
nātyē svariddhu-
- 4 ai-jalam | kīṇṇam rēchaka-vātēna tāmakāprakarāyitam || [2*] Naraka iti sūnur-āsīd-
Ādivarūhasya bhu-
- 5 vi tad-uddhārē | Aditēḥ kuṇḍala-haraṇē pratāpam-api yō Harār-aharat || [3] Kṛishṇēna
tan-nihatya cha sṛi-
- 6 śhṭau³ Bhugadatta-Vajradatt-ākhyān | tasya autau tad-vanitā-karuga-vilāpa-hṛita-
hṛidayēna || [4*] Saṁprāptē Bhugadattō
- 7 śrīmat-**Prāgyōtiśh**-ādhināthatvam | vanam-itarō-pi tad-ētya prārōdhayad-Īśvaran-
tapasā || [5*] Tushṇē(śhṭō)na
- 8 tēna tasmai dattam-**Uparipattan**-ādhināthatvam | Prāgyōtiśh-ādhirājyaṁ kālēna ta[d-a*]-
nvayasy-āpi || [6*]
- 9 Tasy-ānvayē-bhūt-kṣhitipāla-manli-māṇikyā-rōhi-sphurit-śūhri-pūṭhaḥ | Prāgyōtiśh-ē-
- 10 śaḥ kṣhata-vairi-vīraḥ **Sālabha** ity-uddhata nāmadhōyah || [7*] Sat-pūrvva-nṛpati-guṇa-
sampad-augha-rūg-ānu-
- 11 rājita-dig-antaiḥ | **Sālastambha**-pramukhaiḥ || [8*] śrī-**Harsh**-āntair-mamahāpālaiḥ || [8*]⁴
Divan-ārōḍhair-ādyasya⁵ bhūbhujō-nē-
- 12 ku-vairi-vīrō-bhūt | bhṛātā śaurya-tyāḡair-a-samō nāmn-**Ārath**-iti nṛpaḥ || [9*] Śrī-Jīva-
dēvi-sa[m*]jñā rājñī
- 13 hṛiday-ānug-ābhavat-tasya | va(ba)hu-jana-vandya mahataḥ prabhāta-sandhy-ēva tōjāsō
jananī || [10*] Tasyān-tasya tu
- 14 rājñah autō-bhavan-nṛpa-śirō-rehit-śūhri-yugalḥ | śrī-**Harjarō** nṛ(ṇi)p-ōndrah śrīyā
svayaṁ yah samupagōḍhaḥ || [11*]
- 15 [Dharmma-pravādēśha*] [Yudhishthirō yō Bhī]mō-ri-vargē sa[marē] cha Jish[ṇuḥ] | śkō-
py-anēkair-iti sad-[gu]ṇō(ṇ-sa)-

¹ From the original plates now preserved in the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, and impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The word *śhṭau* has been used here in the sense of *śhṛīkṣh*.

⁴ The metre of verses 8-9 is *Āryā*. But both of them are defective from the metrical point of view.

⁵ A word like *yuktāya* seems to suit the context better than *ādyasya*.

Second Plate : First Side

- 16 ghair-nihśśha-Kuntī-tanayatvam-ātih || [12*] Gōpūjan-āraṅjita-mānasa-sya e-ē[r]shy-ēva
vakalah parihri[tya*] Viśhō(śhō)h[]* nih-
- 17 śśha-rāmājana-dēha-samatham-ādāya saundaryam-ih-ājagāma || [13*] Varag-ādy-aśśha-
guṇa-jātam-ayam=va(m-ba)bhāra patyu-
- 18 r-mam-ātula-va(ba)lasya Rathāṅgapāpēh | tēn-āham-agra-mahishī jagatibhujō-sya bhūtā
janē na khalu lāghavam-abhyu-
- 19 paimi || [14*] Iti yasya mahādēvi vigayasya manō-nug-ābhava-Lakṣmih | Śrī-Maṅgal-
ābhidhānā pramadā-ratn-ōttaman-nri-
- 20 patēh || [15*] Tasy-aśśha-kṣhitipa-makut-ōdghṛishṭa-pād-āvja(bja)-pithasy-ādbhū(bhū)-
t-sānur-nripa-guṇa-mahāratna-mālā-vibhūśhajh* ||| tasyām(syā)n-lēvyām-akhila-
bhuvan-ānanda-
- 21 kō yah śśś-iva śrīmān-khyātō jagati Vanamāl-ābhidhānah kṣhiti(t-ī)-
- 22 śah || [16*] Jalaniḍhi-tapa-vana-mālā-sim-āvadhi-mēdini-patityasya | yōgya iti nāma dhātā
cha-
- 23 krē Vanamāla iti yasya || [17*] Prachag-ārati-mattēbha-ghatā-dhvant-ōru-samhatim |
divākarōyitam-
- 24 yēna vidārya rapa-bhūmishu || [18*] Kṣhiti-tanaya-nripa¹-varūca-prabhava-narēndra-āmal-
āmva(mba)rē yēna | sphu-
- 25 tam-ēva mṛigānākāyitam-utsāry-ārati-ti[mī*]r-ō(r-an)gham || [19*] Bhūri-dripta-ripa-vīra-
vāhinī-saila-va-
- 26 jram-nm-vikram-āsinā | yēna rājakam-aśśham-asyatā śrīr-akūri chiram-ēka-bhartṛikā ||
[20*] Yasya pratāpa-bhūtyā
- 27 va(ba)lu-ripa-jayinō-pi mēdini-pālāh || [*] kēch[d*]-diśō vijagrihuḥ prasahham-alam chāma-
rūpy-anyē || [21*] Rājūam-anyēśhām-
- 28 yē naitān-ōjāv-ishū[n*] nripā mumuchuh || (|) yasya ta ēva vibhūtyā bhūmīr-dūran-nijā
vijahuh || [22*] Yair-abhimukham ripa(pō)-
- 29 pām-āghatitā matta-kari-ghatā-va(ba)ndhāh | tair-vikram-aika-hētō[r*]-yasy-a[m*]-
jalasyah kṛitā[h*] kṣhitipaih || [23*] Dhūr-ōhē Nahu-
- 30 shasya yēna patitam kāl-āntarād-ālayam saudham bhakti-nat-ākhil-āmara-vara-vrāt-ārchit-
āhrēh punah | Prālōyā-
- 31 chala-āṇiga-tuṅgam-ātula-grām-ōbha-vēśyājanair-yukta[m*] Hētuca-Śūlinah kṣhitibhujā
bhaktiā nava[m*] chakrūhō || [24*]

Second Plate : Second Side

- 32 Yasy-Ānanta-dyutim-atintā naga-lōkē hasanti | diā-nūgūnām ēvasita-janitām ākur-ālīn-cha
dikahu

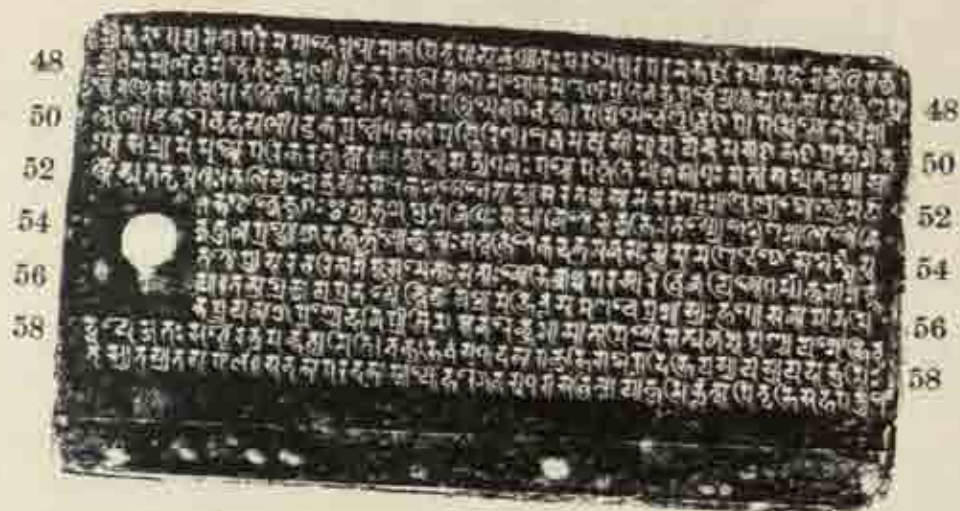
¹ The word *nripati* would suit the metre better.

² There is an ornamental design at this place to cover the space at the end of the verse.

2	२	२
4	4	4
6	6	6
8	8	8
10	10	10
12	12	12
14	14	14

[illegible]

32	व्यामनश्च निमतिनिता व्यामना फदस नी (वि) द्यामनश्च जतु निमतिनिता गणी पदकु	32
34	प्रायश्चित्त मया प्रोक्ष्य नद्यपि (न) नय च सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	34
36	विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	36
38	विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	38
40	विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	40
42	विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	42
44	विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	44
46	विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः सापि विदुः	46



Seal



(From a photograph)

Third Plate

- 47 *tri-Haḍapēśvarāt* sa paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramēśvara-parama-
bhaṭṭārkō mahārājādhirāja-
- 48 *tri-Vaṇamālavarmadēvaḥ* kuśalī || *Uttara-ku(kū)lī* *Svalpa-Maṇḍōka-maṇḍala-*
pratīva(ba)ddha(m)* pūrvvō Akahidābhikā | dakṣhiṇa-pū-
- 49 *rvvō* Chagḍikā-puṣhki(shka)riṇi^{*} | dakṣhiṇē Dirghāṅga(h*) | dakṣhiṇa-paśchimō vaṭa-
vrikṣa(h*) | paśchimō vēṇu-viṭapa(h*) | paśchim-ōttarē śā-
- 50 *hmal* | *uttarō* vṛi(hri)had-ālī | *uttara-pūrvvō* Dhavala-puṣhki(shka)riṇi | *śvām*-aśṭja-simā-
paryantam-a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśam *Ha-*
- 51 *pōsa-grāmaṁ* mukt-ōparikaram kṛtvā¹ | Tyāgi sarya-dhanuḥ par-ōpakṛtimān sādhuḥ
satānī sammataḥ śāstrā-
- 52 *rth-ānupri(mpi)ta-tṛipta-dhīḥ* [^{*}kaliyugē ttraryāḥ² sa śka-grīhō³ vēd-ābhyaśa-ratnā-cha Sāma-
charaṇaḥ Śāṇḍilya-gōttrō mahā-
- 53 *n* *hhaṭṭo(tto)* *Jōjjaṭaḥ(ta)* ity-abbhūt(bhūd) guṇa-nidhiḥ sanmā(mā)nitō rājadhīḥ || [26*]
Tasmyai(sy-ai)tō guṇa-śālino ni-
- 54 *ja-kula-pradyōt(ta)-dakṣha-kṛi(kri)yo(vā)* jātāḥ satva(tva)-hit-aika-datta-mānasah(sa)=
Chūḍāmaṇiḥ-Dēśbhā⁴ [^{*}] Gargga⁵-cha⁶
- 55 *tato-py-a(py-a)dāma-charitā(taḥ)* Sambhu(h*) samētāḥ autāḥ nā bhinnā-cha paraspara(m*)
vinayinō dharmma-kṣay-āśāka-
- 56 *yā* || [27*] *Tattv-āgrajāya* pradadau dvijāya grāmaṁ hi Chūḍāmaṇayō praśāyāḥ(sya)⁷
Hapōm-nāmānam-i-
- 57 *ha* prayatnāt pū(pu)ṇyō-hani prīti-manā narēndrah || [28*] *mātā-pitṛrō-ātmanaś-cha*
puṇya-yāśo-bhivri-
- 58 *dḍhayē⁸* atah saruvair-anumantavyam-iti | *Va(Ba)hubhir*-vasudhā dattā rājabhi(h*) Śagar-
ādibhi(h*) *yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)miḥ(mis-)*
- 59 *tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam)* || [29*] *śa(Sva)-dattāḥ* para-dattām-vā(tām vā) yō harēt-
(ta) vasa(m*)dharāṇ(rām)) sa viśṭā(śhṭā)yām kṛmīr-bhūtvā pūṭibhi(h*) saha
pachyatō || [30*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success! May it be well (with us)!

(Verse 1) May that sea which is the Lohitya protect you;—(the sea) which wets the host of the riders of celestial cars with its showers that rise from its striking the multitude of big golden rocks belonging to the glorious Mount Kailāsa (and) that are icy cold (and) mixed with golden mud;—(the sea) the water of which is reddened by the flowers of the trees (in the garden) of the lord of paradise, which are fallen from the hands and the (braids of) hair of the best heavenly damsels engaged in playing in the water.

¹ There is an ornamental design here between the two *śloka*s apparently used to separate the prose portion from the following section in verse.

² The *śloka* is superfluous.

³ Possibly the reading intended is *trigṇāś* or *śāśrayāḥ*.

⁴ As the first half of the stanza ends here, a *śloka* is necessary after *grīhāś* which is not required to be joined in *śaṅkī* with the following word.

⁵ The metre requires a short syllable in the place of *gō*. Was the intended name *Dēśbhāṭa*?

⁶ The metre requires *śāśrayāḥ*.

⁷ The word intended may also have been *pradāyām* (to go with grāmaṁ) or *pradāyāḥ* (to go with narēndrah).

⁸ This passage may be taken as half of a stanza in the *Anuśṭup* metre.

(Verse 2) May (*the god*) Pinākin (i. e., Śiva) purify you ;—(*the god*), at whose dance, the water of the celestial river (i. e., the Gaṅgā hidden in the god's matted hair), being scattered by his exhaling breath, shines like the multitude of stars.

(Verse 3) A son, named Naraka, of Ādivarāha (i. e., the Primeval Boar or Vishnu in his boar incarnation) was born of the Earth (*goddess*) at (*the time of*) her rescue ;—(*the son*) who destroyed the prowess of Hari (i. e., Indra) as well in (*the affair of*) the carrying away of Aditi's ear-rings.¹

(Verse 4) After having killed him (i. e., Naraka), Krishna, his heart being moved by the lamentations of his wife, allowed his sons, named Bhagadatta and Vajradatta,² to go (*unpunished*).

(Verse 5) As Bhagadatta received the lordship of the glorious Prāgyātishā (*country*), the other (i. e., Vajradatta) then, having repaired to the forest, propitiated Īvara (i. e., Śiva) by penance.

(Verse 6) The lordship of Uparipattana was granted to him (i. e., Vajradatta) by him (i. e., the god who was pleased) ; (*the god also granted that*) the sovereignty of Prāgyātishā would belong to his descendants after some time.

(Verse 7) In his family was born one whose foot-stool was shining with the lustre of jewels on the heads of kings ; who was the lord of Prāgyātishā ; who destroyed the warriors of the enemies ; (*and*) who bore the majestic name 'Sālabha'.

(Verses 8-9) The brother, by name Arathi, the (*very*) fire to numerous enemies (*and*) unequalled in valour and munificence, of the king (i. e., Sālabha) who was joined³ with the monarcha beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Harsha, who had ascended heaven and dyed the horizon with the colour of the flood of the richness of merits of the good kings of old, became king.

(Verse 10) His (*Arathi's*) queen, bearing the name Śrī-Jvadāvi, became gratifying to his heart :—(*the queen*) who was adorable to a great multitude of people (*and*) was the source of great splendour as the morning twilight is of strong light.

(Verse 11) The son of that king, from her, was the king of kings the illustrious Harjara, whose two feet were worshipped by the heads of kings (*and*) who was embraced by the goddess of fortune of her own accord ;

(Verse 12) who was (*the very*) Yudhishtira in religious discourses, Bhīma to the host of enemies, (*and*) Jishnu (i. e., Arjuna) in fighting ; who, although one, acquired the sonship of Kuntī in its entirety (i. e., became equal to the three sons of Kuntī) by means of the mass of good qualities (*mentioned above*).

(Verses 13-15) The goddess of fortune, having left, like a jealous woman, the breast of Vishnu whose heart was amused by the milk-women, (*and*) having gathered (*in herself*) the beauty pervading to the persons of all women, came here (*and*) became that king's queen gratifying to his heart, by name Śrī-Maṅgalā, the best of jewels that were women, thinking thus : ' He bears⁴ the mass of qualities in their entirety, inclusive of complexion, of the bearer of the discus (i. e., Vishnu), my husband of unequalled valour ; for that reason I have become the chief queen of this king ; indeed I have not incurred disrespect in the world '.

(Verse 16) The son of that king (i. e., Harjara), the stool under whose lotus-like feet was touched by the crowns of all kings, was king Vanamāla by name, who was born of that queen ; who

¹ Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, X, section 59.

² The *Mahābhārata* (XIV, sections 75-76) makes Vajradatta a son of Bhagadatta.

³ See note on the text of this stanza.

⁴ For the 1st or Perfect Tense used here for the Present, see *Kāmarūpa-śāstra-draṇī*, pp. 183-4.

was famous in the world, beautiful (and) the delighter of the whole earth like the moon; (and) who was adorned with the garland of big jewels that are royal qualities;

(Verse 17) whose name the god of destiny made 'Vanamāla' (literally, 'one wearing a forest-garland') saying, 'Verily he is fit for the lordship of the earth bordered by the row of forests on the shores of the ocean (around it)';

(Verse 18) who, having dispersed on the fields of battle the great mass of darkness that was the assemblage of the intoxicated elephants of the mighty enemies, shone like the sun;

(Verse 19) who, having dispersed the mass of darkness that was the enemies, shone distinctly like the moon in the clear sky that was the king born in the family of the monarch who was the son of the Earth (i.e., Nāraka);

(Verse 20) by whom, having destroyed completely with his sword of great strength the assemblage of kings who were the (very) thunderbolt to the hills that were the armies of the warriors of their excessively proud enemies, the goddess of fortune was made for a long time to enjoy only one husband (i.e., his own self);

(Verse 21) for fear of whose valour, some of the kings, though they were subduers of numerous enemies, fled impudently towards (different) directions while others readily took up the chowrie (to fan their conqueror, i.e., to become his servants);

(Verse 22) out of fear for whom, even the kings, who in a battle against (other) rulers shot sharp arrows, (themselves) left their territories far away (behind them);

(Verse 23) to whom, whose only weapon was his valour, those kings, who effected formations of the assemblage of intoxicated elephants against (other) enemies, folded their palms;

(Verse 24) who was the king that bore the burden of Nahuṣa¹ by making new again, out of devotion, the palatial temple of Hṛtuka-Śūlin (i.e., Śiva styled Hṛtuka) whose feet are worshipped by the host of all the best gods bowing down through reverence;—(the temple), that had become dilapidated owing to the passage of time, was as high as a peak of the snow-mountain (i.e., the Himālaya), (and) was endowed with incomparable villages, elephants and prostitutes (i.e., dancing girls styled *dṛśadānī*);

(Verse 25) whose excessively white (fame)² excels the radiance of (the jewel of) Ananta in the world of snakes and the row of water particles³ raised by the breaths of the quarter-elephants in (different) directions.

(Lines 33-47) From the illustrious Haḍapāsvara which has the people of all the Vargas (viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) and Ārāmas (viz. Brahmacarya, Gṛhaṣṭhya, Vānaprastha and Bhāiksha) well contented; which is the abode of innumerable good soldiers, virtuous men (or, merchants) and learned men; the big main roads of which are crowded by the great kings who are seated on beautiful elephants and horses and in palanquins and are going and coming with a view to attending on the lord of the earth (i.e., Vanamāla); which has the whole of its space always obstructed by the armies of innumerable elephants, horses and foot-soldiers; (and which has the river Lauhitya running by it)⁴—

(the river) which has its water perfumed by the fragrance of the flowers fallen (into it) from the numerous creepers shaken by the hissing sounds produced by the host of serpents frightened by the cries of the peacocks resting in the woods of tall trees rising from the hills on both of its banks; which carries the fragrant flood-waters showered by the clouds arising

¹ It seems to have been believed that Nahuṣa was a great devotee of Śiva.

² See note on the text of the stanza.

³ The reference seems to be to the milky-way.

⁴ See note on the text of the section in question.

from the smoke of the black sandal trees (*at the time of their*) being burnt by the conflagration of the forests near the gardens in it (i. e., *Harjapāsvara*); which has its current filled by the waters that are purer owing to their constantly washing the slopes of Mount Kāmakūta having its head made an abode by the glorious Kāmāvara and Mahāgaurī-bhāṭṭārikā whose foot-stools are beautified by the foliage that is the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the gods and demona; which has the people living in the whole neighbourhood of its banks delighted by the fragrance of the musks of the musk-deer that graze on the shoots of the *Granthiparna* plants in the forests on the hills on its two banks—here (*some of the deer*) dead by themselves, there a herd of them killed by tigers (*and*) elsewhere some of them left by a group of wolves after having killed them and eaten up half of their flesh; which has its water scented (*as it is*) mixed with the musk unguent applied to the sides of the pot-like breasts of the girls sporting in the water while taking bath; (*and which has the lands adjoining both its banks adorned with boats*)—

(*the boats*) which have their (*upper*) part open and adorned with numerous loads like the prostitutes having their limbs visible and adorned with many ornaments; which are endowed with garlands of tinkling bells like the young girls; the speed of which is enhanced by sharp strokes (*of the oars*) as the passion of the women of Karpāta increases at violent sexual enjoyment; (*and*) which bear chowries like the prostitutes.

(Lines 47-48) That *Paramāvarā Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Vanamālavarmadeva, who is a devout worshipper of Mahāvara (i. e., Śiva), meditates on (*or*, is favoured by) the feet of his mother and father, (*and*) is in good health;—

(Lines 48-51) having made (*the village called*) *Hapōsagrāma*, attached to the *Svalpa-Maṅgūka* district in *Uttara-kūla*, unfit for the entrance of policemen and poons (*or*, regular and irregular troops), (*and*) unendowed with (*the right to enjoy*) the tax on temporary tenants—(*the village*) as far as these eight boundaries: *Alakṣidāhikā* in the east, the tank of *Chapṭikā* in the south-east, *Dīrghaṅga* in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bamboo-bush in the west, a *Sālmali* tree in the north-west, a big embankment in the north, (*and*) the tank of *Dhavalā* in the north-east—

(Verse 26) A great *Bhṛāṭṭa* (i. e. learned Brāhmaṇa), named *Jōjjata*, was born in the *Kali* age, who was munificent, exceedingly truthful, kind to others, honest (*and*) respected by the good people; whose mind was contented by (*drinking*) the nectar that is the meaning of the scriptures; who was the sole repository of the three *Vēdas*; who was engaged in the study of the *Vēdas*; who belonged to the *charaṇa* of the *Sāman* (i. e., *Sāmaveda*) (*and*) the *Śāṇḍilya-gōtra*; who was a score of virtues; (*and*) who was esteemed by the kings.

(Verse 27) These sons were born to him, viz., *Chūḍāmaṇi*, *Dōjōbhā* and *Garga* as well as the noble-minded *Sāmbhu*;—(*the sons*) who were endowed with good qualities; who illuminated their own family (*and*) were skilful in the performance of ceremonies; who applied their minds to the good of living beings; who were modest; (*and*) who were united and did not separate from one another for fear of the loss of virtue.

(Verse 28) The king, having delivered his order (*and*) being pleased, now granted by ordering especially the village called *Hapōsa* on an auspicious day to the Brāhmaṇa *Chūḍāmaṇi*, the eldest among them (i. e., the four sons of *Jōjjata*)—

(Lines 57-58) for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and himself; therefore (*the gift of the king*) should be approved of by all.

(Verses 29-30) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

¹ See note on the text of the passage in question.

² This sentence is incomplete; its end can be traced in verse 28 below.

No. 21—TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I ; YEAR 2

(I. Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS.

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied by me during my tour in the Telugu Districts in the year 1949-50. It is engraved on a neatly dressed granite slab set up in front of the small dilapidated temple of Surabhīśvara, the earliest among a group of temples situated at the confluence of the Guṇḍlakamma and a small rivulet called Rājāvāgu, about a mile north of the village **Turimella** in the Cumbum *taluk* of the Kurnool District. Besides the group of these temples which range in date from the 8th to about the 16th century A. C., the extensive site at this confluence shows marks of early habitation like large-sized bricks, partially exposed brick structures, varieties of potsherds and old coins occasionally discovered, as I am told.

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab, the broad side and its adjoining narrow side, the lines of writing running on from one side to the other and the entire inscribed surface occupying a space roughly a foot and half square. The writing is neatly engraved in the typical Telugu-Kannada script of the period. The damage sustained by the edges of the slab has resulted in a few letters of the writing getting obliterated, but otherwise the record is quite well preserved.

The palaeography of the record calls for some remarks, as it forms the main basis for dating it. This inscription, like most of the stone records of the early Chālukyas, does not furnish any details beyond the regnal year of the king to enable us to fix its precise date. Before taking up the question of fixing the date of our record, a few noteworthy features of its palaeography may briefly be recorded. The initial *ā* occurs twice in *āchandra* (line 4) and *Alakumara* (line 6) and the vowels *u* and *ī* in *Ujēni* (line 7) and *Erucā* (line 8) respectively. It is worth noting that in *u* the ends of the line denoting the serif, instead of pointing upwards, point downwards as if standing for the *o* sign. But for this peculiarity, the form of this letter compares well with its similar forms occurring in the Aihole inscription of Pulakāśin II². The vowel *ī* is almost indistinguishable from the consonant *cā* except that the latter has a broader and more pronounced base than the former. The medial *ā* generally indicated by a downward curve attached to the consonant on its right side as in *rā*, *mā* (line 2), *lā* (line 3), etc., is in the case of *śā* denoted by a shaft at the top of the letter; cf. *śā* in *śāśāka* (line 7) and *śaśāra* (line 9). The Dravidian *r* has two forms; in one the circle forming the body of the letter is divided into four equal quadrants by two diameters intersecting at right angles as in *r* in *Erucā* (line 8), while in the other it is divided into three chambers by a horizontal diametrical line cut at its centre by a downward perpendicular line as in *r* in *ṛ-ayina* (line 6), etc. The forms *bhujāyamānāṅ-ayina*, *tanujāṅ-ayina* (line 6), *ādhiś(hāyuh-ay)* (line 8) are to be obviously taken as the honorific plural forms of the corresponding expressions in the singular as *bhujāyamānanda*, etc. In *varuṇadhara* in line 10, the use of both the class nasal *a* with *dha* in the conjunct consonant *ndha* and the *anuvāra* in place of the one or the other may be noted. The curvè form of mute *m* occurs in *purassaram* (line 4) and *śakṛam* (line 9).

Of orthographical peculiarities, the consonant following the *repha* is doubled in *rdlha* in *pravardha* (line 3), but not in *rta* in *varta* (line 5); the form *varham* (line 5) is used for *varshama* and the use of the *i* sign in *prii* in *priṭhvi* (line 1) is redundant.

¹ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50, Stone Inscriptions, No. 30.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 6-7, text lines 15, 18.

The language of the introductory portion of the inscription is Telugu and of the operative part of it is Sanskrit. The record ends with the usual imprecatory verse *avadattān paradattān vā*, etc., attributed to Vyāsa. As in early Telugu records¹, we meet here with such archaic expressions as *Bhatarulāka*, *samvatsarambul*, *ilan*, etc. The donative part of the record consists of a single sentence in Sanskrit which is neither accurate in its syntax nor precise in its expression, using the nominative singular *mātā* in place of the instrumental *mātṛā* and the expression *Bhaṭṭārakāḥ*,² for *Bhaṭṭārakāya*. The object of the inscription is a gift of 150 units³ of land to *Gōvri-shāpa-Bhaṭṭāraka* by the mother of Ujēnipiśāha, the dear son of Ālakumara and the right-hand man of Goggi-Bhaṭāra, in the second augmenting year of the reign of *Satyāśraya Prithivīcallabha Mahārājādhipāya Vikramāditya Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra* when Ujēnipiśāha was ruling over the *Ēruva rāṣṭraya* with the city (*nagara*) [Tur]iṭaṭāka as its capital (*adhishthāna*).

Among the Chalukyas of Bādāmi, only two kings bore the name Vikramāditya. The first was the son of Pulakēśin II, the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja and many other kings both of the north and the south, among whom were the Mālavas.⁴ There are as many as ten copper-plate grants issued by this Vikramāditya,⁵ of which some are spurious. But of stone records pertaining to his reign, strangely enough, there are incredibly few. Indeed the only stone inscription that could be definitely assigned to Vikramāditya I is the Dimmagudi record,⁶ for, it is dated in the 27th year of the reign of a Vikramāditya Satyāśraya who could be no other than the first of this name inasmuch as his namesake and great-grandson, Vikramāditya II, reigned only for a little more than a decade, 734 to 747 A.C. This inscription, it is worth observing, gives the latest date so far known for Vikramāditya I, two years beyond the date (680 A.C.) hitherto assigned to him. A close comparison, in the formation of individual letters, of this record⁷ with the Turimeḷla inscription reveals certain interesting features. Apart from the similarity of the letters in general in both, a certain development in the palaeographic features of the Dimmagudi epigraph such as the later and more developed form, in place of the closed archaic four chambered shape, of *r* marks it definitely later than the Turimeḷla record, later at least by a quarter of a century. In other words, the record under review is earlier than the Dimmagudi inscription by at least 25 years and therefore belongs to the early years of the reign of Vikramāditya I, to wit, his second year as the record itself states. That this is indeed so could easily be confirmed by a glance at the general get up and the forms of individual letters in this and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.⁸

¹ Above, Vol. XL, p. 349, and Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.

² *Bhaṭṭārakāḥ*, the nominative singular in Prakrit for *Bhaṭṭārakab*, would not fit in here; it should have been *Bhaṭṭārakam* to convey the dative or the genitive sense in Prakrit.

³ The word expressing units of measurement seems to have been omitted in the text after *śata-prāchāśai* before *śakābham*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 241. Most of the copper-plate grants of Pulakēśin's successors recount these exploits while describing the king.

⁵ Subsequent to Kielhorn's List (above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 5, Nos. 18 to 22), five more records have come to light and they are (1) the Madras Museum plate (C.P. No. 9 of 1906-07); (2) the Talamāchi plates (C.P. No. 8 of 1906-07; above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.); (3) the Gadval plates (C.P. No. 3 of 1909-10, above, Vol. X, p. 109 ff.); (4) the Savanur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 155 ff.), and (5) the Honnur plates (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1939, pp. 129 ff.). Of these the first is considered spurious.

⁶ No. 364 of 1929 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; *SI*, Vol. X, No. 24, app. p. xxv. An inscription on a hero-stone at Annasaram-agrahāram in the Nellore District has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to this king (*Ann. Rep.* on S. I. E., 1933-34, p. 29 and plate). But the later developed forms of *j* and *ḥ* found in this record make such an assignment highly improbable. The record may, on the contrary, be assigned to Vikramāditya II in whose inscriptions the later forms of these letters occasionally appear.

⁷ Plate opposite p. 163 below.

⁸ Above, Vol. VI, plate opposite p. 6.

The inscription refers to a chief who is described as the righthand man of Goggi-Bhatāra and the dear son of Ālakumara. He bears the rather unusual epithet *Ujānipīṣācha* (*Ujānipīṣācha-nīṣādī-yūdhā*) which sounds more like a title than a name, a title probably acquired by him as a result of a terrorising campaign that he must have undertaken, against Ujēni (Ujjain). Who could this unnamed hero be? An inscription at Aihole in the Hungund taluk in the Bijapur District of Bombay State mentions a certain Ālekomara-Siṅga (i. e., Ālekomara's son Siṅga) as the founder of a temple.¹ This record which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya I is undated but could be assigned palaeographically to the period of Vikramāditya I. If this Siṅga, the son of Ālekomara could be identical with the unnamed son of Ālakumara² of our record, it would not be impossible that this Siṅga found an opportunity of following his ancestor in a campaign against Ujjain and of showing his prowess which earned for him the said title as well as the fiefdom of the *Ēruva viśhaya*. It may be recalled that it was Pulakēśin II who distinguished himself as the conqueror of Harshavaridhana of Kānyakubja. His conquests were by far the most widely spread and included among the conquered, the Mājavas.³ Whether Siṅga alias Ujānipīṣācha obtained the fiefdom of *Ēruva* as a reward for his valour from Pulakēśin II himself or from his son Vikramāditya I when the latter re-established his authority in the south after a temporary set-back following the defeat of his father, Pulakēśin II, at the hands of the Pallavas, is more than what could be said at this stage. As regards Goggi-Bhatāra who figures in the capacity of a master or high lord of Ālakumara's son, a chief of this name born of the Chālukya family and bearing the title *Mahāsāyaga* figures in stone inscriptions of the Mysore State.⁴ It is interesting to note that one of these epigraphs ascribes the title *Ujjālabhājaya* apparently to this same chief.⁵ But all these records are assigned to the 10th century A.C. and therefore the chief mentioned in them must be different from Goggi-Bhatāra of our record.

Of the place names, [Turu]taṭāka is obviously the present Turimella, the findspot of the record. Legend connects it with the mythical story of the sage Jamadagni and his celestial cow Surabhi. The later inscriptions at this village refer to the place as *Jamadaṅgi-śāyama* and mention the temple as that of Surabhiśāvara. The story goes that king Rājitavīryarjuna chanced to visit the sage at his *śāyama* once with his retinue and was amazed at the mysterious powers of the celestial cow which granted anything that its owner wished for. Possessed with the desire to own this cow, the king demanded it of the sage and took it from him by force which resulted in dire consequences not only to the king himself but to generations of the Kulaśreyas after him at the hands of Parāśara, the son of Jamadagni. The word Turumella or Turimella (*tera*, meaning cow and *mella* corrupted into *mella*, 'drive'), as the village name goes, denoted the spot where the 'cow was driven'.⁶

The territorial division *Ēruva-viśhaya* seems to find the earliest mention in this record. It was a small principality on the borders of the Kurnool, Nellore and Cuddapah Districts and was

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 286 and plate, text lines 2-3. Dr. Fleet remarks that this record might belong to the reign of either Vikramāditya I or Vikramāditya II.

² Among the early Teṅgu-Chōla figures a Śaktikumāra. Except for a vague similarity of this name to Ālakumara, there is nothing to suggest any relationship between them.

³ Among the successors of Pulakēśin II, neither his son Vikramāditya I nor the latter's great-grandson Vikramāditya II claims any campaigns against the Mājavas. Viṣṇuāditya and Vijayāditya no doubt fought with the kings of the north, but they do not specifically mention the Mājavas among them. The later Vikramāditya's pre-occupations seem to have confined themselves mainly to the south, especially to the Pallavas.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Mysore 36, 37, Vol. XI, Chitaldurg 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, introd. p. 9.

⁶ Mr. M. Venkatarāmaṣya suggests another derivation of Turimella from *Turutaṭāka*: *Turutaṭāka* would, in Teṅgu, correspond to *Turumadaga* and this may have undergone changes like *Turumadagala*, *Tarumella*, *Tari-mella* and *Turimella*.

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1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
3. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
7. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
9. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
11. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

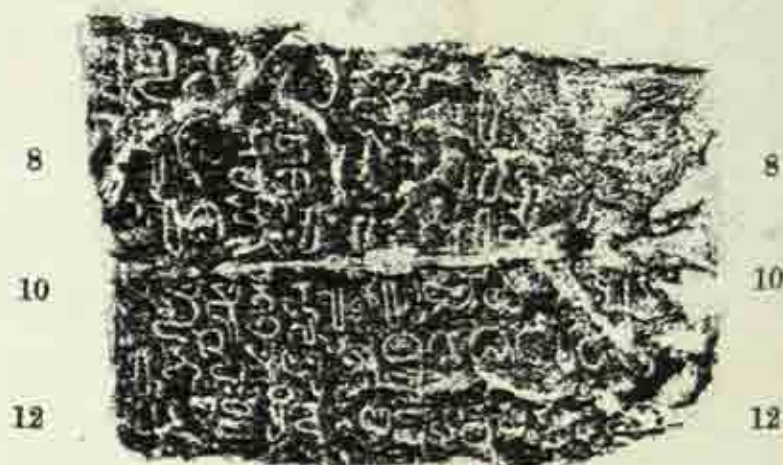
1. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
2. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
3. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
4. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
5. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
6. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
7. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
8. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
9. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
10. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
11. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय
12. ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

DIMMAGUDI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA (1)

First Piece



Second Piece



the dominion of one of the branches of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who held sway over it about the beginning of the 15th century A.C.¹ Members of this branch attached the name Ēruva to their own names as a distinctive surname of their family to indicate perhaps their political sway over that territory, or, at times, to distinguish themselves from members bearing similar names but belonging to a different family. That their sway over this division could be traced to a considerably earlier period, almost co-eval with the record under review, is proved by an inscription in characters of the 8th century A. C. on a *septomēpikā* panel at Turimella itself which mentions the name Ēruva-Mahādēvi.² It is not unlikely that this Ēruva-Mahādēvi was the wife of Ālakumara and the unnamed mother of the chief who called himself Ujēnipisācha and whom we have identified with Śiṅga, the son of Ālakumara of the Aihoḷa record. A few later records copied in this region furnish some more details regarding this ancient division. A fragmentary inscription of the time of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati-dēva dated in Śaka 1161 refers to this tract as a Thrice-Seventy division with Kroochchagula as its capital.³ Later still, in Śaka 1324 during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, it is mentioned as Ēruva-nāḍu and as a division in Udayagiri-nāḍya.⁴ A copper-plate grant of a later date belonging to king Achyutarāya mentions the same nāḍu as situated in Kochcherlakōṭa-sīma.⁵ It will be evident from the statements in these inscriptions that this division which originally covered a small area round about Turimella at the time of the record under review, later spread far wider, covering a considerable area of the western portion of the Nellore District from Kochcherlakōṭa in the Dard Division right down to the river Pennār.

The gift as well as its recipient deserve a few remarks. The unit of land usually expressed by the word *avartana* that was generally current at the period of our record⁶ seems to have been omitted here. Another instance where this term is similarly left out occurs in the Deamara-Nandyāla plates of Puṇyakumāra.⁷ The recipient of the gift, Gōvindhāya-Bhaṭṭāraka is possibly identical with the god Surabhdhāra, for *surabhi* is a synonym for *gā*, 'cow'.

TEXT

1. Ōm[(*] Svasti[(*] śrīmat (*Satyāśraya Śrī-Epī¹¹thivi-
2. vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-Paramē-
3. śvara-Bhaṭṭarajākun śrīmad-unnata-pravarddhacūṇa-vijaya-
4. nāḍya-saṁvatsarathbu] ā-chandra-tāra-parassaram(ṭh)
5. devitya-varsham-pravarta¹¹mānasa kānu [|] Goggi-Bhaṭṭaraja dukshina-

¹ C. P. No. 8 of 1911-12; above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

² *As. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50*, No. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 40. The relevant portion of the inscription reads *Kroochchagula nāḍadugān-Ēruva-nāḍya-śobhadatam*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 58; the exact wording in the inscription is *Udayagiri-nāḍyamandala-Ēruva-nāḍyā*.

⁵ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, C. P. No. 10, p. 47; text line 80—*Ēruva-nāḍya-nāḍyā-Kocherlakōṭa-sīma*.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p. 102, the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I; *ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 339, the Mahēśvara plates of Puṇyakumāra, etc.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 175.

⁸ Represented by a symbol.

⁹ *Danda* unnecessary.

¹⁰ The *i* sign over the consonant is redundant. Read *Prithivī*.

¹¹ The syllable *ra* was omitted first, but was later introduced below the line between *śa* and *ma*.

- 6 bhujāyamānuṣṭ-ayina Ālakuma[ra]¹ priya tanayi(yu)ṁṛ-ayina
 7 Ujēnpiśācha-nāmadhāyi(yu)ṁṛgu [Tura]²-tatāka-nām-ābhi-
 8 dhāna-nagar-adhi (r-ādhi)shthānuṁṛ-ayi Eguva-[visha]³yaṁb-ā[an] tasya
 9 mātā(trā) dattam Gōvriśhāga-Bhaṭṭārāhō śata-pañchōśāt kahētram []⁴
 10 Śvadattām paradattām vā []⁵yō harēti(ta) vasuṁ⁶ndharā[ra]⁷ []⁸
 11 abashthim(tim) varsha-saṁharāpī viśthāyān jā-
 12 yatō krimih []⁹

No. 22—PURI PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime before February 1891, the late Mr. Man Mohan Chakravarti secured two copper-plate inscriptions, on temporary loan for examination and publication, from the Rāghavadāsa Maṭha at **Puri**, Orissa. The results of his study of the inscriptions were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 123-27. Both the charters were issued by a king named **Kulastambha** belonging to the **Sulki** family which Chakravarti identified with the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He even suggested the identification of the issuer of the charters in question with the Eastern Chālukya monarch Gunaka-Vijayāditya III who began to rule about the middle of the ninth century and alternatively with the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttunga I who ruled in the latter half of the eleventh century A.C. and the first quarter of the twelfth, although the plates were assigned by him on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century. The identification seems to have been suggested to him by the occurrence of the name of Kaliṅga in his transcripts of the two inscriptions. Chakravarti further observed, "The text purports to be in Sanskrit, but has been badly transcribed.... The context is not therefore clear everywhere. I have given a verbatim rendering without attempting revision". As the two "inscriptions generally agree till we come to the grant itself", Chakravarti transcribed only one of the two grants (marked by him as A) but quoted the text of six lines from the other charter (marked by him as B), which give details of the grant recorded in the latter. According to him the legend on the seal of A reads *śrīmān Kulastambhadēva* and that on the seal of B *śrīmān Kulastambhadēva*. He also believed that both the grants mention Kulastambha's son or governor (*kōṭālā*), named Kachohhadēva, and that while A records the grant of the village of Kāṅkanura in the Ulā-khaṇḍa subdivision in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana, son of Vēlu, B records the grant of the village of Paṭāra in the same sub-division in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Vēlaka or Vēlu.

Unfortunately the facsimiles of the inscriptions were not published along with Chakravarti's paper and it was impossible for scholars to verify the correctness of his transcripts and interpretations of the two Puri plates of Kulastambha. But his identification of the **Sulki** family with the

¹ This letter is completely damaged on the stone.

² Both these letters are partly damaged on the stone.

³ These two letters are again partly damaged. A part of the lower portion of v and part of the sign attached to it are visible on the stone; so also the right half of ku is visible.

⁴ The stroke is redundant here.

⁵ The *anuvāsa* is redundant.

Eastern Chalukya dynasty and of Kulastambha with Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III or Kulōttuṅga I has generally been discarded. On the strength of other inscriptions of the family, since discovered, we have suggested, while editing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha in this journal,¹ that Chakravarti's Kōḍālō-Kachchhadāva of the Śulki family never existed as the intended reading of the passage in question is undoubtedly *Kōḍālōkāt sa śva* (or, *dēva*²).

Recently we had an opportunity to examine the second (B) of the two plates, of which a few lines only were transcribed and translated by Chakravarti. A careful examination, however, enabled us to trace numerous mistakes in Chakravarti's views on the inscription. In the grant portion of the record, he read a passage as *karastaru pla 10* and translated it as "with Karaha tree worth (or rent ?) ten pala". The actual reading of the passage is, however, *kara-sāsna ru-pla 10* which shows that the inscription, like those mentioned in connection with the plates of Narēndradhavalā,³ records a *kara-sāsna* (i.e. a grant liable to pay a fixed revenue) for which the rent, apparently annual, was fixed at ten *Palas* of silver. Chakravarti therefore could not realise the nature of the document. It was also noticed that a large number of errors that crept in his transcript and interpretation of the other plate (A), which he fully transcribed and translated, could be easily eradicated with the help of the inscription under review. It will be seen that most of his suggestions (including the one relating to the mention of Kalinga) in regard to the two records, which have so long been troubling scholars,⁴ can quite easily be proved to be wrong.

This is a single plate measuring about 9 inches in height, 5 inches in breadth and 0.1 inch in thickness. A circular lump of metal (nearly 2 inches in diameter and 0.4 inch in thickness), soldered on a semi-circular projection in the middle of the top side of the plate represents the seal, on which are counter-sunk the usual emblems of the Śulki family of Orissa. These emblems are much corroded, although the crescent above, the legend in the middle and the standing boar to proper right below can be made out. The legend seems to read either *śrī-Kulastambhadēva* or *śrī-Raṣastambhadēva*. The preservation of the plate and of the writing on it (especially on its reverse) is not quite satisfactory. There is a break in the plate affecting the writing on lines 5-7 on the obverse and lines 24-26 on the reverse. The weight of the plate is 90 tolas.

In point of **palaeography**, **language** and **orthography**, the charter closely resembles other grants of the family including the Hindol plate (which belongs, as will be seen below, to the issuer of the charter under review), edited above. Although nothing requires special mention in these respects, a word has to be said now in regard to the **date** of this record as well as of other inscriptions of the Śulki family. It has been shown in our paper on the Hindol plate that the Śulkis owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and that the Talcher plate of Raṣastambha (grandfather of the issuer of the Hindol plate and of the present charter as well) is dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era. But relying on the suggested identification of the era of the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era, an earlier date was then assigned to Raṣastambha and his grandson. It has, however, been shown recently that the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era falls somewhere about the middle of the first half of the ninth century A.C.⁵ The Talcher plate should therefore be ascribed to a date about the middle of the first half of the tenth century⁶ and the inscription under review about the end of that century.

The charter begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the word *smṛti*, which are followed by seven verses forming the introductory part of the document. All the seven verses are found exactly in

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 167 ff.

² Ibid., pp. 44 ff. See also *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 4 ff.

³ Cf. Ray, *DBNI*, Vol. I, pp. 439-40.

⁴ See below, p. 181, note 2.

⁵ As the era in question probably started from 831 A. C., the date of the Talcher plate (year 103) may actually correspond to 934 A.C. See *JHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

the same order as in the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha and grandson of Rajastambha. But the language of the verses in our document is slightly different from that of the Hindol plate. Moreover, the important verses referring to the son of Rajastambha and father of the reigning king Kulastambha is defective inasmuch as the foot containing the name of Jayastambha as found in the Hindol plate is omitted in the record under review no doubt through the inadvertence of the writer. There is, however, little doubt that Kulastambha who issued the charter under discussion as well as the other Puri (Rāghavadāsa Matha) plate published by Chakravarti was no other than the issuer of the Hindol plate.

Another interesting fact worth noticing in this connection is that the text of the introductory part in our record closely follows that in the Bhimnagarigarih (Dhenkanal) plate of Kulastambha,¹ although, where this latter mentions Vikramāditya and his son Rajastambha, the present record mentions Rajastambha and his son (name omitted through negligence of the scribe, but known from the Hindol plate to have been Jayastambha). The Bhimnagarigarih plate represents its issuer, king Kulastambha, as the lord of all the Gōndramas with Śāṅkha-jōṭi forming the borderland of his kingdom exactly as in the record under notice. Since the relation of Kulastambha, referred to as issuing the charter, with Rajastambha mentioned in the introductory part is not specified clearly in the inscription, the Bhimnagarigarih plate is generally believed to have been issued by Rajastambha who is suggested to have had Kulastambha as a second name. But we have elsewhere² remarked, "The Bhimnagarigarih plate represents Mahārāja Rajastambha as the *ātmanja* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *suta* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Rajastambha-Kulastambha but actually to a Kulastambha who was the son of Rajastambha". The close resemblance of the Bhimnagarigarih inscription with the record under discussion in regard to both language and style, however, now appears to suggest that the corrupt introduction of the former epigraph actually intended to describe, as that of the present charter, Kulastambha, grandson of Rajastambha. It further appears that the text of the introductory part of the Bhimnagarigarih plate was copied without proper adjustment from a grant of Jayastambha.³

Verse 1 of our inscription, found in most of the Śulki records, is in adoration to the god Girisā, i.e. Śiva, while verses 2-3 introduce king Rajastambha of the Śulki family, favoured by the goddess Stambhādevī, as having constructed some temples probably for the god Sadāśiva. Verses 4-5 describe Rajastambha's son whose name is inadvertently omitted, while the following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha, son of Rajastambha's son, as issuing the charter in question from Kōḍālōka.

The grant portion of the document which is in prose and follows the introduction in verses represents Mahārāja Kulastambha, called lord of all the Gōndramas, as in good health. A defective passage in the description of the ruler seems to attribute to him the feudatory title *samudhigata-pāṇchamahākubja*, although the change introduced in it may have been deliberate. Such deliberate modification of feudatory titles was often resorted to by subordinate rulers who claimed a semi-independent political status.⁴ The future rulers and the present and future administrators, associated with the *maṇḍala* (district) extending up to the Śāṅkha-jōṭikā, are then addressed. The way in which the *maṇḍala* is mentioned suggests that it comprised either the whole dominions of the Śulki or, at least, the central part of the Śulki territories. The lists of the rulers and administrators include the *rājaputra*, *mahāśānta*, *vishayapati* and others. The charter then

¹ JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 401 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 100.

³ Cf. the text of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha in JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 406 ff.

⁴ Cf. the Mahala plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 232 ff.).

goes on to record the grant of the village of Paḍāra, attached to the Gōḍā khayā (subdivision), in favour of Bhāṭṭaputra Velluka who was the son of Ānanti and whose original home was at Āviddhā. The village was given along with its boundaries and the space above the ground (*a-oddēsa*); but it was not made a rent-free holding. It was given as a *kara-śānta* (i.e. land granted as a rent-paying holding) with a fixed rent of ten *Palas* of silver apparently per annum. It is not stated whether the village was sold or given away free of cost; but it was possibly purchased from its owner with the king's approval with the stipulation of an annual rent as in some other cases known from Orissan inscriptions.¹

The charter ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The language of these stanzas is extremely corrupt as in the case of the *braya-śānta* (the Madras Museum plates of Narendradhavalā) edited above.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, the location of Kōḍālōka has been discussed in connection with the Hindol plate edited above. It is probably modern Koalu near Taleher in Dhenkanal. The expression "all the Gōndramas" or "the eighteen Gōndramas", as indicated elsewhere, was possibly used to signify the same thing as Oriyā *aṭhara-gaṇa-jāta*. The Śaṅkha-jōṭikā has been identified with the Śaṅkha river in the Sundargarh region of Upper Orissa. The exact location of the villages Āviddhā and Paḍāra is uncertain.

TEXT:

[Metres: Verse 1 *Giti*; verses 2 and 4 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*); verses 3 and 5 *Vasantatilaka*; verse 6 *Upajāti* (*Vāṇīastha* and *Indravajrā*); verse 7 *Śaṅkharā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham¹ Syasta(sti |) Jayati sur-āsura-vidvad-²vidyādharma-makṣa-
- 2 gṛhṣṭa-charaṇ-āmvu(ma)jā[h |*] kṣi(śi)-maṇa(ni)-mayūkha-bhāṣi(a)ta-
- 3 piṅga-jatā-bhāra-bhāsurā Girisah || 1*| Stambhōśva-
- 4 ri(rī)-lavdha(bdha)-vara-prasādā Śulki-kūṣ-bhūt-kahi-
- 5 tūpa(h*) kṣat-ārā(ri)h ||*| śrīmān(mān) Raṇastambhadōva³ pratitah
- 6 sphurat-pratāp-ōdayah⁴ tūpt-ārī(ri)h || 2| Bhāsavā(vi-d-vi)chitra-
- 7 ruohir-ōjva(jja)la-chāru-śōbhau(bhai)r-uchau(ehchah) Sadāśiva-pu-
- 8 r-ōgamaniya⁵-mārggah ||*| dāvālayair⁶-nni(a)-yaśō-dhava⁷-
- 9 dhavalair-anēkair-yēn-ātmanas-tri(s-tri)divam-udgamit-ōru-ki(ki)-
- 10 rti(riti)h || 3| Tasy-āmasjō-bhū(j-*)jagad-ēka-vi(vi)rah ||*| ju yaśō la¹¹.

¹ See *JRAS*, 1932, pp. 4-10.

² From the original plate.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The same seems to be the reading in the Hindol plate.

⁵ Better read "śrīmān āi" for the sake of the metre.

⁶ Read "dāya-āpi", or better "dāya-āpi" for the sake of the metre.

⁷ Read "ōgam-ni", or *pura-pragam-ni* as in the Hindol plate and other records.

⁸ Read *śi-ālayair*.

⁹ The *āśura* *dhara* here are redundant.

¹⁰ The second *pada* of the stanza is omitted through inadvertence. In place of the double *danda*, followed by the *āśura* *ja*, we have to read something like *śrīmān Jayastambha iti kṣatīh* as in the Hindol plate, line 2.

¹¹ Read *yaśō āi*.

- 11 sat-khaṅga(ḍga)-nipāta-bhi(bhī)taḥ samantatō yānti(nti) raṇē dviśa¹ [|| 4*]
 12 Yō rāja-chakra-tilakaḥ sva-guṇ-āḍgu(n-āmśu)-pātan² da-kāminī(nl)-
 13 mukha-manōhara-karṇapūraiḥ [||*] śaṅgōchit³-āhita-vadhū-va-
 14 dan-āravindai(r-*)dēs⁴-āndhakāra-bhiduraiḥ saśubhai⁵ śasi(ś-i)-
 15 va [|| 5*] Taamāt-va(d+ba)l-ōlsārīta-vairi-vārī(ti)taḥ [||*] parākram-ākṛā-
 16 ntā(nta)-śmasta-dik-taṭaḥ [||*] dāna-pravṛit-ārda⁶-kara-pratīti-
 17 mātḥ(mān) dig-vāraṇ-ōndra-pratimō-bhavat-sa(t+su)taḥ [||6*] Kōdālōka(kāt) chchha(sa)
 dēva-
 18 dvija-guru-charaṇ-ārādhan-āśa(sa)kta-chōtā[h*] śrīmām(mān) durvvāra-vairi-pra-
 19 varu-kari-ghaṭā-kumbha-kupā(ṭṭā)ka-vāraḥ⁷ [||*] dātā satv-ai(ttv-ai)ka-nishṭhō ja-

Reverse

- 20 gati Pri(Pri)thu-sama[h*] ya⁸ pārvivśāa(śhu) prati(tī)ta[h*] ka(kṛi)chchhrō=py-amalāna-⁹
 21 khaṅga(ḍga)-prakaṭa-bhuja-valā-trāsitāḥśāśa¹⁰-śatru[h || 7*] Sa-
 22 kala-Gōndramōdhithaḥ¹¹ prama¹²-māhōśvaraḥ samudga-
 23 mīś-āśēha-śavda¹³-mahārāja-śrī-Kulastambhadēva[h kuśali*]
 24 Śaśkhajōṭṭi[kā-valaya-parikaritaḥ¹⁴-paryantē ma-
 25 ṇḍalē-amina(amin) bhāvi(vi)ṇḍō rājanka¹⁵-[rāja]putrā(tra)-mahāśāmanta-
 26 nagar¹⁶-anyān=api yathā-kālādihhaṅga[n]jō¹⁷ viśayapati-midhika¹⁸-
 27 ¹⁹riṇaś-cha sa-karaṇa-kalāpa(pān) yathāhrim²⁰ vō(bō)dhayatīḥ(ti) kuśala-

¹ Read *dviśantaḥ*.² Read *pātān-dik*.³ Read *śaṅgōchit-a*.⁴ Better read *dōśa-a*.⁵ Read *śaśubhai*.⁶ The *ārda* is superfluous.⁷ Read *pravṛit-ārda*.⁸ Read *bākaḥ*.⁹ This *ya* is redundant.¹⁰ Read *amlāna*.¹¹ Read *bala-trāsit-āśāśa*.¹² Read *Gōndram-ādhiśūthaḥ*.¹³ Read *paruma*.¹⁴ Better read *śamadhigata-paścha-mahāśabda* or *śamadhigatāśāśa*.¹⁵ Read *parikṛiti*.¹⁶ Read *rājanaḥ* or *rājanaḥ*.¹⁷ Better read *śamārambhy-āntaraṅgaṇa=anyān=api*.¹⁸ Read *kāl-ādhyaiśa*. Chakravartī reads this expression as *kālā(tī)ṅgaṇaṇā* in Plate A and takes it to refer to the Kalīṅga people.¹⁹ Read *viśayapati-ādhiśūtha-cha*.²⁰ Chakravartī reads: *riṇa śavaḥ karuṇa kalāpa yathāhrim viśayapati kuśala*.²¹ Read *yathāhrim*.

Obverse

2 ययवरासुदमादि मालमयद्विदमा
4 यददमासदाप्रगेविनिःशुक्र
6 यदवरासुदमादि मालमयद्विदमा
8 यददमासदाप्रगेविनिःशुक्र
10 यदवरासुदमादि मालमयद्विदमा
12 यददमासदाप्रगेविनिःशुक्र
14 यदवरासुदमादि मालमयद्विदमा
16 यददमासदाप्रगेविनिःशुक्र
18 यदवरासुदमादि मालमयद्विदमा

Reverse

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २० ॥
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २१ ॥
 श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ २२ ॥
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ २३ ॥
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ २४ ॥
 श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥ २५ ॥
 श्रीब्रह्माय नमः ॥ २६ ॥
 श्रीमहेश्वराय नमः ॥ २७ ॥
 श्रीसूर्याय नमः ॥ २८ ॥
 श्रीचंद्राय नमः ॥ २९ ॥
 श्रीशुक्राय नमः ॥ ३० ॥
 श्रीमृगशिरसाय नमः ॥ ३१ ॥
 श्रीमित्राय नमः ॥ ३२ ॥
 श्रीशत्रुघ्नाय नमः ॥ ३३ ॥
 श्रीहनुमताय नमः ॥ ३४ ॥
 श्रीगौतमाय नमः ॥ ३५ ॥
 श्रीमहाश्वराय नमः ॥ ३६ ॥

- 25 ¹ yaty-ādisa(śa)ti cha [i*] viditam=astu bhavatām Gōlō-khaṇḍa-
 29 ² sambandha³ Paḍāgrāma[h*] saparikatah⁴ a-ōdē(ddā)śa[h*] aa-
 30 ⁵ rva-vādha-virvarjataś=chatur[ti]aya-simā-valaya-parika⁶.
 31 ⁷ rata-paryanta[h] i⁸ kara-sāna⁹ ru-pla¹⁰ 10 Āviddhā-
 32 ¹¹ vinigata-bhaṭṭapū(pu)tra-Vōllukasya¹² Āṇa-
 33 nti-suta[h]¹³ Taṭākānāma¹⁴ saha[erā*]ṇi asva(śva)-
 34 mēddha(dha)-sana cha[h]¹⁵ [i*] gavā[du*] kōṭi-prū(pra)dānēna bhūmi-
 35 hartā na eu(śu)dhyati || yasya¹⁶ yāya tasya tasya ta a-
 36 phala[m] mā¹⁷ bhō phala[m] saṅkā sa-sva-datām¹⁸ pālanā-
 37 t¹⁹ sva²⁰-pradām-vā jō harēti vassadharā [i sa vi]²¹

No. 23—BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA ; REGNAL YEAR 8

(I Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime about the middle of the year 1951, reports reached me that Mr. S. C. De, Curator of Archives, attached to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had found an inscribed stone in the vicinity of the well-known town of **Bhadrak** in the Balasore District of Orissa. I also learnt that the stone, believed to have been originally the lintel of the door of a temple, had been secured for the Orissa State Museum and brought to Bhubaneswar. I wrote to the authorities of the Museum requesting them to send me a few impressions of the inscription for examination; un-

¹ Chakravarti reads: *gathāśanti viditam=astu bhavatām Gōlō-khaṇḍa*, but takes the name of the subdivision to be Ulōkhanda.

² Chakravarti reads: *sambandhaḥ Paḍāgrāmaḥ mayari karataḥ eḍ dēha aa**.

³ Read *sambandha*.

⁴ Read *a-ōparikataḥ*.

⁵ Chakravarti reads: **rāha-ōdāś-virvarjata chaturaya simā laya parika*.

⁶ Read *vādha-virvarjata-chatur-āna-valaya-parikṛti*.

⁷ Chakravarti reads: *rata paryantah | karastara pla 10 Āviddhā**.

⁸ The *daḍḍa* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *āśanmāśa datā*.

¹⁰ I.e., *rāṇa-pālini datā*.

¹¹ Chakravarti reads: *vinigata Bhaṭṭa-putra Vōllukasya āṇa*.

¹² The *śvaśakti vōllukti* is preferred apparently because Vōlluka received the village (possibly by purchase) as a hereditary and not as a revenue-free gift.

¹³ Read *śvāṇa*.

¹⁴ Read *śaṭākānāma*.

¹⁵ Read *śatāni cha*.

¹⁶ The reading intended is *yasya yasya yadā bhūmim=asya tasya tadā phalam*. The first half of the stanza is inadvertently omitted.

¹⁷ The intended reading is *Mā śāśāna-phala-śrāśā*, etc.

¹⁸ The intended reading is *śva-dātā-phalam=śvaśakti*, etc.

¹⁹ The reading intended is *śva-datām para-datām vā*, etc.

²⁰ The second half of the stanza could not be completed owing to want of space.

fortunately no impression reached me as a result of the correspondence. About the beginning of November in the same year, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra happened to visit Bhubaneswar in the course of a tour that side. He inspected the Bhadrak stone inscription in the Orissa State Museum and copied it. After his return to Cuttack, Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal all the impressions of the above inscription for examination. He also permitted me to edit the record in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I take this opportunity to thank him for his kindness. My thanks are also due to Mr. S. C. De for information regarding the discovery of the inscription. "I discovered the inscription", Mr. De subsequently wrote to me, "in the courtyard of the temple of Bhadrakālī in a locality about five miles from the town of Bhadrak in the Bhadrak Sub-Division on the 17th of March 1951. I noticed the stone buried in the earth and learnt that pilgrims used to wash their feet on it. Certain scars on the stone attracted my attention. I then dug it out and found the inscription. In the month of June we managed to bring the stone to the Museum. Its upper part is damaged as the villagers used to sharpen their axes on it. I was told that the stone had been brought to the Bhadrakālī temple from an adjoining village some years back. The temple of Bhadrakālī is an ordinary thatched cottage. So the stone was probably the lintel of some other temple."

The stone bears an inscription in three lines and is unfortunately broken here and there. The state of preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters in all the three lines have either completely or partially broken away, while some *akṣaras* in line 1 have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. This corrosion is apparently due to the stone being used as an axe-sharpener. The writing covers a space about 44 inches in length and about 7 inches in height. Individual *akṣaras* are about 1.5 inches in height.

The characters resemble those of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, of which the test letters are *m*, *s* and *ḷ*. Of the three letters, *m* and *ḷ* in our record are almost as developed as in the Allahabad pillar inscription¹ of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A. C.), although in one case *m* seems to exhibit an earlier form. The letter *s* has its earlier form found usually in the inscriptions of the age of the Kushāpas. The form of *ḷ* resembles that of the same letter as found in the Allahabad pillar inscription, while letters like *ḥ*, *y*, etc., show pre-Gupta forms. The letter *ṣ* resembles in form the same letter as found in some Mathurā inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.C. and reproduced by Ojha in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, Plate VI, i (cf. the fourth form of *ṣ*). In a few cases medial *ḍ* and *ṣ* seem to be written by lengthening slightly the top *śūtrā* of the consonant respectively towards the right and the left. The inscription exhibits the initial vowel *a* and the symbols for the numerals 3, 8 and 80. On grounds of *palaeography*, the inscription may be assigned to the period between the age of the Kushāpas and that of the Guptas. I am inclined to assign it to a date about the second half of the third century A.C. This date seems to be supported also by the language of the record.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. We know that originally the epigraphic language of the whole of India was Prakrit, that Sanskrit is first found in North Indian epigraphs about the beginning of the Christian era and that it gradually ousted Prakrit from the field of Indian epigraphy. The suppression of Sanskrit by Prakrit in the epigraphic records of the lower part of South India took place as late as the middle of the fourth century A.C. In the early Prakrit inscriptions, double consonants are found to be represented by single letters; but gradually the influence of Sanskrit became noticeable in the Prakrit records, not only in their use of double consonants, but also in the occasional inclusion of Sanskritic sounds, words and passages. From a study of the Prakrit inscriptions of the various dynasties holding sway over South India, we find

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. III), pp. 117; and Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 254 ff.

that double consonants began to appear in such records in the third century A.C.¹ As our inscription shows the use of double consonant only in one case (cf. *ayya* in line 2, for Sanskrit *ārya*, instead of the earlier epigraphic Prakrit form *aya*), it may reasonably be assigned to the same third century. That it has to be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century is suggested again by the Susunia inscription² of king Chandravarman who ruled over South-West Bengal (adjacent to North-East Orissa in which Bhadrak, the findspot of our record, is situated) about the middle of the fourth century A. C. and was defeated by the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The language of the Susunia inscription is Sanskrit and suggests that Prakrit was ousted from the inscriptions of that area at an earlier date.

The Bhadrak inscription begins with traces of a short horizontal line which appears to stand for the usual *siddham* symbol. This is followed by the word *Mahārājā*. The following two *akṣaras* read : *śrī* [], although traces of the vowel-mark are not distinct above the second *akṣara*. This is because the stone is broken here. What comes next has to be read as *Gaṇasa*. The tops of all these three letters are damaged owing to the breaking away of a piece of stone as well as to corrosion about the upper parts of the second and third *akṣaras*; but there is hardly any doubt about the reading. Then comes *Sam* [] []. Traces of the *nasalīza* above *sa* are faintly visible; but the upper right side of the letter is completely corroded. The symbol for *ś*, which here resembles the *ś* sign reproduced by Ojha from the inscriptions of the Kuṣāṇa age in his work, Plate LXXI (cf. the third symbol for *ś*) is partially corroded, traces of the lost part being fortunately still slightly visible. The *daṇḍa* that follows the numeral is indicated here by a short vertical line. The first half of line 1, besides the *siddham* symbol at the beginning, thus reads : *Mahārāja-śrī-Gaṇasa Sam* [] [], in Sanskrit *Mahārāja-śrī-Gaṇasa Sam* [] [] (= *samvatsarā aṣṭamē*). The inscription is therefore dated in the eighth regnal year of a king called *Mahārāja śrī-Gaṇa*. The name cannot be read as *Guga* as there is absolutely no trace of any *u-mātrā* attached to *g*. With the name of the king mentioned in our record, we may compare that of *Mahāśaṅkarpātī śrī-Gaṇa*, known from the Hayunghat copper-plate inscription³ of king Harjavarmān of Aśmī. In both these cases, *śrī* appears to be an honorific and not an integral part of the name. That the name of the king mentioned in the Bhadrak inscription is most probably *Gaṇa* and not *Śrīgāṇa* seems to be suggested by the fact that, unlike *Śrīgāṇa*, *Gaṇa* (literally meaning the god *Gaṇeśa* or an attendant of *Śiva*)⁴ is actually known to have been used as a personal name in ancient India. *Gaṇa* is the name of the author of the celebrated work entitled *Aśvāyurvēda*,⁵ while the *Mātṛya Purāṇa*⁶ speaks of a *gātra-kāra* named *Gaṇa*.

The second half of line 1 of our inscription reads : [*M*] *śaṅkarpātī* [] [] *3 daṇḍa*. The upper part of *mū* is corroded. Although the traces now visible would rather suggest a slightly earlier form of *m* than that of the other cases of the letter in the record, the *akṣara* in question can hardly be read as anything else than *mū*. Parts of *na* are much corroded and the letter is really unrecognisable. *Māṇḍapa* (literally meaning 'a mutterer of the *mūla-mantra*, i.e., a particular sacred text or sounds') is a personal name, while the word *dēva* has been apparently used in the sense of 'an image of a god' as in the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 87) and other works. Thus the above sentence

¹ For the points raised, see Sirr's *Successors of the Satavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 57 and notes, 166; *JHQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 38 ff.; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 501-2.

² *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.

³ See *Kāmarūpaśāhastakāṇḍī*, p. 51. Harjavarmān flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.C.; as one of his inscriptions is dated in the Gupta year 516 (829-30 A.D.).

⁴ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.; *Siddhanta-purāṇa*, s.v.

⁵ Kṛishṇa, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 485.

⁶ Chapter 199, verse 2. The *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, I, 59, 31) seems to mention a demon chief named *Gaṇa*.

of the inscription says that a person named Mūlajapa presented three images for worship to (or installed them in) a particular religious establishment. The name of the establishment is not specifically mentioned in the inscription apparently because the inscribed stone was in view in the temple which housed the images. The temple was probably situated in the modern Bhadrak area which is the findspot of our inscription. Unfortunately the deity or deities represented by the images have not been named and cannot therefore be determined. We know that there was a practice according to which the installation of one or more images of one or more deities would be promised by a person in distress with the hope that he would be relieved of the suffering. Numerous such images, styled *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* in the records on later specimens, have been discovered. In the terminology of similar dedicatory inscriptions, the three images referred to in our record were the *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* of Mūlajapa who installed them in a temple in the vicinity of Bhadrak within the dominions of *Mahārāja śri-Gaṇa* in the eighth year of the latter's reign.

In regard to the reading of the second half of line 1, we have to admit that, since this part follows the regnal year, it is tempting to take *pa* (read *pe*) before the traces of a damaged sign (tentatively read *na*) as a contraction of *pakṣe* and *dava* (read *dēva*) before *ṣ* as meant for *dixasē*. In that case, however, we should expect immediately before *pa* the name of one of the seasons (viz. *grīṣma*, *carehā* and *kēmana*) or less probably that of a month. But the reading *mūla* is fairly certain, although the sign read as *ja* may possibly also be *ṣ*. Unfortunately it is difficult to make out here the name of a season or month in spite of the fact that one of the twenty-seven *nakṣatras* bears the name *Mūla*. The name *Jyēṣṭhamūla* is sometimes applied to *Jyēṣṭha*; but *mūla* is never used as the name of a month.

Line 2 of the inscription begins with *vapa 80*. Before this, there are traces of a letter partially broken away along with a piece of stone. Judging from the beginning of the first line of the record, marked by the traces of the *śiddham* symbol, it is apparent that one or two letters have been completely broken away at the beginning of the second line. A word ending in *vapa* and followed by a number would suggest an expression like *kulyavāpa*, *khārivāpa*, *diṭṭavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa* or *nālikārvāpa* all of which were the names of some of the different land-measures of ancient India. Thus the section no doubt refers to eighty measures of land which was apparently granted by Mūlajapa in favour of the temple for the continuation of the worship of the three deities installed by him therein. The partially broken letter before *vapa* cannot be satisfactorily read; but it may be a damaged *ḍha*.¹ In that case the reading intended may be *āḍhavāpa*.

The rest of the second line of the inscription reads: *Mah[ṣ]kulapati-arya-Agnīśarma Pāṇida vaḍidaṁ paḍichhidam*. *Paḍichhidam* is the same as Pali *paṭichchhita* meaning 'accepted,' while *vaḍida* seems to be the same as Sanskrit *vaṣita* meaning 'an apportionment', i.e., an apportioned piece of land in the present case. The sentence thus indicates that the eighty measures of land referred to were apportioned in a locality called **Pāṇida** and that the land was accepted by *Mahā-kulapati-arya* Agnīśarma apparently on behalf of the temple or religious establishment in question. Agnīśarma was probably the head of the establishment or less probably the priest in charge of the temple. The epithets *arya*, 'venerable', and *Mahākulapati* point to his high rank. The expression *kulapati*, which usually means the head or chief of a family, also indicates a sage who feeds and teaches ten thousand pupils.²

The letters of the first half of line 3 are either completely or partially broken away. The first five or six *akṣaras* are lost, while only the vowel-marks of the following two *akṣaras* (medial *i*

¹ [It looks more like *ha*.—B.C.C.]

² See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

in both the cases) remain. Only the upper parts of the next seven letters are visible and they suggest the reading: *adhivāsa Bhada*. The second half of the line, in which some of the letters are damaged, seems to read: *Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Adasama [I]*. The last two letters, *sa ma*, suggest a Brahmanic name ending in the word *śarma* exactly as *Aśisama=Aśiśarma*. *Adasama* may be Sanskrit *Aśadarman*. It is thus possible to think that this name is preceded in the record by other names, viz. *Bhada* (Sanskrit *Bhadra*), *Apavasa* (possibly Sanskrit *Apavarsha*), *Mahāsara* (possibly Sanskrit *Mahāsāra*) and *Ghali* (cf. Sanskrit *Khalin*). The possibility of the existence of the word *adhivāsa(ś)* in the damaged first half of the line would suggest that it was preceded by the name of the locality where the persons mentioned resided. But what their relation was with the grant recorded in the inscription cannot be determined with certainty. If they were merely witnesses to the transaction, they were probably residents of a locality near the gift land at Pānida.

Mahārāja Gana, during whose reign the inscription was engraved about the second half of the third century A.C., is not known from any other source. He seems to have been a ruler of the ancient Utkala country bounded by the rivers *Vaitarani*¹ and *Kausi* (ancient *Kapiśā*)² and lying between the lands inhabited by the *Vaṅga* and the *Kaliṅga*.³ He was probably an independent monarch like the kings of *Pushkaraṇā* (modern *Pokharna* on the *Damodar* in South-West Bengal), who are known from the *Sasunia* inscription. As already indicated above, king *Chandravarman* of *Pushkaraṇā* was overthrown by the Gupta emperor *Samudragupta* about the middle of the fourth century A.C. Whether the Utkala country was also conquered by *Samudragupta* about the same time is as yet unknown. The *Sumaṇḍala* plates⁴ of the Gupta year 250 (569 A. C.), however, show that imperial Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in *Kaliṅga* and presumably also in *Utkala*. Although it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to ascribe the conquest of *Kaliṅga* and *Utkala* to a particular Gupta monarch, it is possible to suggest that the event took place before the death of *Kumārāgupta I*, grandson of *Samudragupta*, in 455 A.C., as the successors of that monarch do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the annexation of such far off territories. These conquests should better be attributed to *Samudragupta* or to his son *Chandragupta II* *Vikramāditya* described as *kṛtsna-prithvi-jay-ārtha* in one of the *Udayagiri* inscriptions (cf. also the reference to his *dig-vijaya* in the *Meharauli* inscription).⁵ As however *Utkala* is not mentioned in the *Allahabad* pillar inscription in connection with the victorious campaigns of *Samudragupta*, the second alternative seems preferable.⁶ Whether the rulers of *Āryāvarta*, mentioned in that record as overthrown by the Gupta monarch, included a ruler of *Utkala* cannot be determined.

We have said that the eighty measures of land granted by *Mālaḥapa* were apportioned in a locality called *Pānida*. The place may not have been far away from *Bhadra*, near which the inscription has been found. I have not succeeded in identifying the locality.

TEXT*

1 [Siddham]⁷ [I*] Mah[ā]r[ā]ja-sir[ī] Gaṇasa sa[m] 8 [I] [M]ūlaḥap[ā]na d[ī]vā 3 dat[ā]

¹ Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 114, 2; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179.

² Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38; above, loc. cit. *Utkala* came later to be known as the *Āṣṭra* country no doubt after the name of an allied tribe of that name. The *Āṣṭras* may have originally inhabited parts of Northern Orissa.

³ *Raghuvamśa*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 272, 275 ff.

⁶ In this connection, it may be noted that the *Meharauli* inscription attributes to *Chandragupta II* the conquest of a country on the Southern Sea.

⁷ From the impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra.

* Expressed by a symbol which is faintly visible

- 2 [ādha?]vapa 80 [1*] Mah[ā]kulapati-ayya² Agisamēnam(na) Pāni[dō]³ vaḍidaṁ padichhidam [1*]
 3i.i. [adhivāsa(e)ka Bhada?] Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Aḷasama⁴ [1*]

TRANSLATION

May there be success ! In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Gaṇa. By *Mūlajapa* are given 3 idols (and also) 80 [ādha?]vāpas (of land). The apportionment (i.e., the land apportioned) at Pānida is accepted by the venerable Agisama (Agiśarman), the *Mahākulapati* Bhada (Bhadra), Apavasa (Apararsha?), Mahāsa (Mahāsāra?), Ghali (and) Aḷasama (Aḷasarman), residents of....

No. 24—HINGNI BERDI PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA VIBHURAJA ; YEAR 3

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUGAR

This copper plate grant is from the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samahōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, where it has been deposited for the last 27 years. It is reported to have been found in the possession of a Brahmin at **Hingni Berdi**, a small village on the bank of the Bhīmā river, near Dhond in the Poona District. It was obtained by Śrī P. R. Alegaonkar who passed it on to Prof. Datto Waman Potdar for the purpose of decipherment and publication. At the request of the latter, Mr. P. M. Chandurkar read a short note based on this record before the Sixth Annual Session of the B. I. S. Maṇḍala in 1928.¹ As the reading given by him is not altogether satisfactory, I re-edit the plates here with the kind permission of the secretaries of the said institute.

The set consists of two sheets of copper, each measuring about 5 inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The weight of the two plates is 14 tolas. In the upper margin of each plate there is a small roundish hole, about 2/10 inch in diameter through which a copper ring is passed for holding them together. The two ends of the ring are secured under a lump of copper which is flattened and bears on it the incised figures of an *akṣamālā*, consisting of eleven beads, a *kamaṇḍala*-shaped spouted vessel on its left and a *daṇḍā*² on its right, apparently the requisites of a *śaṁyāyā*. The ring weighs 1½ tolas. The inscription on the plates consists of 22 lines of writing, of which 2 are engraved on the second side of the first plate, 10 lines on the first side of the second plate and the remaining 3 on the second side of the latter. As the rims of both the plates are raised, the engraving has remained in a fair state of preservation.

The characters are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabet current in the fifth and sixth centuries A. C. The record is very carelessly engraved and exhibits certain peculiarities which deserve close attention. We see mostly nail-headed or acute-angled letters in the first plate, while the second plate shows small circles or pin-heads on the top of certain letters. These

¹ The reading may possibly also be *ayya. Agisamēna*; but I am inclined to ignore the traces about the tail of *a* in both the cases.

² What I have read as *dē* may possibly also be *ḍ* or *ḍa*, although that would hardly give any sense.

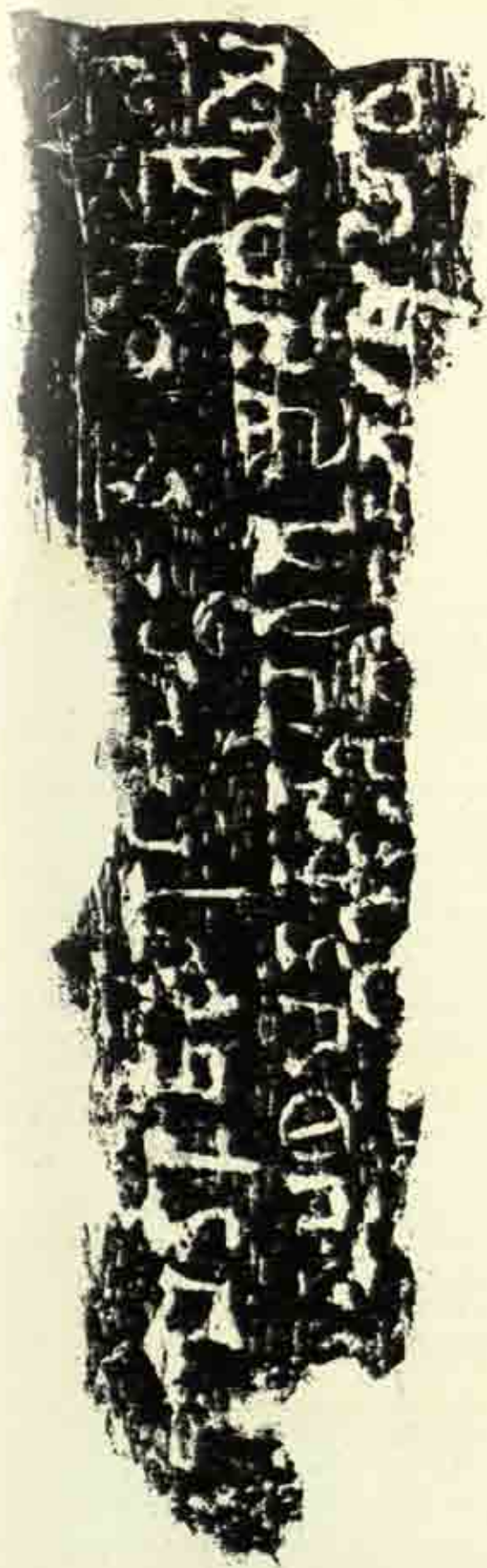
³ The first letter in this name may possibly be also read as *ḍ*.

⁴ Full-stop in this case seems to be indicated by a slanting line.

⁵ *Śaṁyāyā Śaṁyāyā Vṛtta* (B. I. S. Maṇḍala), pp. 63-65.

⁶ (What has been described as *daṇḍā* represents possibly only a blade of *ḍaṇḍā* grass according to Mr. M. Venkaṭarāmaṣya. Ed.)

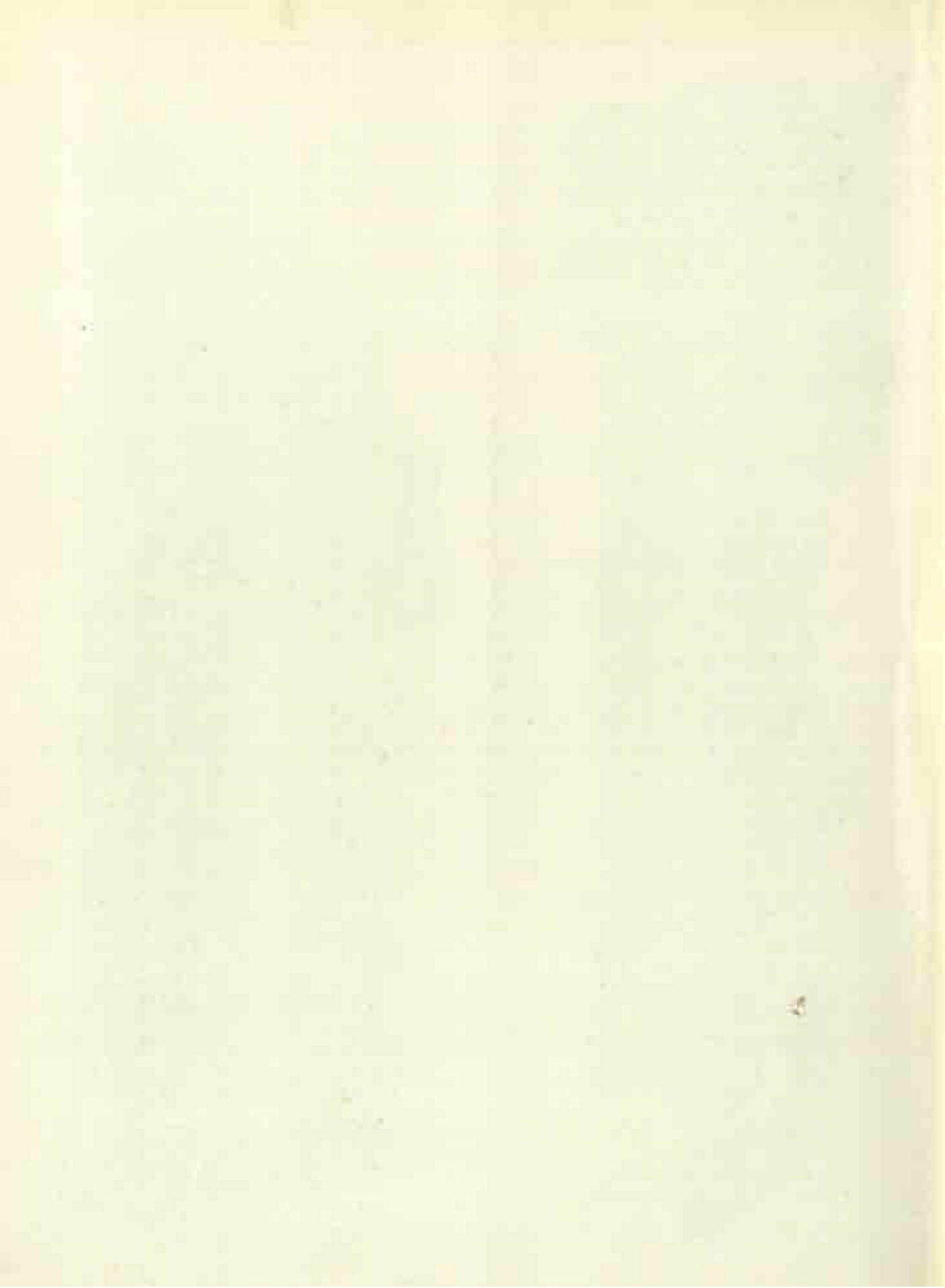
Left half



Right half



01



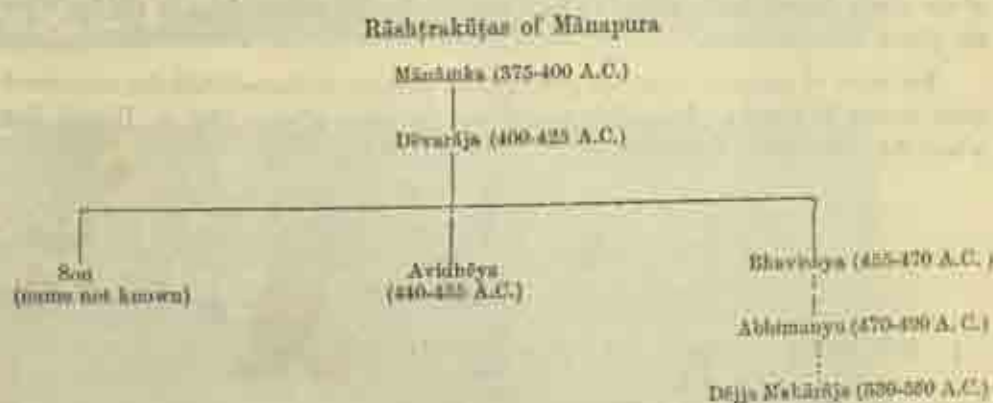
resemble closely the forms of letters found in the Añjanāri plates¹ of Prithvīchandra Bhōgaśakti. The writing on the second side of the second plate shows a very crude hand. It is strongly doubted if all the three sides of the two plates were engraved by one and the same person.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose and is full of mistakes, but the sense can be clear, if proper restorations are made in the text.

The inscription refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which is styled *Rāshtrakūṭaśāhānāmanya* in the initial portion. It is stated that the Rāshtrakūṭa princess **Syāvalaṅgi Mahādēvi**, the Queen-consort of Rāshtrakūṭa **Dēvarāja** and mother of **Mānarāja**, donated an *agrahāra* called Kamalībhūhaka to a Brahmin called Nannasvāmin, belonging to the Agastya *gōtra*, for the purpose of carrying on religious duties. In addition to this land a *dakṣiṇā* of fifty bars (*kalākā*) of gold was given to the Brahmin with the consent of Rāshtrakūṭa **Vibhūrāja**. The grant was made on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha in the third regnal year of king Vibhūrāja.

The plates refer to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty thrice (lines 1, 9 and 16) and from the find-spot of the plates it seems certain that the family must have been ruling somewhere in Mahārāshtra. The royal persons belonging to this family are described in the usual panegyric and as such do not yield any historical information. King Vibhūrāja is mentioned twice and there is no specific reference to his period, except that the palaeography of the grant, which as stated above, places it in the 3th century A. C. In the absence of these details it would have been difficult to identify this king Vibhūrāja, as none of the branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty anywhere refers to him.

The mention of king Dēvarāja, however, affords some clues. Recently Principal V. V. Mirashi, in his article² entitled "The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura", has suggested that there was a minor branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty ruling in certain parts of the Satara District during the 4-6th centuries A. C. Hitherto only three copper-plate grants of this family have been found, viz., Uolī-kavāṭikā grant³ of Rāshtrakūṭa Abhimanyu, Pāṇḍurāṅgapullī plates⁴ of Rāshtrakūṭa Avidhēya, and Gokak plates⁵ of Rāshtrakūṭa Dējja Mahārāja. From the identification of the place names recorded in the first two of these grants, it has been shown that the members of this branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty were ruling in the Māga *tāluka* of the Satara District. The genealogy and the approximate period assigned to them is given as follows :—



¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225-238 and plates.

² *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-39.

³ *JBBRI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff.

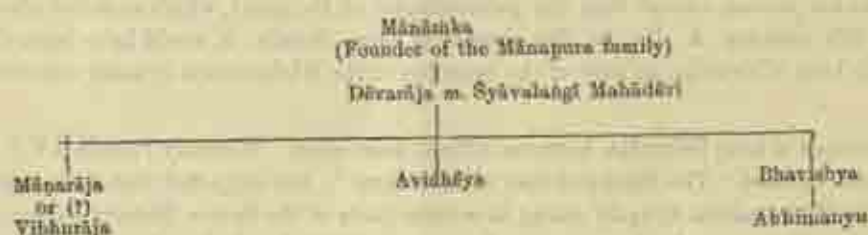
⁴ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1929, p. 197.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 289.

⁶ DGA/S3

Since the donor of the present plates is described as the wife of Dēvarāja, it seems plausible to suggest that the Dēvarāja referred to by them is no other than the second person mentioned in the pedigree given above, because the palaeography of the record does not go against the age assigned to that ruler by Prof. Mirashi. In the Uḍḍikavāṭikā and Pāṇḍurāṅgapalli plates, this Dēvarāja is stated to have had three sons, but the names of only two of whom, viz., Abhimanyu and Bhaviṣya, are known from the inscriptional data available. As the queen of Dēvarāja is also called the mother of Māparāja in the present inscription, it is clear that **Māparāja is the name of the hitherto unknown (third) son of Dēvarāja** and he was probably the eldest. And this is quite in keeping with the ancient practice of naming the child after his grandfather, because the name of the father of Dēvarāja is known to be Mānāka, who founded the Mānapura branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The grant was issued in the third regnal year of king Vibhūrāja. His exact relationship with Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī is not explicitly stated in the record. But since the plates are issued in the early part of the career of that king, I believe that Vibhūrāja is an alias of Māparāja and that the plates were issued by the queen-mother Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī after the death of her husband Dēvarāja. Whether it was actually so needs further corroboration. In the light of the details at present available, the genealogy of the family can be reconstructed as follows:



The present plates were issued on the Vaiśākha *purnamāṣī* day in the third regnal year of king Vibhūrāja; but these details are not quite sufficient to verify the date of the grant.

The mention of golden bars (*varura-lalāṭā*) given as *lakṣipā* is also very interesting. It cannot be said if these bars bore any marks as on the bent-bar silver currency, so frequently noticed in ancient sites like Taxila on the North-Western borders of India. At any rate, no currency of the above description is known to have been current in Mahārāṣṭra in the period in which the plates were inscribed.

For want of adequate data, the geographical position of Kamalibhūhaka mentioned in the grant cannot be located. It is likely that it was the name of some plot in Hinggi Berdi itself where the plates were discovered.

TEXT¹

First Plate

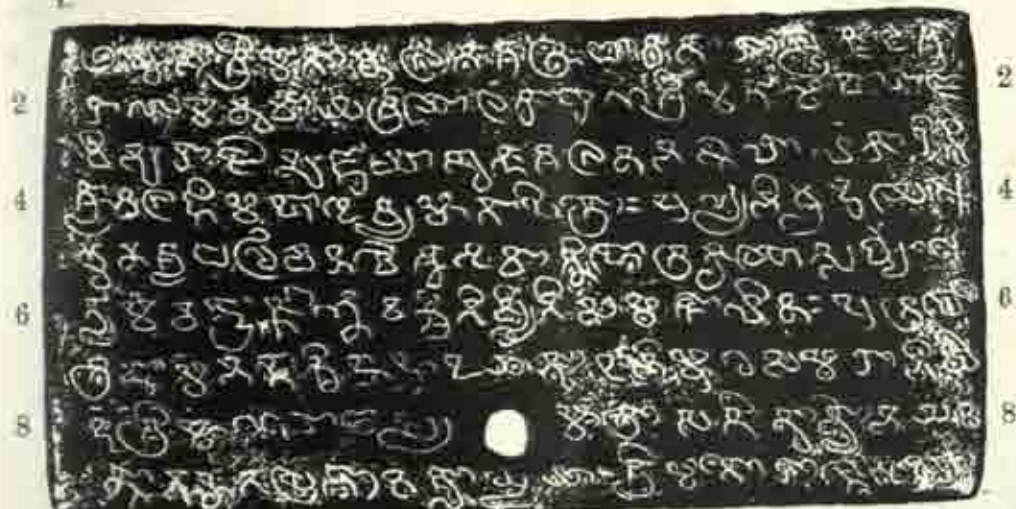
- 1 ॐ² स्वस्ति श्रीमतां पु(?)लितशत्रुबाध³(?)नां राष्ट्रकूटेश्व-
- 2 राजामन्ववायश्रियोलंकारेण श्रीमता महाराज-

¹ From the original plates and ink impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ I am not sure about the reading of this *akṣara*. [Possibly *śānta-lāṭā-bhūhaka* is intended. —B.C.C.]

i.



ii.a.



ii.b.



Seal



(From a photograph)

- 3 विभुराजानुज्ञया¹ स्वकुशलैर्नभस्तलालंकारिणी(?) (प्या)
- 4 श्यावलङ्गीमहादेव्य (व्या) मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये आ-
- 5 त्मनश्च बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रकृ (क्रि) योत्स[र्प]णा-
- 6 त्वंम (मा) चन्द्राकर्काण्णवक्षितिस्त्रि (स्त्रि) तिसमकालि (ली) नः पुत्रपौ-
- 7 त्रस्वामिभक्तार्चिह² हृदय[ना]दाभिमुखसमराभिये-
- 8 दं श्रीमाणराजस्य माथा सतीत्वाच्चोभयव-
- 9 नशोतमु (वशोद्धू) तप्रभावत्या[व्य]या श्रीमतो राष्ट्र[कुट*]देवरा-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 10 जस्य पन्या (ल्या) [रा]ज्यान्वयभोग्यस्सर्वादित्यविपि (ष्टि) परिव-
- 11 जितो चाटभटअप्रावेश्ये (श्यो) भु (भू) म (मि) च्छ (च्छ) द्रव्यायेन
- 12 अगस्त (स्य) सगोत्रब्राह्मणाय नमस्वाम (मि) नै स्वहस्त-
- 13 धृत[भू]ङ्गारकोद[ने]के[न*] कमली[भू]हकाप्रा (स) हारस्य दक्षि-
- 14 [णा] सुवर्णशि (श) ल (ला) कायाः पञ्चाशत्ताम्रशासनन (नि) व-
- 15 द्वा [१*] वर्तमाने तृत (ती) ये स (सं) वत्सरे वंशाख[शु]क्लपौ[र्ण्य]-
- 16 मास्य (स्यां) रा[ष्ट्र]कुटेन महाराजविभुराजस्य [१*] यश्च[तत्*] [लो]-
- 17 पय (पि) प्य (प्य) ति स प[ञ्च]महापातकसंप्रुक्तो भविष्य (प्य) ति [१*] प-
- 18 [ष्टि]वर्षमह[स्रा]णि स्वग्नि (स्य) म (मो) दति भूमिद (दः) आच्छेता वा-
- 19 नुम[न्ता] च

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 20 ता[न्ये]व नरके व[से]त् [१*] बहु[भि]र्ज्वं[मु]षा [भुक्ता रा]-
- 21 जि (ज) भिस्ता (स्त) गरादिवि (भिः) [१*] यस्य वि (य) स्य वदी (दा) [भू]म (मि)-
व (स्त) स्यि (स्य)
- 22 त[स्य] [त]दा फलवि (मि) [ति] [१*]

¹ [The words *śāśāreṇa* and *śrīmāta* are obviously intended to qualify *Vibhura* wrongly compounded here. —B.C.C.]

² The letter *śa* is redundant; read *śukla*.

³ This *śukla* is not necessary.

No. 25—AJMER STONE INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

While dealing with the stone inscription containing portions of the Sanskrit drama entitled *Harikēśi-nāṭaka*, composed by king Vigraharāja (1153-64 A.C.) of the Chāhamāna or Chauhan dynasty of Śākambhārī, F. Kielhorn¹ deplored the strange vicissitudes of fortune that led the stones, on which the royal author made the products of his muse known to the people; to "have been used as common building material for a place of Muhammadan worship by the conquerors of his descendants." Portions of the above drama as well as of the *Lalitā-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, composed in honour of the Chāhamāna king by his court poet, *Mahākavi* Sōmadēva, which were edited by Kielhorn,² were copied from stone slabs embedded in the walls of the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Tārāgarh hill at Ajmer. The mosque, as is well known, was built out of the spoils of Hindu structures by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak (first Sultan of Delhi, 1206-10 A.C.) in 1200 A.C., while Sultan Iltutmish (1211-36 A.C.) subsequently beautified it with a screen.³ Impressions of another inscription on a stone slab from the same mosque were recently supplied to me by Mr. U. C. Bhattachārya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It appears that all these inscribed slabs had originally belonged to some temples or public buildings raised by the Imperial Chāhamānas, the materials of which were later utilised in the construction of the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā.

The impressions of the Ajmer (Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā) inscription, received by me from Mr. U. C. Bhattachārya, had a printed slip attached to them. It assigns the inscription to the twelfth century and mentions it as exhibit No. 256 of the Rajputana Museum. It further says, "This inscription forms the beginning of a Sanskrit poem engraved on slabs. It contains invocation to Nārāyaṇa and various other gods and states that the Chauhāns belonged to the solar race." The description of the contents is, however, not strictly accurate.

The inscription under discussion covers a space nearly 4' 2" in length and 1' 9½" in height. There are altogether 27 lines of writing, each letter being a little above ½" in height. The engraving is neat and beautiful, although the stone is damaged in several places and some letters have broken away. As, however, the engraver is sometimes found to have avoided a damaged part of the stone (cf. the damaged space between *vāha*⁴ and [ad] in line 2, between *vāta-egāḥkī* and *yutā* in line 4, between *kumudā*⁵ and *ś-śubhōja* in line 24), there is no doubt that the stone was defective in places even when the inscription was incised.

The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other records of about the twelfth century found in the same area, and nothing calls for special mention. As the mosque, to which the inscribed stone belongs, is known to have been built in 1200 A.C. with the spoils of local structures, it is possible to attribute the date of the record to some time between the accession of the Chāhamāna king Ajayarāja (circa 1110-35 A.C.) who is credited⁶ with the foundation of Ajayamēru, now known as Ajmer, and with beautifying it with many temples and palaces, and 1200 A.C. when the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā was constructed, that is to say, somewhere in the twelfth century.

¹ See LA, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff., (*Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp. 16-30).

² LA, loc. cit.; *Göttinger Festschrift*, op. cit., pp. 1-15.

³ *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. p. 381.

⁴ Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1071.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the passage *Om namō Nārāyaṇāya* ||, preceded by the symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning, the whole record on the stone is written in verse. There are in all 37 stanzas, all of which, with the solitary exception of the last verse, are consecutively numbered. Considering the want of space at the end of the last verse and the fact that the poem was probably continued on other slabs, it seems that the number of the last verse (i.e., 37) was put at the beginning of the first line of another slab. As is the case with numerous other epigraphic records, a short space at the end of some lines in our inscription (cf. lines, 2, 4, 6, 13, 15-17, 19-26) has often been covered by an unnecessary single or double *daṇḍa* usually endowed with a mark of cancellation.

Out of the 37 verses, which form the text of our record, the first 32 stanzas eulogise the god Viṣṇu. Ten out of these (viz., verses 12-21) refer to the ten incarnations of the god, viz., (1) Kūrma, (2) Mīna, (3) Kōla (Varāha), (4) Nṛsiṃha, (5) Vāmana, (6) Jāmadagnya (Parasurāma), (7) Daśāyātakṛt (Dāśarathī Rāma), (8) Kṛṣṇa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalki. Verse 33 of the record introduces the Sun-god as the right eye of lord Viṣṇu and as the progenitor of the solar dynasty which is itself introduced in the following stanza (verse 34). The next two stanzas (verses 35-36) speak of the glories of the solar dynasty and mention certain ancient rulers of the Sūrya-vaṇśa such as Ikṣvāku and Rāma. The concluding stanza (verse 37) introduces king Chāhamāna, mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna or Chauhan clan of the Rājputa, as a scion of the solar dynasty. The nature of the inscription supports the conjecture that it formed part of the introduction of a *kāvya*, the theme of which may have been certain achievements of a Chāhamāna king. The principal one of these exploits described in the *kāvya* may have been the construction of a temple in honour of the god Viṣṇu.

The inscription is not of exceptional importance from the historical point of view; but it has considerable interest as a literary composition of a Chāhamāna court poet of the twelfth century. The author's style, although it is not free from defects, is not poor. He has often shown his skill in employing *śloka* or double *entendre*.¹ In composing the 37 stanzas, he has employed no less than 14 metres, of which *Sāṅgītarikṛīṭa* (13 verses) and *Vasantatilakā* (8 verses) are used in more than half of the cases. The metres *Mālinī*, *Sīkharīṇī*, *Anuṣṭubh* and *Upajīti* have each been used in 2 stanzas, while one stanza has been allotted to each of *Prithvī*, *Sragdhara*, *Vaṁśastharitā*, *Svīgatā*, *Harīṇī*, *Mandākrāntā*, *Indracārā* and *Upēndracārā*.

As regards the eponymous Chāhamāna being represented as a scion of the solar dynasty, it may be pointed out that this is in partial agreement with the tradition recorded in the *Prithivīraja-rajya* of Jayānaka (12th century) and *Hamīra-mahākāvya* of Nayachandra (13th-14th century), according to which Chāhamāna sprang from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala*; but it can hardly be reconciled with the other imaginary accounts regarding the origin of the Chāhamānas, such as the creation of Chāhamāna himself or the Chāhamāna family by the sage Vatsa or Vasishṭha or by the god Indra.² The well known story of the creation of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Chāhamāna, Pratihāra and Chaulukya dynasties by the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Abu was unknown to the Chāhamāna court poets as late as the fourteenth century.

The reference to Kṛṣṇa as the eighth of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu is interesting. It is well known that the doctrine of the *avatāras* underwent several stages of development³ and that their number, originally unsettled, gradually came to be recognised as ten. It should, however, be noticed that, even as late as the twelfth century, the same list of ten *avatāras* was not definitely fixed for the whole of India. Thus the author of the record under discussion, who was a twelfth

¹ Cf. verses 5, 8-9, 11, 22-23, 25-26, 35.

² Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1053.

³ *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (The Classical Age), pp. 414 ff.

century court poet of the Chāhamānas of Ajmer, regards Kṛishṇa as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, while the author of the Belāva plate¹ of king Bhōjavarman (12th century) of Eastern Bengal, recognises the same divinity merely as *amābhṛt-śeṭāra*, i.e., a partial incarnation. Another contemporary author, Jayadēva, who was a court poet of king Lakṣmānāsena (circa 1179-1206 A.C.) of Bengal puts Haladhara (i.e., Balarāma-Saṅkarṣaṇa) in the place of Kṛishṇa as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu in the list of the ten *avatāras* in the *Gītāgōvinda*.²

TEXT³

[Metres: Verses 1, 6, 8-9, 12-13, 20, 37 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 2 *Prithvī*; verse 3 *Sragdhara*; verses 4, 5, 10, 14-16, 18-19, 21, 24, 32-33, 36 *Sāntilāyikā*; verses 7, 17 *Mālinī*; verse 11 *Vamsashavilā*; verses 22, 37 *Śikharigā*; verses 23, 25 *Anuśṭubh*; verse 26 *Śaigatī*; verse 28 *Upendranagorī*; verse 29 *Harigī*; verse 30 *Maṇḍūkāntā*; verse 31 *Tulārajī*; verse 34-35 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 Siddham ||⁴ Ōm namō Nariyaṇāya || Ātūdhaniyūm-amarair-⁵api pātu yushmān-pād-āravinḍa-yugalaṁ Garoḍadhvajaya | viṇyasta-kaustubhamāṇṛ-⁶uraś-⁷varuḥya Lakṣmīr-nakh-⁸āṇḍa-khacitām bhajatō bhijāṁ yat || 1 || Jagaj-janana-pālana-pralaya-kōli-kārō mahur-mahā-danuja-nikī-
- 2 nāḥ vibhita-nigraha-⁹āugrahaḥ | vīhanagapati-vīlā[¹⁰o] bhujagarāja-talpē-¹¹āyaḥ kriyē bhavatu vō bhuv-¹²ābhvu[¹³ba]uidhi-karṇadhārō Harīḥ || 2 || Ōkārō dānava-¹⁴strī-samudaya-rudita-¹⁵vra[¹⁶bra]hma-pārśyaṇām kalp-¹⁷lūt-¹⁸āravdha[¹⁹bdha]-bhūta-²⁰atanita-jaladhara-²¹ārēṣi-²²śaky-²³ānukārak | pāp-²⁴āhi-kṣet-²⁵ja-pi-²⁶ ||²⁷
- 3 dā-nipatita-sukṛt-²⁸ōttāspan-²⁹āmogha-maṇḍitō jīyād-³⁰yuddhē[³¹shu] [sa] Śrī-sahachara-Murajit-pāṇḍhujanya-pragṛhāt || 3 || Mārdhni Śrī-kacha-kudibhayōr-nipatitā muktā kalāpāyatō lognā talpa-bhujāṅga-puṇḍrya-tamas-nirmūka-paṭī³²āyatō | nābhī-niraruhaya sannidhi-³³chari yā nījahanūya-³⁴ ||³⁵
- 4 tē sā pāṇi-³⁶sthita-pāṇḍhisjanya-kirāṇa-³⁷ārōḥ Harīḥ pātu [vaḥ] || 4 || Vāta-vyādhi³⁸-yatō vasyay-³⁹atī-gurāṁ tūhīhan-⁴⁰va[⁴¹n-ba]ḥ saṁtataḥ saty-⁴²śakta-matir-⁴³jagatra[⁴⁴t-tra]-⁴⁵ya-⁴⁶hitam kurvan-⁴⁷daḥhāṇaḥ kṣamāṁ[⁴⁸mām] | sūtabethaḥ gamayan-⁴⁹hananujayam-⁵⁰amandhaty-⁵¹āvitam dīpta-bhāṇ[⁵²bhām] īḥyay-⁵³saṁtatayō Purāṇapurushō dā-⁵⁴ ||⁵⁵
- 5 vaḥ sad-⁵⁶atv-⁵⁷atā vaḥ || 5 || Vakṣahāṭhaḥ-⁵⁸ōchchhalita-kaustubha-kōm[⁵⁹ti-⁶⁰lptam] pāṇi-⁶¹sthitam-bhavato Chakradharasya chakraṁ[⁶²kram] | yuddhēshv-⁶³anāka-danujōmūka-⁶⁴kaṭhōra-kam[⁶⁵ha-⁶⁶chchhōd-⁶⁷āvasakta-rudhir-⁶⁸augham-⁶⁹iva śelyō vaḥ || 6 || Vilasita-vanamālō dīpta-Vairōchana-⁷⁰śrī-vicatikpīd-⁷¹anurajyat-Pannagāris-nikāma[⁷²mām] |
- 6 bhavana-janaka-vidyut-pūmja-pit-⁷³āṇva[⁷⁴ba]rō vō ghatayatu ghana-kālāḥ | Kōḥāvō matigalāni || 7 || Śliṣhyat-sodarāna-payōdhara-kṛishṇam-⁷⁵ulyad-bhīm-⁷⁶āhaya-prakṣit-⁷⁷āṇḍhaku[⁷⁸ka]-⁷⁹putra-nāsam[⁸⁰jam] | stutyub-⁸¹su-parvabhīr-⁸²alamkṛita-dharmma-pākāḥ Vyāsa⁸³ya kāv-⁸⁴yam-⁸⁵iva pātu Harōr-⁸⁶vvaṇur-⁸⁷vvaḥ || 8 || Aṁ-⁸⁸itī-⁸⁹viśva-⁹⁰viditō-⁹¹ ||⁹²

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 14 ff.

² Verse 12. Jayadēva's list of the *avatāras* corresponds to that given in a Puranic verse quoted in an eighth century inscription from Māmalāpāraṁ (*Jes.*, 357, No. 26, p. 5).

³ From *Impressum*.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The *śanda* is superfluous.

⁶ Some space is left unengraved after *tyādhi*.

⁷ The two *śanda*s are unnecessary.

[illegible]

- 17 *nīhpa(nīhpa)jīta-vṛishatū(śam) | kram-ōdgaśchēhād-Gaṅgā-pūthuka-mahānīyam Mura-ripōh-eva-rūpañ saṁpattiyai bhavata bhavatām Bhāratam-iva || 22 || Pātu vō daitya-patibhir-mahā-sūnair-a-pījītaḥ | Harir-Indra-Hara-Vra(Bra)hma-Mahāsūnair-ap-ījītaḥ || 23 || Viśhōḥ pūrīta-(pāmcha)janya-kahara- ||¹*
- 18 *prōdbhūta-mamdr-āravais-talp-āhi-śyast-ānilaḥ prachalatām-[nā]bhī-sarōḥ gatē | tra-stān-Āvja(bja)bhuvā tṛtīya-svanōn-āmnāya-pāthē kṛtē prāg-udv(dv)idha-payō-dhijā-dhīta-padō bhūtyai pravō(bō)dhō-stu vaḥ || 24 || Padmā-yuktāḥ sa-padmō-pi vṛishah-āpi vṛish(āya) yaḥ | hat-ārīr-ari-*
- 19 *saṁpaunō-py-astu vaḥ śrōyast Harīḥ || 25 || Sēvitaḥ sura-gaṇaiḥ sa-suparṇaś-śhīḥay-ātī-ghanayā ramaṇiyāḥ | sthānūtām dadhād-ślakṣīta-kīmaḥ kalpa-vṛikṣa-iva pātu Harir-vaḥ || 26 || A-bhārō-yam nūnān yadi-janīta-khōdō-si tad-a[mu]ḥ [īya]ja tvad-vīrātītyai kṣapam-a- ||²*
- 20 *pi vahāmō vāyam-amī(m-īnam) | Harir-jāt-śōbharyaiḥ kṛta-nutī(bhir-ā)ritaiḥ pramuditair-basann-uktō gōpār-iti jayati chitrāś-giri-varaḥ(ram) || 27 || Anāratam yō dannaḥmndra-yōśud-viśōchan-ārdrīkaraṇāya nūnān(nam) | vī(bī)bhartī dhār-āmva(bu) Ha(cēh) karaśhō lunātu dūlikhāni ||³*
- 21 *sa namādakō vaḥ || 28 || Na nava-jalada-śyāmanī yat-yan-na k[au]stuhla-śōbhitaḥ na jaladhi-sutā-sōtkāśhām yan-na yat-Garuḍa-dhva-jarū(jam) | na yat-ari(n)-gadā-śamkh-ām-lobhājir-niruddha-karām Harēr-jayati gaditām tad-Vōdāntaiḥ pravō(bō)dhamayam vapuḥ || 29 || Daityān-nighnañn-ann-Va(Ba)ḍari- ||⁴*
- 22 *k-āraṇya-kutijah tapasyan-Śrī-saśīlāś-ōtsavam-anubhavan-pālayan-viśhāpūni | tat-tat-kīhehit-saman-utīśy-ō-hehhrīmkhalas-tēna tēna vyātānvānō jayati vapuḥā viśva-vamdyō Mukundāḥ || 30 || Vā(Bā)hur-vūdhattām bhavatām śriyam sa [Kah]ja-dvishah Kēśī-fraja-dvay-āmkaḥ | vichī- ||*
- 23 *vichitrasya dīnōa-putrī-pūtasya dīram jayati śriyam yaḥ || [31] || Nīhkrā(Nīhkrā)mat-Kamālā-mukh-ānu-ōipatan-ōētrasya-gūtrē Harēr-udbhinnāḥ eba mammathēna bhavataḥ pāmta śram-āmhaḥ-kuḡāḥ | mamtha-khōḍidhar-āhati-vyātikarād-utthīya pāthōni-dhōr-lagnānām vima- ||⁵*
- 24 *ia-tvishān dadhati yō muktā-maṇīm bhramam(mam) || 32 || Karidō v-ā[ma]ra-pōdapaśya kumud(ā)ś-āmhbhōja-bhājam śriyam nirmūstaḥ pratibhūr-urīgāmka-mukurasy-āmhbhōda-kāl-ānilaḥ | tārā-pārada-viprūhām huta(vahāḥ) kōkī-rata-prakriyā-sākāhi dakṣiṇam-i- ||⁶*
- 25 *kṣapam Mura-ripōr-dēvō Ravīḥ pātu vaḥ || 33 || Tasmāt-sa[mā]jāśva(ha)na-darḍha-yōnī-(r-ābh)ḥ-janasya skhalataḥ eva-mārgg(rggāt) | vadāḥ sād-āiv-ōdha-rasō nripāḥām-anudgat-ainō-ghuṇa-kīta-randhrah || 34 || Samutthitō-ekād-anaragya-yōnir-utpanna-ponnāga-kadān- ||⁷*
- 26 *va(ba)-śākhaḥ | āścharyam-amtaḥ-prasarat-kūśō-yatī vānō-ethinām śrīphalatām prayātī || 35 || Ādhi-vyādhi-kuvṛitta-durgatī-parityakta-prajā-tatra tō sapta-dvīpa-bhujō nripāḥ samabhavann-īkshvāku-Rām-ādayaḥ | yēśhām durjaya-dānavōmndra-jayin(ām) tair-Indra-nm- ||⁸*
- 27 *khyair-makhāśhv-āhūtair-upayāchitēśhv-iva puroḥḥaṇa-trī[ptaiḥ] suraiḥ || 36 || Tasmān-ath-ārī-vijayēna virājamānō rāj-ānurachjita-janō-jani Chāhamānaḥ | saṁpūṇaś-śhāmdra-iva chadudikayā triyāmām kirtty-ōjva(jjva)latvam-anayad-bhuvana-trayīm yaḥ || [37*] ||*

¹ The two *daitya* are superfluous.

² The *śrōyast* is unnecessary.

No. 26—TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the beginning of October 1952, I received for examination two copper-plate inscriptions from Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar. I was informed that the inscriptions had been found in the old Daspalla State, now merged in Orissa as a sub-division of the Puri District, and that Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, Assistant Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had prepared a paper on them for publication in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*. Mr. Acharya, however, was kind enough to permit me to edit both the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am extremely thankful to him for this kindness.

A.—Daspalla Plate of Dīcānanda : Year 184

This copper plate, as I learnt from Mr. Acharya, was found early in 1951 in the course of the re-excavation of an old tank in the village of **Chikankhandi** in the Jorim Pargana of **Daspalla**. The Pargana is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi while the town of Daspalla lies on the left bank of the river. The plate was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Dasarathi Misra who is a teacher of the M. E. School at Jilinda in the Daspalla Sub-division.

The inscription is written on both sides of the **single** plate measuring $10^{\circ} \times 7.45^{\circ} \times 13^{\circ}$. A bronze seal, having the shape of an expanded lotus and measuring 3.25° in diameter, is soldered about the middle of the proper right end of the plate. It resembles the seal attached to the charters of the family to which the issuer of the grant under discussion belonged. The border of the petaloidal portion (about 2.21° in diameter) of this lotus-shaped seal is raised. In the hollow thus formed, the seal proper is countersunk. The central part of the space on the surface of the seal is occupied by the legend in one line: *śrī-Dīcānandadevaya*, the subscript *y* in the last *akṣara* being considerably lengthened towards the left so that the entire legend looks as doubly underlined. Above the legend is the figure of a couchant bull to proper right, with the emblems of a conch and a crescent above it. Below the legend there is the representation of an expanded lotus. The seal is fixed to the plate by means of two knobs running through holes made in the usual projection of the plate. These are covered by a lump of metal forming the back of the seal. Some eight or nine lines of writing about the middle of the plate on both its sides are shorter owing to the encroachment of the lower part of the seal. The plate together with the seal weighs $143\frac{1}{2}$ tolas.

In respect of **palaeography**, **language** and **orthography**, the present record closely resembles the published charters of the family to which its issuer belonged. In a few cases (cf. *śarada* in line 11, *śarva* in line 23) the superscript *r* reminds us of a similar form of it in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.¹ The charter is dated in the year 100 80 4, i.e., 184 (the symbol for 100 resembling the *akṣara* *la*) of an unspecified era which appears to be identical with the reckoning used in the records of the imperial family of the Bhanu-Karas of Orissa as well as in those of some of their feudatories. This era is now often identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. C. and in that case the year 184 of our inscription would correspond to 792 A.C. But it has been noticed that the palaeography of the inscriptions dated in the era in question points to a considerably later epoch for it. As will be seen in our discussion on Śatrubhādja's plates edited below, the beginning of this era now seems to be nearly two centuries later than that of the Harsha

¹ See above, pp. 2 and 49.

era. This would suggest a **date about the beginning of the eleventh century A. C.** for the inscription under discussion and such a view seems to be supported by palaeography. The use of numerical symbols instead of figures appears to point to a date not considerably later than the tenth century.

The charter was issued by king Dēvānandadeva II of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava family of Jayapura in the present Orissa State. This ruler is already known from his Baripada Museum, Jurerpur and Narasingpur plates,¹ none of which, however, bears any date in an era as the record under review. The seal of king Dēvānanda is found attached to the Talmul plate² of king Dhruvānanda who belonged to the same family and was apparently a successor of Dēvānanda II. Like the present charter of Dēvānanda, Dhruvānanda's record is dated in the year of an era. This date is usually taken to be the year 293; but, as we have suggested above,³ it may be really 193. This conjecture seems to be supported by the date, year 184, no doubt of the same era, when Dēvānanda II, who appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Dhruvānanda, issued the charter under discussion.

The Baripada Museum plate of Dēvānanda II and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda have quoted the same introductory verses. These verses, with the omission of only one, are also quoted in the Jurerpur plate of Dēvānanda II. All these records begin with a prose passage referring to Jayapura which was the capital of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava kings of Orissa. The verses that follow speak of the following rulers: (1) Jayānanda, (2) his son Parānanda, (3) his son Śivānanda, (4) his son Dēvānanda (I), and (5) his son Vilāsatuṅga. The above verses are followed in the Baripada Museum and Jurerpur plates by a prose passage which introduces king Dēvānanda (II) as the issuer of the charters in question, while the same passage substituting the name of Dhruvānanda for that of Dēvānanda (II) is found in the corresponding section of the Talmul plate. It was therefore quite natural to suggest that both Dēvānanda (II) and Dhruvānanda enjoyed the *virata* Vilāsatuṅga and were the sons of Dēvānanda (I).⁴ But the introductory verses of the charter under discussion clearly state that the reigning king Dēvānanda II was the son of Vilāsatuṅga. As these verses are stated to have been composed by the *Sandhivigrahin* of the Nanda king, they have to be regarded as more authentic and reliable than the introductory portion of the other records of the family, which is full of errors of various kinds. It seems that verses describing the reigning kings are omitted through confusion in the above records of Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda.⁵ The correct genealogy of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava rulers of Orissa from Jayānanda, founder of Jayapura, to his fifth descendant Dēvānanda II is thus supplied by the record under review. But the relationship between Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda still remains uncertain. Dhruvānanda seems to have been either a younger brother or a son of Dēvānanda II. The genealogical tree of the Nandas of Orissa may therefore be drawn as follows.

¹ See above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 223 ff.

² JBORS, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 327, note 1.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 76, note 2.

⁵ Dhruvānanda appears to have utilised an old plate on which his predecessor's seal was fixed and the introductory stanzas were engraved already.



The Narasingpur plate of Dēvānanda II is a spurious document containing only certain fragments of two genuine charters of the Nanda king. As noticed above,¹ the fragments of verses found in this spurious record suggested the existence of some genuine grants of Dēvānanda having a set of introductory stanzas which were different from those known from the published records of the king. Happily this conjecture has now been justified fully by the discovery of the present inscription. The introductory part of the charter under discussion consists of ten stanzas none of which is found in the common introduction of the Baripada Museum and Jagerpur plates of Dēvānanda and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda, although fragments of most of them can be traced in the spurious Narasingpur plate of the former. Lines 1-3 and 8-19 of the Narasingpur plate contain fragments of the verses forming the introduction of our charter in the following order: lines 1, 6, 7, 8, 4, 5 and 6. Lines 16, 18 and 19 of the same plate contain respectively the numbers 4, 5 and 6 which, as we have already pointed out, were meant to indicate the end of the fourth, fifth and sixth verses of some genuine records copied in it. It is now seen that the number 4 is put there actually after the concluding passage of the fourth verse of the present charter, while 5 is placed among certain passages of the fifth verse and 6 between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth stanza apparently through confusion.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham*. Verse 1 describes the city of **Jayapura**, capital of the Nandas, while each one of the following six verses describes respectively the rulers **Jayānanda**, his son **Parānanda**, his son **Śivānanda**, his son **Dēvānanda I**, his son **Vilāsatunga**, and his son **Dēvānanda II**, although the description of the reigning monarch Dēvānanda II continues in the following three stanzas (verses 8-10). This introductory part of the record contains hardly anything besides conventional and vague praises of the rulers described. Next follows a prose passage (lines 22-26) introducing again king Dēvānanda II as desirous of making

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 331.

a grant. This description is substantially the same as found in the Baripada Museum and Jurerupur plates of the same king and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda and has been already discussed by us.¹ As regards the slight modification of the language in our record, it may be noted that the king is here called *śaṃudhigulapañchamahāsabha-mahāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka-Nanda-Mahārāja-Rājaka-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* instead of *paramabhaṭṭāraka-śaṃudhigula-pañchamahāsabha-mahāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* as found in the other charters. In connection with the second passage quoted above, we remarked that "the ambiguity (as it may also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*) may be intentional" and suggested that the rulers of the Nanda family may have "originally owned allegiance to the Bhāmas-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter's decline". It will be seen that the epithets applied to Dēvānanda II in the present record (cf. lines 3-4 of the spurious Narsingpur plate) are similarly ambiguous as they may be taken to be a mixture of both imperial and feudatory titles, which is often found to have been adopted by subordinate rulers to indicate their newly achieved semi-independent status.²

Lines 26-33 of our inscription record the grant of a village called **Indēddā** situated in the **Jilōṇḍā** *visaya* of the **Airāvatta** *maṇḍala*, made by the king by means of a copper-plate charter in favour of Yaśōdatta, son of Māhōla, for the increase of his own merit as well as his parents'. The donee was resident of Vapiggōtrā; but his family is stated to have hailed from a locality called Rāhiyavada. He is described as *śāstra-gēhin*, *śāstra-śpādhyāya* and *kāyastha*, while verse 16 in line 35 of the inscription seems to suggest that he was the *Sadhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) of king Dēvānanda II. The fact that Yaśōdatta's *gētra*, *śharanya*, *śākhā*, etc., are conspicuous by their absence in his description may suggest that the donee of our record was not a Brāhmaṇa and that his epithet *Kāyastha* possibly indicates not his profession but actually his caste. But he is stated to have been not only a *śāstra-gēhin*, i.e., 'a virtuous householder', but also a *śāstra-śpādhyāya*,³ i.e., 'teacher of the *śāstra*', although what *śāstra* is particularly meant is not clear. Since Yaśōdatta seems to have been a minister of the king, it is not impossible to think that he was a teacher of the science of politics. If these suggestions are acceptable, the inscription under review gives us valuable information regarding the crystallization of the professional community of scribes into the caste of Kāyasthas as well as their honoured social position in early Orissa.⁴

Lines 33-38 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed by another stanza saying that the *prabasti* or eulogy (apparently referring particularly to the introductory verses discussed above) was composed by Yaśōdatta who was serving king Dēvānanda II as *Sadhivigrahin*. Line 39, with which the document ends, gives the date, year 184, and says that the eulogy was engraved by Lōgyāka.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the name **Airāvatta-maṇḍala**, which appears to have comprised the kingdom of the Nandas, is believed to be preserved in that of modern **Ratagarh** within the Banki Police Station in the Cuttack District, while, Jayapura, capital of the Nanda kings, has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District. The name of the district called **Jilōṇḍā** reminds us of modern **Jilōṇḍā** in Daapalla. It is difficult to identify the villages of **Indēddā**, **Rāhiyavada** and **Vapiggōtrā**.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 329.

² Cf. Bhattacharya's List, No. 1555, etc. In the charter under discussion, the king is called *mahāsāmantādhipati-vandita-paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e., a paramount king worshipped by the feudatories having many subordinates) or *mahāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e., a feudatory having many subordinates and worshipping his overlord).

³ The word *śpādhyāya* means a teacher or preceptor in general. Sometimes it is used to indicate a sub-teacher who gives instructions for wages only in a part of a Veda. An *śpādhyāya* is often regarded as inferior to an *śāstra*. Cf. *Musangis*, II, 141.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 273.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1 *Śrāgadharā* ; vv. 2, 4-10 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Mālinī* ; vv. 11-13, 16 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 14 *Sōlinī* ; v. 15 *Pushpītūgā*.]

Obverse

- 1 *Siddham*² ||[*] Svasti prōttuṅga-mādyat-kari-karṣa-taṭa-prasavad-dāna-tōyauḥ saṁsukta-
prāṇya-mārgūd-ghana-samaya-
- 2 vāsa-prāpta-vṛpṭi(ṣṭi)-prachārāḥ | viprāṇṣ[ā] veda-sāstra-dhvani-janita-sukhāt-sarvva-
lakṣmī[ṭi*] dāvā(dhā)nād-ratnaḥ(tna)-prākāra-bhi-
- 3 tti-prachura-Jāyapurāt-sārthakāt-sarvvaḥ-aiva || [1*] Āsina-Nanda-kul-ōdbhavaḥ kṣhititāla-
khyātō visu(su)ddh-ānvayō bhūpālaiv-pata-pāda-
- 4 padma-yugalaḥ sat-kīrtti-lakṣmyā vṛtāḥ | vā(bā)hivōr-vvikrama-lavdha(bdha)-śuddha-vi-
bhavō vidyā-vinitō mahān-rājā rājita-lōka-ē-
- 5 va hi Jāyānandō jan-ānanda-kṛt || [2*] Sakala-guṇa-midhānaḥ khyātāḥ(ta)-saum-ō(my-ō)-
matō-yauḥ para-hita-nirat-ātmā lōka-mā-
- 6 [r]g-ānuvartti | vigata-Kali-kulāṅkaḥ³ tasya sūnaḥ prasiddhaḥ kṣhitipani(tu)r-atulō-bhūch⁴-
chhōp-Parānanda-nāmā || [3*] Ātyant-ō-
- 7 nta(nna)ta-āstru-pakṣa-timira-pradhvaṁsakṛpa-nirmimalaḥ so[r]vv-āsā(śā)-paripūraḥ-aika-
chaturah saṁtyakta-dōṣa-āśrayaḥ | tasy-[5]-
- 8 bhūt-tanayaḥ prasiddha-mahimā mitr-ōdayō bhāsuro bhūbhṛd-bhānur-iv-āpa[raḥ] praka-
titaḥ śrīmāra⁵-Vivānandaka-
- 9 ḥ || [4*] Sūnu-tasya niraṣa-āstranikara-tējō-nidhānaḥ sadā lakṣmyā lakṣaṇa-lakṣita-
[ḥ*] kṣhitibhujām-āgrēsuraḥ
- 10 sundaraḥ | jātāḥ sacchharitō vinīta-nipugō bhūpāla-chūḍāmaṇir-Dēvānanda-nripō-ti-su(su)-
ddha-mati-
- 11 māna(mān) khyātāḥ kṣhamā-maṇḍalē || [5*] Sa[rvva]-prāṇahṛitām-ahhṛita-vishayā chin-
tāmaṇiḥ sarvadā nītau
- 12 Śakra-guruḥ prajāsu nripatir-Vāṇuḥ⁶ suputrō mahān | pratvyā(tyā)y-ārjana-saṁchayē cha
Dhanadāḥ sad-vikra-
- 13 mē Sūdrakaḥ⁷ tasmād-ēva Vilāsatuṅga-narapō-py-ēkō-py-anēkaḥ aṭha(eti)taḥ || [6*]
Mādyatkuṅjara-pla-kū-
- 14 mbha-dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayaḥ kṣmāpāl-ānami(ta)-mauli-ratna-nikara-pradyōtī-āṅghri-
dvayaḥ | tyāgat-

¹ From the original plate.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read *kalāṅka-naga*.⁴ Read *bhūch-chhōp*. Read.⁵ Read *śrīmā-Chhōp*.⁶ Read *nripatir-Vaṇuḥ*.⁷ Read *Sūdraka-tasmā*.

54

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2

4

10

12

14

183

181

2

11

472

81

299

[illegible]

- 32 yō tāma-sā(ā)śanikṛitya pa(pra)dattō-śmābhir-ataḥ tāma-sā(ā)śana-pradarsa(rsa)nāḍ-
 dv-āsmat-kā[r]y-ānurōdhād-yathākāl-ōpa[bhu]-
- 33 [yamāna-phalaśy-āśya kair-āpi paripanthibhir-na bhavitavyam || Mā bhūd-a-phala-śaṅkā
 vah para-dattō(tt-ō)ti p[ā]rth[ī]vā[h | *] sa¹ vā phala-
- 34 ntyā para-datt-āmpānam² || [11*] Sva-dattāḥ paridattā[m vā*] yō harēta vasundharāth-
 (rām |) sa viśthāyām kṛimīr-ūhūtvā pīṭh[ī]h[ā] saha pachyatē || [12*] Va(Ba)hu[bhir-
 vasm]-
- 35 dhā dattā rājābhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam) ||
 [13*] Sāmānyō-ya[m] dharmma-sētu[r]-nripāṇā[m*]
- 36 kāle kāla(lō) pālō(la)nyō bhavadbhīḥ | sarvām-ētā[n*] bhāvināḥ pāṭhivōndrā[n*] bhūyō
 bhūyāḥ prā[r]iḥa[ryaty-ēha Rāmāḥ || [14*] Iti kama[h*]-
- 37 dal-āmva(mbu)-vindu-lōlām ōri(āri)yam-annahintya mamahya-jīvitam cha sakalam-idam-
 adāhṛitam cha va(bu)ddhvā na hi pura[shai]ḥ para-kī[r]ttayō vilo-
- 38 pyāḥ || [15*] Sandhivigrabhiḥ rājō Dēśanandasya nirmmitā | prasa(śa)etih³ param-ōḍārā
 Yasō(śo)dattēna śrīmatā || [16*] Jō(Jyē)śhṭha-
- 39 sudi 5 Samva(Samva)t 100 80 4 yā utkīrma(rpā) Lōgayākōma ||⁴ Siddham⁵

B.—Daspalla Plates of Śatrubhaṅga Tribhucanakulasa ; Year 198

According to information kindly supplied to me by Mr. P. Acharya, this set of plates was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Krushna Chandra Misra who is a clerk in the office of the Sub-Deputy Collector of Daspalla. Nothing is known about its exact findspot or the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The inscription is written on **three** plates, of which the first and third are inscribed only on the inner side. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The plates measure 6.7" × 4.75". The hole in the plates for the seal-ring to pass through, which had been made apparently before the plates were engraved, is 4" in diameter and is .75" inside from the proper right margin of the plates. The copper ring which is .37" in thickness and 2.7" in diameter has its joint covered by a lump of bronze, on which the seal (1.5" in diameter) is countersunk. It resembles the seal found with other charters of the family to which the issuer of the present record belonged. Its upper part is occupied by the figure of a lion to proper right, having its face to front, its left paw raised and its tail curled above its back. Below the above emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) Śrī-Sa(śa)trubha- (2) ājāitasya. The three plates together weigh 197 tolas; but, as they vary in thickness, their individual weight is not the same. The weight of the first plate is 49 tolas and that of the second and third plates 27 and 31 tolas respectively. The ring with the seal weighs 38 tolas. Thus the weight of the three plates together with the seal-ring is 145 tolas.

In respect of **paleography, language, orthography and style**, the inscription under review resembles very closely other charters of the Bhāṅga kings of Vaṅjalvaka, two of which have

¹ Read *sva-datt-āphalam-ānāṣam*.

² Read *ānupālanā*.

³ The *vierge* had been at first omitted but was later inserted.

⁴ This sign of punctuation is preceded by a *vierge*-like mark that forms a part of it.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

been recently edited in this journal.¹ But unlike the known records of the family, which are dated usually in the regnal reckoning of the kings issuing the grants in question, the present charter bears the date in the year 198 (written according to the decimal system of writing numerals) of an era. As already indicated above, this era seems to be no other than that used by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa and their feudatories in dating their charters. The chronology of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas has so long remained a disputed problem. But as the exact date of the present record can be determined almost with precision, it seems to throw welcome light on the above problem. We shall see below that the issuer of the charter under discussion flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The epoch of the era in question may thus be assigned to a date in the first half of the ninth century A.C.

The charter was issued by a Bhaṇja king of **Vaṇḍulvaka**, whose name is given as **Śatrubhaṇja II**² alias **Tribhuvanakalasa**. He is stated to have been the son of **Śilābhaṇja** and great-grandson of **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja**. As it stands, the description of the issuer's ancestry in our grant is defective inasmuch as it does not speak of the king's grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word *pepaṇḍra* is a mistake for *pauṇḍra* so that **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja** was really the grandfather of **Śatrubhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa** or that the name of the grandfather of **Śatrubhaṇja** was omitted from the record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. It is unfortunately difficult to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. But the more important fact about this genealogy is that, while **Śatrubhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa** (issuer of the charter under review) and his father **Śilābhaṇja** are as yet unknown from any other source, **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja**, grandfather or great-grandfather of **Śatrubhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa**, is already known to us from several of his own records as well as of his son **Neṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa II**.³ I have elsewhere⁴ discussed the genealogy and chronology of these Bhaṇjas. It has been shown how **Raṇabhaṇja**, who was the great-grandfather of **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja**, flourished about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. I have also shown how the successors of **Raṇabhaṇja**, viz., his sons, **Neṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa I** and **Digbhaṇja**, and **Digbhaṇja's** son **Śilābhaṇja II** and grandson **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja**, had all very short reigns so that a **Brāhmaṇa** named **Bhaṭṭa Stambhadēva** is known to have served all the four kings while a goldsmith named **Durgadēva** not only served all of them but also **Neṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa II**, son of **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja**. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of **Stambhadēva** and **Durgadēva** probably covered about half a century, the reign of **Neṭṭabhaṇja Kalyāṇakalasa II** may be assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century. **Śilābhaṇja**, father of the issuer of the charter under review, may not have ruled. **Śatrubhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa**, as he was the grandson or great-grandson of **Vidyādharaḥhaṇja**, may have flourished about the second quarter of the same century. In any case, the date of our inscription does not appear to be later than the middle of the eleventh century. Certain dates in the latest decades of the second century of the era in question (cf. **Dāyānanda's** plate edited about and the grants of the **Bhauma-Kara** queen **Dandimahādēvī**) are written with numerical symbols instead of figures according to the decimal system and the use of such symbols does not appear to have survived considerably long after the end of the tenth century. Moreover the major part of the dominions of the **Bhauma-Karas**, who ruled from **Jaipur** for about two centuries (i.e., upto about the year 300 of the era, so that the date of the present charter, year 198, fell about the latest days of **Bhauma-Kara** rule), appear to have been included in the empire of the **Śāmavarmā** during the rule of

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 202 ff.

² The first king of this name in the family was **Śatrubhaṇja Gandhata** of **Dhātupura**.

³ See **Bhandarkar's List**, Nos. 1500-02.

⁴ *INQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 274 ff.

Chayāhara Yayāti Mahādivagupta III (circa 1025-60 A.C.) and his son Udayōtakēśarin Mahābhavagupta IV (circa 1060-80 A.C.)¹

That Śatrubhaṅja Tribhuvanakalasa who issued the charter under review flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century (so that the Bahuma-Kara era started about the corresponding period of the ninth century) is further indicated by another interesting piece of evidence that has recently come to light. The unpublished Band plates of Prithvī-mahādēvi, which were examined by me some time ago, are dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and state that this Bhauma-Kara queen was the daughter of king Svabhāvatunga of the lunar dynasty of Kōśala (South Kōśala). One of the grants² of the Sōmavamśi king Mahādivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.C.) of South Kōśala seems to apply the name Svabhāvatunga to that monarch. There is therefore no doubt that Prithvī-mahādēvi alias Tribhuvana-mahādēvi II, who was on the Bhauma-Kara throne in the year 158 of the era in question, flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century A.C. This would also point to the beginning of the era about the second quarter of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the expression *Oṃ svasti*, which are followed by three verses known also from all other records of the Bhaṅjas of Vanjūlvaka. The third of these verses introduces the reigning king under his coronation name Tribhuvanakalasa. Next comes a long passage in prose (lines 10 ff.) in which the *Paramataraṅga Rājaka* Śatrubhaṅja (i.e., Tribhuvanakalasa), son of Śilābhaṅja and great-grandson (possibly a mistake for 'grandson') of Vidyādharaśilābhaṅja, is represented as making a grant of the village of Kōṅkalā in the Paśchima (i.e., Western) *dhanda* (sub-division) in the Ramalaya *nishaya* (district) in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṅga* Ājapāla (or Ājapāla). The donee is stated to have belonged to the Maulgalya *gōtra*, Vājasanīya *śrautya* and Mādhyandina *sākhā*. He was the son of *Bhaṅga* Nilakanṭha and grandson of *Bhaṅga* Madhusūdana. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been the *Bhaṅga* *agṛa* Khādūvāvali in Mādhyandina; but he was settled in a locality called Santōśhamādhava. The gift village was made a revenue-free holding on the occasion of the Viśuva-saṅkrānti falling on a Sunday when the *nakṣatra* was Mrigaśīra and the *tithi* the fifth of the dark or bright fortnight of an unspecified month.

Lines 27-39 quote several of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. They are followed by certain endorsements indicating that the document was *lācchita* (registered with the seal) by Prithvī-mahādēvi (apparently a queen of king Śatrubhaṅja), *anubala* (approved of) by *Bhaṅga* Rājaka, *prarūṣita* (entered into the donee's possession, i.e., executed) by *Pratibha* Prabhākara

¹ See *IRQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300-07.

² See *JFAS*, 1906, p. 161; cf. *IRQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 70-82; also Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff. Elsewhere (*IRQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 227) we have seen how Mahādivagupta Yayāti I probably ousted the Bhaṅjas from Dhūtīpura and drove them to Vanjūlvaka. These Bhaṅjas appear to have been feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. This fact points to a struggle between the Bhauma-Karas and the Sōmavamśis. The success of Mahādivagupta Yayāti I against the Bhauma-Karas is further demonstrated by one of his charters (above, Vol. III, pp. 331-33) which is dated in his ninth regnal year and records the grant of a village in Dakṣiṇa-Tāla (within the Bhauma-Kara kingdom), in his ninth regnal year and records the grant of a village in Dakṣiṇa-Tāla (within the Bhauma-Kara kingdom), although the early Sōmavamśis were really Lords of Kōśala (South Kōśala). The Band plates show that Prithvī-mahādēvi ignored the claims of Santihara III and Santihara V for the Bhauma-Kara throne and may have been engaged in a civil war with the latter. In this she may have been supported by her father. In any case, the grant of a village in the Bhauma-Kara territory by the Sōmavamśi king does not appear to be unconnected with the above fact. If the ninth regnal year of Mahādivagupta Yayāti I fell near about the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, the beginning of the era may be roughly assigned to 820-25 A.C. The astronomical details supplied by our record (year 158, Viśuva-saṅkrānti, Sunday, Paśchamī, Mrigaśīra) suggests March 23, 1029 A.C. (Sumanikanta Pillai, *Tulasī Epitaphs*, Vol. III, p. 60). It has to be noticed that the above combination does not suit any other date in the period in question. It therefore appears that the Bhauma-Kara era started from 831 A.C.

and *anujñāta* (witnessed) by *Vāguli Ratna*. The document is stated to have been written by the *Sandhivigrahin* Śaṅkara while the plates were engraved by the *akṣhaṇḍin* (goldsmith) Napa, already known as the engraver of the plates of another king of the family, named *Nettabhaṇja* III *Tribhuvanakalasa*, which have been edited above.¹ The charter ends with the date, year 198.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Vaṇjalvaka* is well known from many other records of the family, although its exact location is as yet unknown. The *Ramalava* district and the villages of *Kōṅkaṭṭā* and *Santōshamādhava* are difficult to identify. The *Bhāṭṭa-grāma* *Khaḍuvāvalli* in *Madhyadēśa* (roughly identical with the modern *Uttar Pradesh*) cannot be identified.

TEXT*

[Metres : V. 1 *Mālinī* ; v. 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Giti* ; vv. 4-9 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 10 *Push-pitāgā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Ōm Svasti [||*] Jayata kusumavā(bā)pa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakham sva-ki-
- 2 rapa-parivāṣa-aurjītya-jitṇṇ-ēnda-lēkham(kham |) tribhuvana-bha(va)n-ānta(r)-dy(ō)-
- 3 ta-bhāsvat-pradīpam kanaka-nikāśa(śa)-gauram vibhru-nētraḍa Harasya || [1*]
- 4 Śē(Śē)ṣah-āhēr-iva yō phapāḥ pravilasanty-udbhāsvad-indu-tvishah prālē-
- 5 y-āchala-āriṅga-kōṭaya iva tvangati(ṇti) yō-ty-ummatāḥ | ṇṇity-āṭō-
- 6 pa-vighattitā iva bhujā rājanti yō Śā(Śā)mbhavāś-tō sa-
- 7 ry-āgha-vighātina(h*) surasari(t*)-tōy-ōmmayaḥ pāntu vaḥ || [2*] Svasti | Vija-
- 8 ya-Vaḍḍulvakāś-astī³ Śrī-vijaya-nīlaya(h*) prakāṣa-guṇa-gaṇa-grasta-sa-
- 9 masta-ripu-vargah [| *] Śrī-Tṛi(Tṛi)bhuvanakalasa-nāma-(rā*)jā nirdhūta-kali-kala-
- 10 sha-kalmasha(h || 3*) Śrī-Vidyādharaḥḥaṇjadēvasya prapantrah⁴ Śrī -Si(Śi)[lā]bhaṇja⁵

Second Plate : First Side

- 11 dēvasya sutah paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-pād-āmnihyātō Bha-
- 12 ṇi-āmala-kula-tilaka-Rāṇaka-Śrī-Sa(Sa)trubhaṇjadēva(h*) kusa(śa)-
- 13 || Ramalava-vishaya-Pāchīma-khaṇḍa-yathānīvāsi-sa-kuru-
- 14 ṇa-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādī-janapadān yathārhi(rham) mānayati vō(bō)dhs(ya*)ṇi

¹ See Vol. XXVIII, pp. 278 ff.

² From the original plates.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The letter *er* had been at first omitted and was later inserted below the line.

⁵ It is interesting to note that in some records of the family the word *astī* forms the first word of the third stanza while in others (as in this case) it does not form a part of the verse.

⁶ The intended reading may be *pantrah*.

⁷ The *śikura* *lā* had been originally omitted but was later engraved below the line.

i.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २

२ गणेशाय नमः ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २

४ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ ४

६ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ ६

८ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ ८

१० दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ १०

ii, a

१२ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ १२

१४ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ १४

१६ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ १६

१८ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ १८

२० दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २०

ii, b.

२२ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २२

२४ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २४

२६ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २६

२८ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ २८

३० दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ दत्तकालाया ॥ ३०

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ह नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
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36
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SEAL OF A - DASPALLA PLATE OF DEVANANDA, YEAR 184



SEAL OF

- 15 samādissa(śa)ti [cha | *] viditam-astu bhavatām sarvata[h*] śivam-a-
 16 smākaṁ(ka)m-anyaṭ ātada(tad)-vishaya-samva(mba)dilha-Kōṅkaīrā-grā-
 17 ma[h*] chatu[h*]-ai(ś)mā-patichchhina(nnaḥ) mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇy-ābhivṛdha-
 (dilha)-
 18 yā salila-dhārā-pura[h*]śa(śa)rēṣa vidhinā Maṇḍalla¹-gōtrāya
 19 Vaidhavya²-pravarāya Vājasēna³-charaṇāya Mādha⁴-śākḥ-ādhyāya-
 20 nī Mādhyadēsa-pratīva(ba)dilha-bhāṭa(ta)grāma-Khaḍuvāvallī-vinirggataḥ(ta)-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 21 Santōṣhamādha-va-vāstavya-bhāṭa(tta)-Mādhanu(sū)danasya naptā(ptrō) bhāṭa(tta)-Nila⁵-
 22 kaṇṭhasya suta(tāya) bhāṭa-Ājapālāḥ⁶ Viśu(śhu)kha(va)-samkrānti-pañchamiyā(m*) Ra-
 23 vi-dinā Mpi[ga*]jūra(rō)-nakṣatrēṣa grāmō-yam⁷ tāmva(mra)-śāsaṁ(nī)kritya prada-
 24 ta(tta)h yāvata(vach)-chandr-ārka-tā[ra*]kaḥ ā(a)-cha(chā)ṭa-bhāṭa-pravēśēna sarv-āvā(bā)-
 dhā-
 25 varjitēn-ākaratvēṣa hēṇjadbbi[h*] dharma-gauravāt pratipāla-
 26 niya[h | *] ā(a)smat-kula-kramam-ndārhadbbi⁸ ānais-cha dānam-i-
 27 dam-samad-anumōdanīyam(yam |) uktaś-cha dharma-sāstrāśhuḥ(śhu |) Va(Ba)hubhir-
 vasa-
 28 dhā dattā rājabbis-Sagar-ādibhi[h*] | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya
 29 tasya tadā phalam(lam | 4) Mā bhū(d-a*)-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datō(tt-ē)ti pārthivā[i | *]
 30 sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantya[m*] para-datō(tt-ā)nupālao[|| 5*] Sva-dattā[di*] para-

Third Plate

- 31 dattām-vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām |) sa viśvāyām kṛimīr-bhu(r-bhū)tvā
 pīti-
 32 bh[h*] sāha pachyati(tō) || [5*] Sātyam yajña-kutam eb-aiva yat-kiñchī[d*] dharma-saṁchaya-
 [h*] |
 33 ārdha-āṅgalēna⁹ amāyā harapēna prana(ṇa)śya(śya)ti || [7*] Sa(Sha)śbṭhi(śbṭi)-varaha-sa-
 34 hārāṇi evargē vamaṭi bhu(bhū)midah | ākahēptā eb-ānumantā cha tāna(ny-ā)va

¹ Read *Maṇḍalga*.

² Read *tey-ārshēṣa-pravarāya*. The *Maṇḍalga* *śṭha* has three *pravaras*, viz., *Āngira*, *Bhārmyāśva* and *Maṇḍala*.

³ Read *Vājasenāya*.

⁴ Read *Mādhyandina-śākḥ-ādhyāyāḥ*.

⁵ Originally *nīla* was engraved.

⁶ Read *śaṭ-Ājapālāḥ*.

⁷ The context does not require this expression.

⁸ Read *śākaradbbi-ānyāś-cha*.

⁹ Read *ardh-āṅgalēna śmā*.

- 35 narakam vrajēt [|| 8*] Nandanti tasya pitarah pravalganti pitāmā(ma)h[ā]h [||*]
 36 bhu(bhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(ta)h sa nas-trātā bhaviṣyati [|| 9*] Iti
 37 kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[m*] śri(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitān-cha [||*]
 38 sakalam-idam=ulāhṛitam cha vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) na hi puruṣaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpyā-
 39 h [|| 10*] Līlā(Lā)ñchhitam Śrī-Prithvīmā(nu)hādēvyā [||*] ā(a)numatam Bhāṭa(ta)-Rājādasya
 [||*] pravṛṣitam prati-
 40 hāra-Prabha(hhā)karōṇa [||*] ā(a)nujñātam Vāguli-Ratnēna [||*] Utkirṇam(rṇam) ā(a)-
 kṣasālinā Napēna [||*] Lī-
 41 khitam Sandhivigrahi-Śāṅkarōṇa [||*] Samva(Samva)t 198 [||*]

No. 27—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRITHVIDEVA ; YEAR 896

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

In September 1940, three sets of copper plates were unearthed from a field at the village of Paoni, about three miles from **Bilaigarh**, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. One set was passed on to the then *samindār* of Bilaigarh. It belongs to the reign of the Kalachuri king Pratāpamalla¹ and is dated K. 969. Another set which fell into the hands of a *sādhu*, was subsequently recovered by the same *samindār*. Proceeding on this information furnished by Pt. L. P. Pandeya, the plates were secured for examination in April 1945 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, through the good offices of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, Raipur.² With the kind permission of the former, I edit the inscription³ here.

The set consists of two oblong copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring passes through a hole cut at the centre of one of the edges of the longer sides of the plates. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and their rims are slightly raised to protect the writing. The plates measure 11½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth each approximately. The inscribed faces of the plates contain marginal decorative designs on three sides save the upper one. The diameter of the ring is about 1½ inch. The ring is flattened at the top and given the shape of a round thin disc. This disc comprises the seal which has marginal decoration all around. In its upper half is carved in relief a crude figure of Gajalakṣmī in the usual fashion. The lower half contains the following legend engraved in two lines in Nāgarī characters: 1 *Rāja-sīma-2 t-Prithvidēva*. The seal measures two inches in diameter. The weight of the two plates together is 137 *tolas* and the ring with the seal weighs 8 *tolas*.

The inscription consists of 36 lines which are distributed equally on the two plates. The average size of the letters is ¼ inch. The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.C. The *daṇḍas* and other punctuation marks are used in their proper places: for instance, to mark the halves and ends of verses, etc. The *avagraha* sign is generally indicated; e.g., *-anvayā-bhū*

¹ This epigraph is edited in this journal, above, pp. 57 ff.

² For more details about the discovery of these copper plates see above, p. 97 n. 5. It is not known what happened to the third set referred to above.

³ This is registered as G.P. No. 50 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, for 1945-46, p. 12.

in line 3. The sign for *q* is invariably the one made up of three vertical strokes, the first being curved at the lower end. *Y* as the second component of a conjunct letter looks more like *p*. The use of *h* proper is detected in two places, viz., *bahūcar-* in line 6 and *bahūva* in line 13. This *h* is almost like *p* except that its box is more angular at the bottom.¹ In regard to orthography, with the exception of the two instances noted above, *h* is invariably substituted by *v*. *S* is used for *ś* in some cases; e.g., *sudhyati* and *pravasti* in line 34. The consonant following *r* is generally doubled, there being a few exceptions; e.g., *Kārttaviṛya* in line 3, *sau(sau) rya* in line 6 and *cūrya* in line 27. The language is Sanskrit and the composition, except for the salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, is in verse. There are 24 verses in all and they are duly numbered.

Like other inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the epigraph opens with an obeisance to Brahman and recounts the genealogy of the family commencing with the sun god. Prithvidēva II, son of Ratnadēva II, is the last king eulogised (verse 11), and to his reign the record pertains. Verses 1-10 with the exception of one narrating the exploit of Kārtavīrya against Rāvāṇa,² which is omitted, are identical with those in other charters of the family.³ Next comes the description of a distinguished family of learned Brāhmaṇas of the Vatsa *gōtra* (verses 12-15). Three members of this family are described; viz., Hāraka, his son Jimūtavāhana, and the latter's son Dēhūka. In regard to Dēhūka we are told that he was a master of the *Sākaṃbhārī Vidyā* and that learning the secret of this lore from him, the famous feudatory chief Brahmadēva vanquished all his enemies on the fields of battle. The object of the epigraph is to register the gift of the village Paridaratalāi situated in the *Evadi maṇḍala*, made in favour of Dēhūka by Prithvidēva II (verse 16). Verses 17-22 contain the usual exhortations for the protection of such gifts and the imprecation. The charter was drafted by Malhapa son of Śubhanikara, who was learned and had earned reputation on account of his many compositions (verse 23). The copper material was put into shape by Vāmana. The record was written on the plates by the son of Kirti and engraved by the son of Lakṣmidhara (verse 24).

The date as cited in the last line (line 36), is *Sameat* 896, evidently referring to the Kalachuri era. After these numerals are engraved the three *akṣaras*, a *muṇḍ*, the significance of which is not clear.⁴ In line 27 there is a statement to the effect that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse. If we take 247-48 A.C. as the beginning of the era, K. 896 would correspond to 1144 A.C. In this year there was a solar eclipse on December 26, Tuesday, in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Māgha. We may note the occurrence of solar eclipses in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Āshāḍha in the following two years, viz., on June 22, Friday, 1145 A.C., and on June 11, Tuesday, 1146 A.C. The Rājim stone inscription of this king's reign is dated K. 896, Māgha *śu.* 8, Wednesday, and this date has been shown to correspond regularly to January 3, 1145 A.C. by Kisthorn.⁵ In view of the identical Kalachuri year cited in these two epigraphs, it seems reasonable to assume that December 26, 1144 A.C. is the date of the present inscription.

Verse 11 narrates an historical event relating to Prithvidēva II, when it states rather poetically that, by crushing Chakrakōṭa, he made the illustrious Gaṅga king feel frightfully anxious, since the

¹ Compare similar form and use of *h* occurring in the Daikou plates of this same king, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 140.

² Ibid., p. 153, verse 3.

³ Compare for instance the two sets of Amod plates of Prithvidēva II, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, 405 ff.

⁴ To venture a conjecture, the expression *muṇḍ* may be taken to be a contraction for *Aśuddhasya* or *Aśi-muṇḍa* *mūṇḍa*. But this presumption would not solve the difficulties in the calculation of the date.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 136. In the Rājim inscription Māgha *śu.* 8 is mentioned as *raṣṭāśaṃṣṭ*. The significance of this name, as noted by Kisthorn, cannot be explained satisfactorily. We may incidentally note another tradition according to which this *tithi* is termed *Bāliśaṃṣṭ*; *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 64 and 67.

only measure of safety now left to him was to cross the waters of the sea. From the Rājim stone inscription noticed above, it is known that Prithivīdeva II conquered the country of Bhramaravādra,¹ otherwise styled Bhramarakōṭya and identified with Chakrakōṭya or modern Bastar District.² The same victory must evidently have been referred to in the above verse.³ The Gaṅga king who is said to have been terrified by this conquest which he apparently considered to be the precursor of the Kalachuri king's expedition against his own kingdom, might be Japāvara, son of Ananta-varman Chōḍagaṅga, mentioned in other inscriptions of the family.⁴ Another piece of historical information is contained in verse 10 which incidentally alludes in general terms to the victories of the renowned feudatory Brahmadēva. This chief is obviously identical with his namesake figuring in the Ratanpur stone inscription of this king.⁵

Two places are mentioned in the record. One is the region called Eṇvāḍi-maṇḍala wherein the gift village was situated. I am unable to identify this tract. The other is the gift village Paṇḍaratalāi. It appears to be fairly certain that this is identical with the present-day Paṇḍritāl in the Mahasamund Tahsil of the Raipur District.⁶

Lastly, we may note the relationship between the writer and the engraver of this inscription with those of the two sets of Amodā plates of this ruler. The scribe of the latter, as stated therein, was Śrīvatsarāja, son of Kīrtidhara,⁷ of the Vāstavya family.⁸ It is not unlikely that the son of Kīrti of the present record, whose proper name is not mentioned, was identical with this Śrīvatsarāja. In like manner it is probably that Lakṣmīdhara who engraved the first set⁹ of Amodā plates was the father of the engraver of the present inscription.

TEXT¹⁰

[Metres : Vv. 1, 8, 16-22 and 24 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 2 and 5 *Upajāti* ; 3, 9 and 12 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 4, 6, 7, 10, 13-15 and 23 *Vasantatīlaka* ; 11 *andākrāntā*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धं¹¹ [१*] ॐ नमो ब्र(ह्म)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणं(णम्) ।
भावप्राप्तं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(ह्म)ह्म-
- 2 ने नमः ॥ १ ॥ यदेतद्वेसरमंव(ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य
पुत्रो मनुरा-
- 3 दिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभद्रुवि कात्तवीर्यः ॥ २ ॥ तद्वशप्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ह्याताः क्षितौ हृह्या-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 187.

² Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-79 ; Vol. XXVIII p. 161.

³ Chakrakōṭya, as the name of the country, must have been derived from Chakrakōṭa, its chief town. It may be compared with Chakrakōṭarāshtra mentioned in the Tēmar inscription ; above, Vol. X, p. 39.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 257.

⁶ *List of Villages in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 126.

⁷ This Kīrtidhara is apparently identical with his namesake of Jamdōra-grāma, who wrote Barhōḍ plates of Ratnadēva II, above, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

⁸ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 411 and 414.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

¹⁰ From the original plates and impressions.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

5

[illegible][illegible]

Seal





From a Photograph

- 4 स्तेषामन्वयभूषण रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः । धर्मध्यानधनानुसचितयशाः स(श)-
स्व(स्व)त्सतां सौख्य-
- 5 कृत्प्रेषान्सर्व्वगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमानसी कोकिलः ॥ ३ ॥ अष्टादशारिकरिकुम्भ-
विभंगसिंहा-
- 6 :¹ पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)यंपराश्च तस्य । तत्रायजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसी-
त्पास्व(स्व) च मंडलपतीन्स-
- 7 चकार वं(वं)धून् ॥ ४ ॥ तेषामनूजस्य² कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निक्षपितारिराजः ।
जातोऽन्वये द्वि-
- 8 ष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियातनांभोरुहपावर्षणेंदुः । ५ ॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो
जा-
- 9 तः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकज-
वनानि विकासम्राजि ॥ ६ ॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो विश्वोपकारकर्णाम्बि-
- 11 तपुष्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)ह्युगनिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य
श-
- 12 वृन् ॥ ७ ॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया तस्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृप-
श्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो
- 13 बभूव ह ॥ ८ ॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमूद्रवः समभवद्राजल्लदेवीसुतः शूरः सञ्जन-
वाञ्छि(छि)तार्थफल-
- 14 इः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्व्वेषामुचितोच्चने सुमनसां तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कंटकः पत्य-
(स्य)त्कान्त-
- 15 तरांगनांगमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः
श्रीमा-
- 16 न्यमाहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्व्वक्षितीश्वरशिरोविहिताहिसेवः सेवाभृता
नि-
- 17 धिरसौ भूवि रत्नदेवः ॥ १० ॥ पुत्रस्तस्य प्रथितमहिमा सोऽभवद्भूपतीन्द्रः
पृथ्वीदे-
- 18 वो रिपुनृपशिरःश्रेणिदत्ताहिपथः । यः श्रीगंगं नृपतिमकरोच्चक्रकोटोपम-

¹ Those two dots denoting reverses go with the akshara Aś in the previous line.

² The akshara अś in the expression अन्वि here is obviously lengthened for the convenience of metre.

Second Plate

- 19 द्वाचिन्ताक्रान्तं जलनिधिजलोल्लङ्घनैकाभ्युपाये ॥ ११ ॥  ॥¹ गोत्रे
वत्समुनेरनल्पमहिमा हा-
- 20 रुक्मनामा पुरा विप्रोऽभूद्भुवनप्रियः श्रुतिविदामाद्योजनबोन्नतिः । यस्यासौ(शो)-
भियशोभि-
- 21 रम्ब(म्ब)रतलं कर्पूरपास्तिलं श्रीखण्डद्वयोदरैरिव सदा लिप्तं समन्तादपि
॥ १२ ॥ जीमूतवा-
- 22 हन इति प्रथितस्तदीयः पुत्रः पवित्रितघरित्रि दधच्चरित्रि (त्रम्) ।
आसीदसीमगुणगौरवम्-
- 23 फितव्रीः श्रीरेव यत्र च मुमोत निजं चलत्वं(त्वम्) ॥ १३ ॥ देह्लुक
इत्यभवदस्य सुतो मनीषी वे-
- 24 दान्ततत्त्व(त्वं)निपुणा विषया यदीया । स्फूर्तिः स्मृतावनुपमा महिमा
च यस्य विश्वोपकारचतुरो(रा)
- 25 चतुरोन्नतस्य ॥ १४ ॥ सा(शा)कभरीमनुपमां भुवनेषु विद्यां ज्ञात्वा यतो युधि
विजित्य समस्त-
- 26 अक्रुत् ॥² यं व(व)ह्यदेव इति विश्रुतमांडलीको जानाति निज्जंरगुरु(रु)-
पममेकमुच्चैः ॥ १५ ॥
- 27 पंडरतलाड³ग्रामं स्वातमेवडिमडले । पृथ्वीदेवो ददौ तस्मै सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १६ ॥
- 28 सि(वि)रस्तंभसहस्रेण यावद्धते महीमहिः । तावताम्रमिदं पाल्यमेतदन्वय-
जन्मभिः ॥ १७ ॥ का-
- 29 ज्ञान्तरेपि यः कश्चिन्नृपोऽमात्योज्ज्वला भवेत् । पालनीयः प्रयत्नेन धर्म्मोयं मम तैरपि
- 30 ॥ १८ ॥  ॥⁴ व(व)हृभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य त-

¹ The floral figure and the double *dashas* here are significant. They show that one topic is over, viz., the genealogical account and the *prashast* of the king.

² A top *dash* is engraved above this vowel 'य' which has perhaps to be ignored. Or it may have been used to make the letter long 'य'.

³ As in line 19 the floral design and the double *dashas* here indicate that the topic dealing with the grant is over.

- 31 स्य सदा फल(वम्) ॥१६॥ पुण्ड्रतां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नादक्ष पुरंदर । महौ
महीभूतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 32 ऋषो हि पालनं(नम्) ॥२०॥ स्वदतां परदतां वा यो हरेत् वसुधरां स
विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृ-
- 33 भिः सह सञ्जति ॥२१॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयस(श)तेन व । यवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि-
- 34 हर्ता न मु(शु)ष्यति ॥२२॥ ताम्रप्रत(श)स्तिरत्तनेयमकारि तेन श्रीमत्सु(शु)भंकर-
मुतेन व(व)दुश्व-
- 35 तेन । श्रीमल्लहणेन कविकैरवपदपदेन भूरिप्रव(व)धरचित्तार्थतम(स)त्पदेन ॥२३॥
षटितं वा-
- 36 मनेनाव लिखितं कीर्त्तिसूनुना । लक्ष्मीधरमुतेनेदमुत्तौर्णां ताम्रमुत्तमाम्^१ ॥२४॥
संवत् ८६६ शमिने ।

No. 28—TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL

P. H. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

While surveying the epigraphical sources for my work on Jainism in South India,² I had to go through the Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country critically. In the course of this study I noticed certain peculiar features regarding the religious history of Jainism in this region, which had a characteristic development of its own. One of them is the evolution of the Yakshi cult. With a view to illustrating this particular point I select here two typical inscriptions³ and try to explain their significance briefly.

INSCRIPTION I

This inscription is engraved on a boulder of the hillock called *Āṇḍimatai* near the village *Chōlavāṇḍipuram* in the Tirukkoviūr taluk of the South Arcot District, Madras State. It was copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in the field season of 1936-37.⁴ The boulder containing this inscription leans against another boulder thus forming

¹ This verse makes it clear that the record was first written on the plate with ink or similar material and then engraved.

² This volume comprises a detailed survey of the Jaina inscriptions collected from the three main regions of South India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Tamilnāḍ and Kārnāṭaka. The book which is now in an advanced stage of printing is being published as the third issue of the series *Jivakīya Jaina Granthamālā*, Sholapur.

³ My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for his kind permission to edit these records here.

⁴ It is registered as No. 231 of the year's epigraphical collection.

a cavity which may be considered to be a natural shrine. On the inner sides of these two boulders facing each other are carved the figures of two Jaina deities, Gommatas and Pārśvañātha. "In the recess between them is found a loose slab about 4 feet high with a fairly archaic sculpture of the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī cut on it in high relief."¹

The inscription comprises four lines. The letters in the first line of the record are bigger and the medial *i* signs of the *abharas* *sti*, *ari* and *li* are extended above their tops. In spite of the rough surface of the boulder the inscription is neatly engraved and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are Tamil of about the 10th century A. C. They stand fair comparison with those of the Tirukkōvalūr Inscription of Kṛishṇa III, dated in his 21st year.² The tripartite form of *y*, which is sometimes looped in the inscriptions of the earlier period,³ may be noted herein. The form of the letter *ti* in the expression *tēvāram* in the 4th line is peculiar. This peculiarity is due to the fact that the medial *e* sign, which is normally separated and placed before the main letter as in *che* in the same line, is joined to the bottom of the letter *t*, the left side loop of which is consequently dropped. *Svasti* and *lei* in the first line are inscribed in the Grantha alphabet.

The language is Tamil. The epigraph states that the *tēvāram* was caused to be made by Śeṭṭai Koṭṭaraiyar Puttaḍigaḷ. No date is mentioned in the record. We may, however, assign it approximately to the 10th century A. C. on palaeographic considerations. The epigraph reads thus:

TEXT⁴

1 Svasti [+] Śeṭṭai

2 Koṭṭaraiyar

3 Puttaḍigaḷ

4 Seyvāḍa tēvāram [+]

The main component of the rather longish name of the author of the *tēvāram* is Puttaḍigaḷ. He appears to have been a person of some importance and the suffix *adigaḷ* denotes his respectable status.⁵ A good number of Jaina inscriptions similarly carved on the rocks of hills have been found in close association with Jaina sculptures in the Tamil districts.⁶ A study of these in comparison with the present one, the Jaina associations of which are quite marked, should leave no doubt in our mind in regard to the nature of the record under study and the identity of Puttaḍigaḷ who might be a Jaina devotee.

An expression of some interest in the epigraph requiring comment, is the word *tēvāram*. Its two familiar meanings are well known, viz., 1) worship and 2) a collection of devotional

¹ *As. Rep. in S. I. Epigraphy* for 1936-37, p. 61.

² *Above*, Vol. VII, inscription G, plate facing p. 144.

³ Compare the looped form in inscription A and the tripartite one in B and D: *above*, Vol. III, plate facing p. 284.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ It is interesting to note that Putta is the Tamil version of the Sanskrit name Buddha. This does not necessarily mean that the individual should be a follower of Buddhism. Buddha is one of the terms denoting the higher status attained by an enlightened soul according to the Jaina philosophical concept. *Vaid Panchatantra* (edited by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1933), Introduction, p. XXXIV.

⁶ Compare for instance the Jaina rock inscriptions at Paṭṭaṭṭaṭṭavāṇṇaḍi (*above*, Vol. IV, pp. 130 ff.) the same at Vallimahi (*ibid.*, pp. 140 ff.) *Mad. Ep. Coll.*, Nos. 67-74 of 1932.

songs in honour of Śiva, composed by Appar and others.¹ But here it appears to have been used in a somewhat different sense, viz., a group of sculptures for worship as indicated by the context.²

Having examined the meaning of the term *tēvaram*, we may now ascertain its nature as designed by Pattadigaḷ. As seen above, the two boulders meeting each other with intervening space, have themselves improvised a natural shrine. Then we have to turn to the Jaina vestiges therein. These are the figures of Gommatā carved near the present inscription on one boulder, and of Pārśvanātha on the other, and the fairly big sculpture of Padmāvatī placed in the intervening hollow. From its very nature, size and the central position, the loss of Padmāvatī assumes the principal role among these Jaina relics. We can now see the part played by Pattadigaḷ in the making of this *tēvaram*. Being a natural formation, he, of course, had nothing to do in its creation. He simply hewed the figures of Gommatā and Pārśvanātha on the adjoining boulders to represent the side deities and installed the main image of Padmāvatī in the intermediate spot. It is for doing these things that he takes credit in the epigraph as the maker of the *tēvaram*. We may note here with interest the position of vantage enjoyed by Padmāvatī; for she is the **Yakshi** of Pārśvanātha and thus occupies a subordinate place in the hierarchy of Jaina divinities.³

Happily, another similar instance has come to our notice. It is an inscription at Vajjimalai. This regard,⁴ which is styled 'A', is similarly carved on the rock of a natural cave, below a group of sculptures, and speaks of the foundation of the Jaina shrine (*śaśati*), evidently referring to the cave itself with Jaina relics,⁵ by the Gaṅga prince Rājamalla.

INSCRIPTION II

This epigraph⁶ is inscribed on a beam of the *śaśmatadapa* in front of the central shrine in the temple of Ādinātha Tīrthaśāhara at Poanūr, a village in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District. The inscription is slightly damaged and comprises two lines. The script is both Grantha and Tamil. The characters are late. Medial short and long *e* are distinguished. Medial *m* is denoted by placing either single-looped two spirals or one double-looped spiral behind

¹ *Tamil Lexicon* (University of Madras, 1929), p. 2080.

² As the precise significance of the expression *tēvaram* used here is not certain, we may take into consideration other possibilities. According to the lexicographer *śaśmatā* also means 'shrine, worshipped privately in a house'. Further, it may not be unreasonable to connect it with the Sanskrit *śaśati*, in which case it would mean 'a shrine'. One of the word *śaśati* in the sense of 'a shrine' is found in an 11th century Kannada inscription in the Ballari District: *SIJ*, Vol. IX, part 1, No. 115. The expression *śaśati* is current in the Marathi language in the sense of 'a shrine for private worship'.

³ B. C. Bhattacharya: *Jaina Iconography*, p. 87.

⁴ *Slewe*, Vol. IV, pp. 130-41.

⁵ This was one of the peculiar aspects of Jainism in the Tamil country, as I have noticed in the course of my survey of the Jaina antiquities. The hill roads with natural caverns and rocky shelters had a great attraction for the Jaina teacher and the devotee who transformed them into sacred resorts and centres of religious practices. Besides the two places dealt with above, a large number of hill spots beset with Jaina relics has come to light so far: see *J.A. Rep.* on *S. I. Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 3; *above*, Vol. IV, p. 136; *Mad. Ep. Rev.* for 1927, p. 7; etc. From the association of the 'triple umbrella,' which is a characteristic emblem of the Jina, with the rocky beds at Scleranthopur in the North Arcot District (*J.A. Rep.* on *S. I. Epigraphy* for 1923-24 to 1942-43, p. 11), it can now be safely asserted that at least some of similar centres, popularly known as the 'Pāṇḍupāṇḍava beds', found in a large number in many parts, were the creations of Jaina monks who were pillars of the faith in the Tamil country. For a detailed description of these relics see *Proceedings and Transactions of Third General Conference*, pp. 275 ff.

⁶ This was copied by the Madras Epigraphist's office in 1929. It is registered as No. 119 of Appendix B in the year's collection and briefly noticed on p. 88 of the year's Report.

the consonant. The language is Tamil, though a few expressions like *Kalyāṇaśuk* and *Satāśuk* are used with Sanskrit case endings. Occurrences of familiar abbreviations for *varuṣam*, *māsam*, etc., may be noted in more than one place. The date is cited thus: Kali year 4834, Śalivāhaṃ Saka 1655, year 46 starting with Prabhava, namely Pramādiśa, Vaigāi 17. Though agreement prevails among these details, the date is not capable of verification, as the week-day, the tithi and the nakṣatra are not mentioned. The said day corresponded with Tuesday, May 15, 1733 A. C. While engraving the above date the symbol for ten is consistently omitted.

The inscription purports to lay down a rule for the guidance of the Jain community residing in the village of Svarāpura. It is thus specified: The Jains of this locality should take in procession the images of Pārsvanātha and **Jvālāmālīnī** from the temple of Ādiśvara (i.e., Ādmātha), every Sunday, for being worshipped on the occasion of service to Hālāchārya on the Nilagiri hill in the north-western quarter. Svarāpura is evidently identical with modern Ponnūr. The Nilagiri hill which also figures in the legend of Hālāchārya, has still retained the name, being then miles away from Ponnūr. The icons of Pārsvanātha and **Jvālāmālīnī** mentioned in the epigraph are probably the metallic images preserved in the temple of Ādiśaṅka to the present day¹ or their earlier substitutes. These are evidently intended for being displayed on ceremonial occasions. The specific mention of **Jvālāmālīnī** alongside of Pārsvanātha in the inscription is noteworthy: for the former was originally the **Yakshi** or the attendant deity of Chandraprabha Tirthaṅkara² and attained unusual importance in later times. Judging from the earlier Jain inscriptions found here and the tradition connecting it with Hālāchārya,³ Ponnūr appears to have been a renowned stronghold of Jainism from earlier times.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Svasti itṭ [*] Śalivāhaṃ-Śak-ābdaḥ 1655 Kaly-ābdaḥ 4834 kku māt chellā nings
Prabhavāll ga(śa)k-ābdaḥ varuṣam⁵ 16 [k] ku Pramādiśa varuṣam⁶ Vaigāi māsam⁷
17 [U]⁸ eṭṭiṇṇā śāsanam -āvaḍu [*]

Svasti [*] sū-Sva[r]ṇa[pu]ra-Kamakagiri Ādiśvara-svāmi-chaityālaya saṁbandamānu
Vāyu⁹-mūlaiyil=i

- 2 rukkum Nilagiri Hālāchārya-pāda-pūjai¹⁰ Ādiśvat(u)-tōrum mērpadi¹¹ ālayattiṇṇ sū Pārsva-
nātha-svām[īy]ni¹² [vum Jvālāmālī]ṇi¹³-aṇṇamāy[um mērpadi¹⁴ Svarāpura-Jainarga]
eḍuttu[k¹⁵ koṇḍu pōy p[ō]ḷippaḍu [*] Inda sū(ā)sa(sa)nam Anantaśāradāva[ḷā]ṇa-
jādapattādu [*]

We might in this context take note of one more epigraph, as it is helpful in our study. This is an archaic inscription from Pañchapaṇḍavavalal, dated in the 50th year of the Pallava king Nandipōttaravar, which speaks of the creation of an image of a Golden Yakshi on the hill. It is significant to observe that neither the epigraph nor the sculptures that illustrate its contents have any place for the Jina.¹⁶

¹ *Am. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1928-29*, p. 88.

² *Tamil Epigraphy* (op. cit.), p. 62.

³ *Am. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1928-29*; Nos. 415 and 417 of Appendix B. The legend of Hālāchārya is related on p. 88 of the same *Report*.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Familiar abbreviation is used here for this expression.

⁶ This sign is the symbol *V* denoting abbreviation for the expression *vāḍi*.

⁷ *Vāyu* here stands for the Sanskrit *Vāyudeva*.

⁸ There is a syntactical flaw here. An expression like *āvaḍuttu* is necessary to connect this word with the following.

⁹ This letter *ind* is more than *in*.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 136-37 and the plate.

These facts are revealing. They show that the Yakshi had gained popularity among the followers of Jainism from very early times and that her images, like those of the Jinas, were installed independently in shrines created for the purpose and placed under worship. This should appear strange if we examine the original status of a Yakshi in the Jain pantheon. A Yaksha and a Yakshi are the devotees of the Jina and their function is to attend on him. These are depicted in sculptural representations in small figures at the corners of the pedestals adorned by their masters, the Jinas.¹ It thus becomes clear that the Yakshi is a subservient deity and can claim no independent place for herself. The above epigraphical notices therefore go contrary to the original conception of the Yakshi and provide instances of the characteristic evolution of the Yakshi worship.

Inscription II contains reference to Hālāchārya, which name devoid of phonetic accretion would be Ēlāchārya. Ēlāchārya was an eminent teacher of the Draviḍa-gaṇa and he is regarded as the innovator of the cult of Jyāṇāśilin.² This deity, though a Yakshi in the beginning, was, with the passage of time, attributed mysterious powers including those of the fire-goddess. She was involved in the practices of Tantric worship and works like the *Jyāṇāśilakalpa* were composed around her. It is of interest to note that in an inscription at Sijam in the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State, the *Mahājānas* of the place are described as performing mystic rites for propitiating this deity.³

No. 29—TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

(I Plate)

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, ONTARAGUDA AND D. L. NARASIMHACHAR, MYSORE

The inscription edited below is engraved on a stone slab lying in front of the big mosque at Talangere near Kasaragod, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the South Kanara District of the Madras State. It was reported that the slab was being used for washing clothes and that consequently a portion of the writing on it was getting worn out. It was, therefore, copied during the winter of the year 1952-53 by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, in the course of his official tour in that district.

The record contains 27 lines of writing. The first four lines embody a Sanskrit verse in *Śatdōśakṛīḍita* metre and are engraved in Grantha characters. The rest of the inscription is in Kannaḍa characters and language. The record may, on palaeographical grounds, be placed in the 10th century A. C. The script does not show any peculiarities calling for special remarks. However, attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels, a (lines 3, 23), ā (lines 16, 21), ī (line 7), ṛ (line 20), u (line 9) and ṣ (lines 3, 26). The shape of the long ā is particularly noteworthy. The form of final ī (line 6) may also be noted. The specimens of Grantha and Kannaḍa scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayānilirām Plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya⁴ and the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvīhoṣūr inscription of Śaka 884⁵ and the Sogal inscription of the reign

¹ *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 92-93.

² *Pratichandrasa*, Introduction pp. 4 and 12.

³ Author's own epigraphical collection. This epigraph which belongs to the 12th century, is under publication in my *Jainism in South India* mentioned above.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 283 ff. and plate.

In the sentence *Uṛṇṇa Jāgarvya vāṭṭabāḥ-jay-gāṇḍaḥ-allade gāṇḍa-gāṇḍaḥ vāṭṭabāḥ-adihāraṁ-allade allāda*, the second *allade* appears to be superfluous. But such usage might have been the prevalent idiom as attested to by the double usage of *mā* (meaning 'or' and later on 'and') occurring in the sentences given below: (1) *oṛga mā munige mā*,¹ (2) *paṭṭe mā paṭṭe mā*,² (3) *oṛ mā munige mā*,³ wherein the use of *mā* twice is analogous to that of 'either' and 'or' occurring simultaneously in English syntax.

A few words of lexical interest occur in this record and deserve careful study: (1) *mā* (line 9) seems to be connected with *māṇṇi*⁴ and *māṇṇa* (Tulu) both meaning 'a hillock'; (2) *oṛ* from the contexts (lines 10, 13, 15) seems to mean 'brackish'. It appears to be related to the first member *uṛ* of the Tami compound word *uṛai-uṛu*, *uṛa-uṛu*, meaning 'salty or brackish soil'; (3) *chāṭṭāṇi* (line 16) is derived from the Sanskrit *chatur-grāmin*; (4) *ūṛṇṇa* (line 25) has been translated as 'excellent'. This seems to descend from the Dravidian root *ūṛ* meaning 'to increase', by the addition of the suffix *-ṇa* used to form abstract nouns. As the final *-a* of the root is unstable and not radical the noun *ūṛṇṇa* is directly formed, meaning 'increase, abundance'. It is in this sense that Pampa has employed the word in the phrase *vilāṣad-ūṛṇṇaḥ*⁵ and the reading here with short *u* in the beginning may be a mistake. The variant reading *peru* found in two of the manuscripts of this work is only a substitution of a synonym and is confirmatory of the meaning deduced above. (5) *Adihāra* (line 27) is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit word *adhikāra*.

The importance of this record to the student of Kannada prosody cannot be overstated. The *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* of the first verse and the *Kandas* following are quite familiar in Kannada metrics; but verse No. 4 is not so and is a rare specimen. It is called *stāḥa* by the composer of the inscription and demands close scrutiny. Nāgarajana has defined the metre and the definition itself is the illustration.⁶ According to him the verse has four lines, each consisting of seven *Brahma-gaṇa* plus one *guru*, with rhyme in the second syllable. Of the four varieties of the *Brahma-gaṇa* (—, —, —, —, —, —, —) only two containing three syllables or *mātrā* are used here and the other two consisting of four syllables or *mātrā* are eschewed altogether. The iambic variety (—, —) though containing 3 *mātrā* does not enter into the scheme of *Brahma-gaṇa*. The *stāḥa* of the present record is in conformity with the above definition. The 1st, 3rd and 4th lines are quite regular and it is enough to show the scansion of any of them: viz., the first line.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7								
Uṛa		kaḍaya		toṛaya		taḍaya		kariga		kalla		māya		ḍeḥ
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The *tāḥa* or accent falls on the first syllable of every foot. The second line, however, has an extra long syllable in the first foot:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7								
Paṭṭāra		poṭaya		r-ippa		ḍeḥ		y-ṇṇaḍa		nāra		bhūmā		gana

¹ *Kavīśaṅkara* (Ed. Pathak, Bangalore), I-134.

² *Ibid.*, I-135.

³ *Pampa-Bhāṣya* (Kannada Sahitya Parishad ed.), VI-20.

⁴ Kitterer has spelt this word with a cerebral *ṇ* *ṇṇa* in the middle but it is highly doubtful. Janna, a famous poet and composer of the Talikote inscription of 1197 A. C. has in verse 32 definitely used the word with a retroflex *-ṇa* in the rhyming place.

⁵ *Pampa-Bhāṣya* (Kannada Sahitya Parishad ed.), I-108.

⁶ *Chāṇḍīśaṅkara* (K. V. Kallakudi edition), verse 258.

Though the line is hypermetrical, its rhythm is not in any way interfered with by the extra syllable as the accent here falls on the second long syllable. While reciting the line the existence of the first syllable is practically obliterated. From this point of view the line may also be considered to agree with the definition of Nāgavarma. Instances of the occurrence of such hypermetrical syllable are found in some of the literary works. The following is a couplet by Pampa (941 A. C.):¹

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Nānaga	kānaga	talina	maṅgaḥ	maṅgaḥ	iā na	kaṇja dīn
	1	2	3			
	Pracina	raṅgaḥ	maṅgaḥ			dīn
	— — —					

The whole verse contains thirteen such couplets. The first foot of the second line of every couplet has one extra syllable at the beginning, the accent falling on the subsequent long syllable. Similarly Kumudēśvara (c. 1275 A. C.) has composed a *vyāsa* comprising 49 such couplets.² The following is a sample:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Janaka	tanaga	yāga	agga	saṅga	tiva	harsha dīn
	1	2	3			
	Mudaira	pāra	raṅga			dīn
	— — —					

It is thus clear that the composer of our inscription attached more importance to the rhythmic effect than to the rules regulating this metre; his is a creative effort. The record is of unique value in the history of Kannada metres. The *atoṣṭha* verse found here is the only one of its kind known so far in Kannada literature and epigraphy.

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse which states that to Gaṇtama, who was renowned in the three worlds, was born Śaraḍvat. Śaraḍvat's brother was Santana whose son was Kṛpa. After many kings born in the lineage of Kṛpa down to Śaṣya had passed away, Jayasimha, the great-jewel among the *Kaduriyas*, is stated to be victorious, i.e., ruling. He was the abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The king is then stated to have made a gift of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttūr to Mōchabbarasi as *kanyādāna*, i.e., gift to a damsel. The land which was barren and rocky was converted into fertile field by Mōchabbarasi. She constructed a house, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. After the usual imprecation on those who attempt to destroy the charity, the record ends with a statement to the effect that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female children in the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve and not on the male offspring; and that in case there were no female issues the right will pass to the male children.

We have no means of ascertaining the family to which the chief Jayasimha, the donor of the grant, belonged or the exact period of his rule. The fact that he does not bear any title indicative of paramountcy would point to the conclusion that he was a local chief. However, we know of a ruler named Jayasimhagana whose inscription is found at Kariangala (Ammurajē) near Mangalore.³ He bears the titles *Somaśubhila*, *Pādya*, *Mahārājadhīraja*, *Paramitara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*. As these titles are usually associated with the later Ālupas, the chief Jayasimhagana of the record has been taken to be a scion of this family though the record in question does not specifically call

¹ Pampa-Bhāṭṭa, I, 38.

² Kumudēśvara Rāṇagana, IV—after 98.

³ *SIL*, Vol. IX, part 1, line No. 399.

him an Ālupa. Since Talangere, where the record under publication is found, is within a distance of thirty miles, as the crow flies, from Kariāṅgala, the findspot of Ālupa Jayasiṅgarasa's record, it is not unlikely that the Jayasimha of our record belonged to the same family as Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgala record did. But, on account of the fact that the Kariāṅgala record, which is also undated, is palaeographically about a century later than the Talangere inscription, the two chiefs cannot be regarded as identical.

It is very well known that from the time of king Vinayāditya¹ of the family of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi the Ālupas were feudatories of the Chālukyas. From a record recently discovered² it would appear that the Ālupas were even matrimonially connected with the Chālukyas. The Ālupa chief Chitravāhana seems to have married Kumkuma-Mahādēvī, the sister of the Chālukya monarch Vijayāditya. The inscription states that king Vijayāditya made a grant at the request of Chitravāhana to the *Jinabhanu* at Purigere constructed by this lady who seems to be described as causing delight to the heart of the Ālupa ruler. The request was made when Vijayāditya had come to Banavāsi to visit the Ālupa prince. From an inscription of the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III³ it is known that a Chitravāhana was administering the Ālupavākṣa division under him. This Chitravāhana has been rightly taken to be an Ālupa ruler on account of his name and the territory which he was governing.⁴ This was about 800 A. C. Subsequent to this date hardly anything is known regarding the activities of this family. If, however, our Jayasimha is, as suggested above, an Ālupa ruler, the fact that no paramount titles are borne by him would indicate that about the end of the 10th century, the period to which he has been assigned, the Ālupas continued to be vassals either of the Rāshtrakūṭas whose power was declining or the later Chālukyas who were beginning to lay the foundations of their power after overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭas. However, by the time of Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgala inscription, i.e., 11th century A. C., the Ālupas seem to have been independent as this ruler is given all the paramount titles.⁵

Besides Jayasimha, our inscription mentions two other royal personages, viz., **Mōchabharasi** and **Jōgavve**. The exact relationship which existed between Jayasimha and these two ladies is neither stated in the record nor can it be ascertained from the nature of the reference to them made in the record. Nor do we know how Mōchabharasi and Jōgavve were related to each other. Since at the end of the inscription it is specified that the hereditary rights regarding the possession of the land should devolve on female issues it may be gathered that Mōchabharasi was either the sister or the niece of Jayasimha. If she is to be considered the niece, Jōgavve might have been the king's sister. It may thus be inferred that this practice of the family property passing from mother to daughter obtained in this part of the country at least as early as the 10th century. This law of inheritance which goes by the name of *aliya-samīdha* is in vogue even today in that area.

The only place mentioned in the record is Puttūr. This may be identified with the village of the same name, a few miles to the north of Talangere, the findspot of the inscription.

¹ Ep. Carv., Vol. VIII, Sb. 571, Ep. Carv., Vol. XI, Pg. 66.

² C. P. No. 49 of ARIE for the year 1945-6.

³ Ep. Carv., Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

⁵ A later Jayasimha is mentioned as a contemporary of the great Drāṭha teacher Madhvāchārya in the literary work *Madhvacārya* (Jarga 13, verses 21 ff.). He was a ruler of Kumbla. Madhvāchārya is stated to have visited a place called Vishnumangala, about three miles from Kānaragōḷi, where Jayasimha came and paid homage to him. This village lay within the jurisdiction of prince Jayasimha of Kumbla. Perhaps he was also an Ālupa chief.

TEXT

- 1 'Svanti Śrī [1*] 'Āśich=Chitraśikhāṇḍishu tri-bhuvana-khyātō munir=Gautamas=tat=sūnōś=cha
 2 Śamadvataḥ Kṛpā iti bhṛā[ta]=sutaś=Śantanōḥ [1*] tad-vamōy=shv=adhinā ga-
 3 'tāshv=amaratām Śaly-ānta-bhadr-ādishu śrēṣṭhāś=Śrī-Jayasinhha
 4 ōsha jayati kshatr-aika-chūḍāmagiḥ || [1*]
 5 Śrī chapa[ateya][m] Vachana-Śrī Chatuṛāṇana-virōmamam bisuṭa Jaya-Śrī-chāru-
 6 nātre-y-oda-nereś-ā-chaṇḍ-ārkkam virājīśaḥ Jayasinhhaḥ || [2*] Vachana [1*] Kanyādāna-
 7 mām nina-
 8 g=ittan¹=endode pattu Mōchalibarasī santōsa[m]-batt=nt=endaḍe | Kanda | Inn-appa
 9 bhūpar-ellam
 10 ninnorega[m] dorege vātar=adaṛmūd=ārmū mannisad=ūraṁ guṇa-sarūpanna samant-ivud=
 11 enaga² kanyā-
 12 dānam || [3*] Akkum=emdu || Uśāham || Ūra kaḍeya toṇeya taḍiya kariya kalla mōṇadim
 13 Pūttāra poleya-appa kēriy=ovaḷa nira-bhūmīyaṁ sāra-bhūruhaṁgaḷ=ōḷiy=olage nere-
 14 da kereyan=am̐bhōrnhākshi tanna dhanadin=oppe māḍis=ijūdām || [4*] Vachana ||
 15 'Nimārum=ollada kalkāda beṭṭam sava-taḷam māḍiy=ōḷila maneya nandana-
 16 vanavumam̐ māḍisi kereyaṁ kattiśi toṇeya =pey=itt=ovaḷa nala-
 17 nath pūridum=āyāsadin sukshētram̐ māḍisidud=adu munas³ mūḍe-
 18 y=akkuv=ovaḷ=uppu-nelaḍā bhūmīyan=olakoṇḍ=agaḷan=agaḷi-
 19 ā āanna chāvugāmigaḷ=ariy= kanyādānam̐ goṭṭa bhūmīyaṁ
 20 kāla-kālāntaradoḷ=ārānum=i dharmnaman=alidu koḷal=āṇisida paṇcha-mahā-pāta-
 21 kaṁ tanna tūyam koḷal=endu 'taninna tandeyam̐ kondu 'taninna makkaḷa nettaram̐ kuḍi-
 22 da pasuvuḥ Brāhmaṇaruma Kurukshētradol=alil=ātana puguva nara-
 23 kamam̐ puguva=akke [1*] i kanyādānamam̐ koṇḍātan=alpāyushyanum=a-
 24 putrikanum=appan=akke || Kandaḥ || Ārādoḷ=akke dhātṛi-bhārama-
 25 n=ārāntōr=āntara kayy=āntā hiranam̐ iral=āṁ bōḍiden=ōrathir[e] kāvu-
 26 d=i vyavastheyin=ūraṁ || [5*] Vachana [1*] Aḷeṁt=emdoḍe [1*] Arasāḷgaḷ=ūraṁ pokkamdu
 27 pullaḍakkan=ettuvoḍam̐(dam̐)enānuvaṁ-būḍidoḍa⁴ kolega sālta=ent=appa
 28 drōham̐=geydu haṁd=ūram̐ pokkoḍ=avanam̐ mūru-divasaṁ sarva-parihāraṁ kēdu
 29 kaḷipuvudu [1*] [U]rmu Jōgavvoya vamaḍaḷ=pen-gūsugaḷ=allade gaṇḍu-gū-
 30 sugaḷa vamaḍakk=ajihāram̐=allade salladu pen-gūsugaḷ=illadoḍa⁵ gaṇḍu-makkaḷa⁶=alkuṁ-
 31 (lurū) [1*]

¹ Floral design.

² Metre: Śāradārikriḍā. Lines 1-4 are written in Grantha characters.

³ The medial < sign of < is written at the end of the previous line.

⁴ Read: =allu=.

⁵ Read: =agaḷ.

⁶ Read: =nt=āram=.

⁷ After this there are two horizontal strokes which apparently stand for punctuation.

⁸ Read: āmma.

⁹ Read: 'oḷe.

¹⁰ Read: 'pa.

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TRANSLATION

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the lineage of the Chitrakūṭhaḥins¹ there existed Gautama, famous in the three worlds. Then there was Kṛpā, son of Santanu who was the brother of Śaradvat, the son of Gautama. After some of his illustrious descendants up to Śaṭya had attained immortality (i.e., gone to heaven), this eminent Jayasimha, the sole crest-jewel of the Kahatriyas is victorious.

Lines 5-9. While the goddess of Fortune, having forsaken (her) fickleness, the goddess of Speech, having given up (her) resting-place in Chaturāṇana (i.e., Brahmā) and both, having associated themselves with the fair-eyed goddess of Victory, were resplendent till the moon and sun (endure); Jayasimha, having said to Māchabharasi "I have made you a gift due to an unmarried girl² (of the family)", she received (it), felt glad and said thus: "All those who will be born kings hereafter do not come to your level or equal you, and therefore, Oh! (you) rich-in-virtue give me willingly as a gift (called) *kanyādāna* a locality which none would value". He replied "Be it so".

Lines 9-11. The brackish³ water-logged land (adjoining) the street wherein reside the untouchables of Puttūr (which was situated at some distance) from the hillock of black stones, on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village and the reservoir complete with rows of essential trees—(these two) the lotus-eyed (lady), by her own wealth had caused to be finely constructed;

Lines 12-23. thus, having made a level ground of the stony wild hillock which none desired (to have), having caused to be made a tiled house and a garden, having imprisoned the stream, (i.e., built a dam across it) and having converted with great effort the brackish soil into fertile land and, prior to that, having caused a moat to be dug (around) the land, comprising the brackish salty soil (used for) keeping bundles of grain⁴, made over this land, with the knowledge of the four nearby villagers, as a gift to a damsel; in the course of (endless) time, whosoever having destroyed this pious (deed), desires to appropriate (it) for (himself), may that committer of the five great sins go to that hell into which, he, by murdering his father with the intention of appropriating his mother, by drinking the blood of his children (and) by destroying cows and Brāhmanas in Kurukṣetra enters; may he who takes over (to himself) this gift to a damsel become short-lived and daughterless.

Whoever he may be that carries the burden of the earth (in future), I beseech that hero, who obstructs the hands of (i.e., prevents) those who carry away (the gift), to regularly protect the village in this manner.

Lines 23-26. If it be asked how it is (the reply is): When the king's men enter the village, if they carry off heaps of straw and if they take anything by force they are fit to be killed. He who having committed any kind of crime comes to the village and enters (it) must be protected for three days after exempting him from all imposts and (then) sent away.

Lines 26-27. In the lineage of the excellent Jōgavre the right (of succession) goes to the female children and not to the line of male children; when there are no female issues it goes to the male children.

¹ These are the seven sages, Pulaha, Pulastya, Marichi, Atri, Vasistha, Aṅgiras and Kratu.

² *Kanyādāna* is a compound word which is usually taken to mean "making over an unmarried girl to a bridegroom in marriage". In this sense the first member of the compound should be construed as having the possessive case suffix. But here it seems to take the dative suffix. That this is the intended sense finds some support in the last two lines of the inscription.

³ This seems to be the meaning of the word *canal*.

⁴ This seems to be the meaning of *mūḍa yikka*.

No. 30—TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

Two single copper plates of Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa were received from the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud, as exhibits for the Historical Exhibition organised on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress in December 1949. They were discovered some years back in a place near the town of Baud and were lying in the treasury. The exact place and the date of their discovery could not be ascertained. I propose to edit them here with the kind permission of Mr. A. Das, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud.¹

Of the two plates, one is bigger than the other, the bigger one, to be termed hereafter as plate A, measuring 14.2" × 11.3", and the smaller one, plate B, 12.7" × 9.8". Both of them are in a fair state of preservation. A circular seal of the form of a full-blown lotus is soldered at the centre of the left side of the plates. The counter-sunk surface enclosed within the rows of petals is circular in shape. The diameter of the counter-sunk space is 3.3" in plate A and 3" in plate B. At the bottom of the sunken surface, another double-petalled open lotus is carved out in relief. Above it, the legend *Tribhuvanamahādēvī (vyā)* is neatly carved in relief. The lower portion of the subscript *y* in *vyā* is drawn out to form two horizontal lines below the legend. Above the legend there is the figure of a couchant bull with the symbols of the crescent, conch and sun above it. There are two floral designs, one in the front and the other at the back of the bull.

The characters closely resemble those of the Dhenkanal plate² of Tribhuvanamahādēvi and the Talcher plates³ of Śivakarādēvi (III). As a matter of fact, the Dhenkanal plate and our plate B were both incised by the same person, Harivardhana, while the Talcher plates were engraved by his father Rahasavardhana. On palaeographical grounds the plates may be assigned to the 9th century of the Christian era at the earliest. Both the plates are dated in the year 100 50 8 (i.e., 158) of the era which is known to have been used by the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of both the plates is practically identical, except for the grant portion. The composition is a mixture of prose and poetry. The descriptive portion consists of fifteen verses in addition to the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. There are a few orthographical or grammatical mistakes and these have been corrected in their proper places. The words *gōhērī*, *jāta*, *valitā*, etc., occurring in the grant portion, seem to be Sanskritised Oriya expressions.

The documents open with the description of the charms of Gubhāvarapātaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Next follows the genealogy of the family. In the Kara dynasty there flourished a powerful king named Umatpāsāma. His son was Śubhākara who erected many lofty *vihāras*. His son was Gayāda who was succeeded by Kusumahāra. Gōsvāminīdēvi succeeded Kusumahāra who had left no son. The kingdom thrived under her rule, people lived in peace and prosperity. On her grandson, Lōghahāra, attaining majority, she retired making over the charge of the kingdom to him. Lōghahāra was blessed with two sons, Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra. The two sons succeeded their father one after another. But, both of them having died childless, Prithvimahādēvi (the wife of Kusumahāra), whose father was Svabhāvatunga of Kōsala and mother Nṛtāmahādēvi, the daughter of Yaśovṛiddhi, ascended the throne, and was known to the world under the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. She is styled *Paramabhāṭarīkā*, *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvārī* and *Paramamahādevī*. At the request of Śaṅ-

¹ The plates are now preserved in the Orissa Museum.

² *JBOIR*, Vol. II, pp. 419-27 and Plates.

³ *India, Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40-50.

līkhā, the moon of the **Vṛgaḍi** family of **Virāṭa** lineage and wife of **Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati** Maṅga-lakulāśa, **Prithvimahādēvi** made the following grants in the year 158 for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, etc., to the deity **Umamahēśvara** installed in the temple constructed by **Śaṣṭīkṛtā** and named **Nānnēśvara** after her father, for repairs to the temple, for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to **Brāhmaṇas** and for the maintenance of the family of the **dānapati**.¹

The grant in plate A consists of a village named **Kōṭṭapurā** together with the **Nānnēśvara tulapāṭaka** in the district of **Tamālakhaṇḍa** in **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** situated in **Uttara-Tōsalā**. The grant recorded in plate B is a plot of land called **Uttukūḷa-khaṇḍakshētra** in the district of **Dakṣiṇakhāṇḍa** in **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** of **Uttara-Tōsalā**.

I may here point out that some portions of the text of the records under discussion occur in others as indicated below. Verse 6 of our plates occurs in the Talcher plate of **Śubhākaradēva** of the year 141.² Again verse 15 of our records occurs in the same plate with reference to the mother of **Kuśumahāra** or **Śubhākara** III. The *brāhṇas* of **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** as given in the **Dhēkanal** plate³ and in the plates under discussion are identical and the issuer is called **Sindagaurī** in both. The passage dealing with the boundaries of the gift land in the present plates is almost the same as that in the Talcher plates of **Śivakara** III of the year 149.⁴

Mahākṣhapatīlādhipati **Rāṇaka** **Sri Mallikā** acted as the *dātaka*, *mahākṣhapatīlaka bhāgin* **Sakrasma** as the writer and *pāṭakapālaka* **Dēvadēva** as the heater in case of both the records under study. Plate A was incised by the brahmin **Aṃṣṭavardhana**, son of **Iṅgaravardhana**, while plate B was incised by **Harivardhana**, son of **Rahavarardhana**. From the four copper plate charters of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty, viz., the two Talcher plates of **Śivakara** III, the **Dhēkanal** plate of **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** and our plate B, we learn that **Harivardhana** was the son of **Rahavarardhana** and the grandson of **Rāṇavarardhana**.

These plates are very important for the study of the history of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty of **Orissa** as they bring to light many new facts. Firstly, they reveal that **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** was included in the kingdom of the **Bhauma-Karas** of **Orissa**. Secondly, they throw new light on the genealogy of that dynasty. Thirdly, they reveal that the later **Bhauma-Karas** were maternally connected with the **Sōmavarṇi** kings of **Kōśalā**.

The genealogy of the **Bhauma-Karas** obtained from the present plates and that obtained from other plates are given below for a comparative study.

Plates under discussion

- 1 **Unmaṣṭasatnha**
 - 2 **Śubhākara**
 - 3 **Gayāda**
 - 4 **Kuśumahāra (I) (died childless)**
 - 5 **Gōṣṇāmīnī (relation with No. 4 is not mentioned)**
 - 6 **Lōṇabhāra (grandson of Gōṣṇāmīnī)**
-
- 7 **Kuśumahāra (II) (childless)**
 - 8 **Lalitahāra (childless)**
 - 9 **Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi (wife of No. 7)**

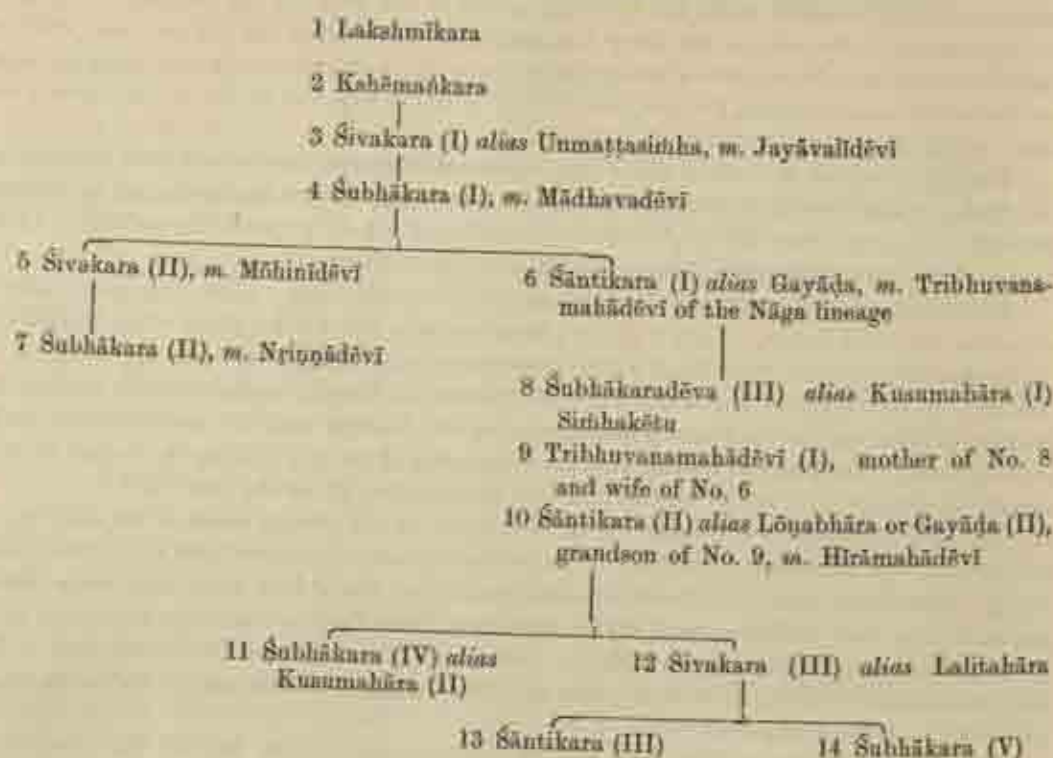
¹ I.e., a **Brāhmaṇa** in charge of all functions connected with the making of grant by the King.

² *Notes*, op. cit., p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Plates so far published



A study of the above two genealogies would show that there are certain points of wide and uncompromising difference between them. Firstly, it is stated in the present plates that Kusumahāra (I) died childless and Gōsvāminī took upon her the burden of the realm until she made it over to her grandson Lōṇabhāra. In the Talcher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there is no mention of Śubhākara (III) alias Kusumahāra (I) as having died childless. They simply state that after the death of Śubhākara (III) his mother took up the charge of the kingdom. In the Talcher plate of Śubhākara (IV) it is definitely stated, in the same way as in the present plates, that Tribhuvanamahādēvi made over the charge of the realm to her own grandson Lōṇabhāra on his attaining majority. But in the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III) Lōṇabhāra is not mentioned and so the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvi and Lōṇabhāra is not ascertainable. It is simply stated that Gayāḍa became king after her (*tasyl babbhūco arīpater-Gayāḍo*, lines 12-13). It would appear to mean that Gayāḍa was born to her; but it was probably meant to convey the sense that Lōṇabhāra-Gayāḍa succeeded Tribhuvanamahādēvi. In the two Talcher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there are no details explaining the reasons for Tribhuvanamahādēvi's assumption of the government after her son: in the present plates it is definitely stated that Gōsvāminī succeeded Kusumahāra (I) as he had died without leaving any issue (lines 8-9). So far it was believed that Tribhuvanamahādēvi assumed the reins of the government during the minority of her grandson Lōṇabhāra. But that assumption is no longer tenable in view of the clear mention of the fact in the present plates that Kusumahāra (I) died childless. This fact conflicts with the relationship between Gōsvāminī and Lōṇabhāra since the latter is described in the present plates as the grandson of the former. Since Śubhākara (III), identical with Kusumahāra (I) of our plates, was childless, Lōṇabhāra was either the son of a brother or sister of the former; otherwise he could not have been called the grandson of his predecessor. It,

however, appears more probable that Lōgabhāra was the son of a brother of Śubhākara (III). This brother had probably predeceased Śubhākara (III), after whose death his nephew became the sole heir. Tribhuvanamahādēvi ruled the kingdom on behalf of her grandson who was still minor at the time of the death of Śubhākara (III). This assumption alone can explain away the inconsistency of the facts stated above.

As regards the identity of Gōsvāminī it may be noted that she is stated in the present plates to have succeeded Śubhākara (III) *alias* Kusumahāra (I) and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōgabhāra on his attaining majority. In the Taleber plate of Śubhākara (IV), the mother of Śubhākara (III) is described as having succeeded her son and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōgabhāra. She was also known as Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Thus both Gōsvāminī and Tribhuvanamahādēvi were successors of Śubhākara (III) and grandmothers of Lōgabhāra. So they cannot but be identical. Gōsvāminī was probably the original name of the wife of Śāntikara (I) *alias* Gayāda and mother of Śubhākara (III), and Tribhuvanamahādēvi was her assumed name. This assumption is corroborated by the allusion to Gōsvāminī as having ruled in the past in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādēvi.

I may here point out that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate is not the wife of Śāntikara (I), as assumed by Pandit Mitra, for the following reasons. For one thing, nowhere is Śāntikara (I) called Lalitahāra. As pointed out above, the name of Śāntikara's wife was, in all probability, Gōsvāminīdēvi. Tribhuvanamahādēvi was an assumed name as is evident from the passage : *yā jagataḥ Tribhuvanamahādēvī-viśvā-viśvā* occurring in Śubhākara (IV)'s Taleber plate, the same passage being employed in the present plates with reference to Prithvīmahādēvi. Thus, both Gōsvāminīdēvi and Prithvīmahādēvi had the assumed name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. The date of the Dhenkanal plate is clearly 160, as it is represented by the letter symbols *lu* and *chu* which stand for 100 and 60 respectively.¹ Śāntikara (I)'s wife was the first queen in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to rule over the kingdom, and the reference to Gōsvāminī as having ruled the kingdom in the Dhenkanal plate proves that another queen had reigned prior to Tribhuvanamahādēvi of that plate; hence she must have been the wife of Śāntikara (I). That Gōsvāminī is not a fictitious figure but the grandmother of Lōgabhāra is proved by the plates under discussion. As stated before, the inciser of the Dhenkanal plate and the plate B under discussion is the same person, Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. In view of the above facts, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate cannot be regarded as the wife of Śāntikara (I). She was the wife of Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra. So it would be quite natural to identify Lalitahāra of the Dhenkanal plate with Śivakara (III), the younger brother of Śubhākara (IV) *alias* Kusumahāra (II). Thus there were three queens bearing the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Śāntikara (I)'s wife was Gōsvāminīdēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi (I), Śubhākara (IV)'s wife Prithvīmahādēvi was Tribhuvanamahādēvi (II) and Śivakara (III)'s wife (original name not known) was also Tribhuvanamahādēvi (III).

After Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) their wives ascended the throne under the names Tribhuvanamahādēvi. The former was ruling in the year 158 and the latter in 160. This gives credit to the assumption that, after Śivakara (III) there was a quarrel for succession. Prithvīmahādēvi ascended the throne probably with the aid of her father Svabhāvatnāga and, after her, Śivakara (III)'s wife became queen. Her claim was probably backed by her father Rājamalla. The hints of a state of chaos befalling the Bhauma-Kara family are there in the Dhenkanal plate (lines 9-10). Further, it is stated therein that Tribhuvanamahādēvi was approached by the ministers for her accession to the throne (line 20). These hints confirm the belief that there ensued a civil war for succession after Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra, and the two queens of Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra ascended the throne one after another. Then came Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara

¹ *Bühler's Tables*, Pl. ix.

(V). Between the year 149, the date of the Talsher plate of Śivakara (III), and the year 180, the date of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi, we get four rulers, viz., wives of Kuṣumahāra and Lalitahāra, Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). Each ruled for about 8 years on average. This quick succession corroborates the suggestion of a civil war.

The most uncompromising point of difference between the two genealogies given above lies in that, while in the present plates Kuṣumahāra (II), i.e., Śubhākara (IV), and Lalitahāra, i.e., Śivakara (III), are said to have died childless, in the copper-plate grants of Dharmamahādēvi and Daṇḍimahādēvi, Śivakara (III) is said to have had two sons, viz., Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). This difference can be reconciled if it is assumed that Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V) were sons of Śivakara (III) by a second wife of his, the legitimacy of their birth being either not acknowledged by the queen of Śubhākara (IV) and by at least one of the queens of Śivakara (III), or was deliberately ignored. However, there can be no satisfactory solution to this mystery until further discoveries throw more light on the later history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Some scholars refer the dates in the Bhauma-Kara plates to the Harsha era. The date of the present plates calculated according to that era will be 764 A. C. But on palaeographic consideration this date will be rather too early. As already noted, the present plates can not be assigned to a date earlier than the 9th century. Similarly, if the Neulpur plate¹ is referred to the Harsha era and the numerical figures in it be read as 54, the date of the plate will be 690 A. C. The forms of the signs of medial vowels in this record, as also of some letters like *s*, *n*, *bh*, etc., are more developed as compared with those of the Ganjam plate of Mādhavarāja of G. E. 399. As such the plate can be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century at the earliest. R. D. Banerji assigned it to the latter half of the 8th century on palaeographic considerations. Thus the date arrived at by referring the plate to the Harsha era seems too early for it. Hence we may examine the possibility of referring the dates in the Bhauma-Kara records to a later period.

From the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara (I) we know that he was ruling over Northern Tōsalā. The same region was governed by Sōmadatta on behalf of Śaśāṅka, the celebrated king of Karnaśavarṇa. Since the plates² of Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta are assignable to a date earlier than the Neulpur plate, it may be presumed that the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti was established subsequent to the rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta. In order to ascertain the time of the establishment of the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā we have to find out the probable date of the end of the rule of the Datta family in that area.

Sōmadatta was a feudatory under Śaśāṅka. He or his successor, if there was any, must have remained in the feudatory status till the death of Śaśāṅka who is presumed to have maintained his empire to the last. We do not know for certain when Śaśāṅka's death took place; but, from certain references to his anti-Buddhist actions in Magadha as found in Hiuen Tsang's account, it is believed that Śaśāṅka died shortly before the year 637 A. C.³ So up to that date, or thereabouts, the Bhauma-Kara rule had not been established in Northern Tōsalā. After Śaśāṅka's death Bhāskaraśarmā and Harsha conquered his dominions in and outside Bengal. Harsha led an expedition against Kōṅḍa in 642 A. C. On his way to Kōṅḍa, he would not have left the Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti regions unconquered. The rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta in the Northern Tōsalā-Daṇḍabhukti region might have come to an end in this way. Whether Harsha appointed the Bhauma-Karas as his agents in that region or they acquired the kingdom with their might following Harsha's departure cannot be determined. But it seems fairly certain

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 1 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 197 ff.; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI (1945), p. 1 ff.

³ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 66.

that their rule was established in North Orissa region in 642 A. C. or thereabouts. Thus the era used in the records of the Bhauma-Kara kings probably started from the date of the establishment of their rule in Northern Tōsalā, that is, from about the year 642 A. C. The date of the Noulpur plate and the present plates calculated from 842 A. C. will be 696 and 800 A. C. respectively. These dates are quite in accord with those arrived at on paleographical considerations.

Svabhāvatūṅga is mentioned as the father of Tribhuvanamahādēvī. He was the ruler of Kōśala, evidently South Kōśala, and belonged to the lunar dynasty. In the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti,¹ his father is said to have acquired the title of Svabhāvatūṅga by his valor (*Sāmukul-āṅga-bhānuḥ Svabhāvatūṅga nija-pauruṣhēya*). Svabhāvatūṅga of the plates under discussion and of the Patna plates seems to be one and the same person : as such Prithvīmahādēvī alias Tribhuvanamahādēvī was the daughter of Mahāśivagupta Janamōjaya, king of Kōśala. From this we come to know for the first time that the Sōmavādī kings of Kōśala and the Bhauma-Karas of Guhāśvarapāṭaka were matrimonially connected.

In regard to Maṅgalakalāśa, we have so far not come across any such name. We only know that some members of the Bhaṅja dynasty had surnames like Kalyāṇakalāśa, Amoghakalāśa, etc. In view of this we may tentatively assume that this Maṅgalakalāśa belonged to the Bhaṅja dynasty. It may be pointed out here that one Śatrubhaṅja had the surname Maṅgalarāja. Paleographically his Jangalapāḍa plates, in which the above surname occurs, are assignable to about the same period as that of the present plates. It is possible that the fuller form of the surname was Maṅgalakalāśarāja. Sāśikā, the wife of Maṅgalakalāśa, is stated to have come of the Vṛgadi family of the Virāṭa lineage. The village of Koinari in Mayurbhaṅj is still known of the Vṛgadi family of the Virāṭa lineage. The village of Koinari in Mayurbhaṅj is still known as Virāṭapura. "The Nāga family of Mayurbhaṅja was known by the name Virāṭa Bhujāṅga, or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family.....the power of Vairāṭa Rājā of Mayurbhaṅja dates from the seventh century A. D." Koinari was probably the capital of the Virāṭa dynasty of Mayurbhaṅja. The whole tract from Koinari to Nilagiri was under the rule of the Virāṭa family.² Some descendants of the old Virāṭa family are still living and they call themselves Bhujāṅga Kshatriya. Vṛgadi might have been a section of the Virāṭa family. It is not improbable that marriage connections between the two royal families of Mayurbhaṅja, the Virāṭas and the Bhaṅjas, were established in course of time.

I have not been able to identify the districts **Tamālakhanda** and **Dakṣiṇakhanda** and the village **Kōṭṭapurā**. I may only suggest that the first may be identified with Tamuk, head-quarters of a sub-division of the Midnapore District, and the second with Dakinmal (Dakshin Mahal), a *pargana* in the Contai sub-division. Tamuk and Dakinmal are mentioned as *parganas* in the Mughal revenue accounts.³ The Dandabhukti *maḍals* probably comprised the major portion of the Midnapore District.

¹ JPASE, Vol. I (1905), p. 14 ff. (Plate III A, line 4). I am indebted to Sri S. N. Hajjara for this reference.

² JKHS, Vol. I, p. 181 ff.

³ Vass, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhaṅja*, Vol. I, introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁴ Vass, *Tirukālā*, Vol. XVIII, p. 493.

⁵ Fish Report, Vol. II, p. 457.

⁶ JPASE, Letters, Vol. XI (1945), p. 7.

TEXT

PLATE A

[Metres : Vv. 1, 6, † *Sārdūlavikrīṭa* ; vv. 2, 23 *Sragdhara* ; v. 3 *Fahāsthavila* ; vv. 4, 5 *Fasāntilakā* ; v. 8 *Druvilambita* ; v. 9 *Śikharīṭ* ; vv. 10-16, 18-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 17 *Mālinī* ; v. 22 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Observes

- 1 श्री¹ स्वस्त्याशाजयसाधिताखिलनृपप्रस्थापितः सर्वतः संपर्पाद्भिरितस्ततोऽजरिमितैर्द्वी-
तूज्ज्वलैः पी-
- 2 लुभिः । गत्वा जङ्गमतां समस्ततनुभिः सेवार्थं मन्पागतैर्भूभृन्नामभयादिव जितिधरैः
संकीर्यमाणान्तरात् ॥[१*]
- 3 श्रीगुहेस्वरपाटकनिवासिजयस्कन्धावारात् ॥ ओमीद्विंशे कराणा(णा)मकलितमहिमा-
जल्पसत्त्व(त्त्व)ः प्रतापी ।
- 4 [भूम]तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गाक्रमणकृतरति श्रीमदुन्मदुसिहः । राजा लब्धो(ब्धो)ज्जितधीः
स्फुरदसिनखरोत्खातमाद्यद्विषय-
- 5 वामाभृन्मातङ्गकुम्भोच्छलदमलयशोमौक्तिकालंकृताशः ॥[२*] सुतोत्तमस्तस्य समाश्रयः[*]
श्रियः प्रवासदुर्वी शृशु-
- 6 मे शुभाकरः [१*] कलेरलंघ्यं मुकुताश्रयाय यो विहारमुच्चैर्विदधे शिलामयं(यम्) ॥
[३*] तस्यात्मजः कमलभूरिव राजहंस(स)-
- 7 सेव्यो गवाड इति भूमिपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥(१) यस्याभियोगमधिगम्य गलन्मदानां
नेम् शिरांसि न धनूयि विरोधभाजा(जाम्) ॥[४*] तस्मा-
- 8 शिवगर्गफलसम्पदवाप्तिहेतुरासीन्नृपः कुसुमहार² इति प्रतीतः । तस्मिन्प्रजाततनुजन्मनि
कीर्तिशेषे गोस्वामि-
- 9 नी चिरमुवाह घुरन्धरायाः ॥[५*] ध्वस्तं वैरिकुलं यदा प्रकटितं जाताः
प्रजाः सुस्थिता भू(भू)क्ता श्रीरतुला किमन्वदुचित का-
- 10 यं मवास्मिन्निति । वोढुं प्रौढ इति स्वतन्त्रि भरं श्रीलोकभारे भूवो
विन्वस्यातुलभक्तितुष्टमनसो भजे पदं सा
- 11 हरे ॥[६*] तेजो हव्यवहे हुताहितहविर्भूपायमौलिस्फुरन्बूडोच्चैर्मणिवेदिकाहित-
सत्पादारविन्दद्वयः ॥(१)
- 12 तस्या एव निदेशतः स च कृती स्वीकृत्य राज्यश्रियं रेमे धर्मधनाविरोध-
मुमगैर्भोगैरनासक्तधीः ॥[७*] अथ स राज-

¹ Expressed by a symbol which is also regarded as indicating *siddham*.

² [In the names *Kusumakara* and *Lalitākara*, occurring several times in both the plates, what has been read as *k* seems to be really *ka*.—D.C.S.]

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 13 शिरोवहनोचितं कुसुमहारमुदारफलोदयं(यम्) । सुतमवाप ततो ललितश्रियं
ललितहारमनङ्गमिवापरं(रम्) ॥[१८*]
- 14 जगदीपे तस्मिन्करकुलविकासैकवश(स)ताविने पद्माभोगप्रणविनि गते संघ
मस्तो(ताम्) ॥[१९] सुतौ तस्याधत्तां
- 15 कमकलितराज्योज्जितवदौ भुवं भूभूचूडामणिकिरणशोणाहिकमलौ ॥[२०*] ततः
स्फारस्फुरद्दामध्वस्तारितिभि-
- 16 रौघयोः । वृ(वृ)षोदयकृतोरस्तसमस्तजनतापयोः ॥[२०*] देवादनाप्तप्रजयोः
प्रजानन्दविधायिनोः । तरेन्द्रव-
- 17 न्द्रयोरस्तं क्रमेण गतयोस्तयोः ॥[२१*] सिताशुवशनलिनश्रीविकासैकभास्वतः ।
राजः स्वभावतुङ्गस्य कोशलाधि-
- 18 पतेः सुता ॥[२२*] सुतायां श्रीयशोवृद्धेशोवृद्धिविधायिनो । श्रीमन्मृत्तामहा-
देव्या(व्या) कृतजन्मपरिग्रहा ॥[२३*] श्रीमत्कुसु-
- 19 महारस्य महादेवो महर्दिका । पृथ्वीं पृथ्वीमहादेवी चिरकालमपालयत् ॥[२४*]
स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभुवनत्रितयोन्नतिः ।
- 20 वा जगत्सु त्रिभुवतमहादेवीति विभृता ॥[२५*] उद्दामदेहसोन्दर्यजितश्रीरूपविभ्रमा ।
विधि(धे)विधानवैदग्ध्यशिक्षासीमे-
- 21 व भाति वा ॥[२६*] शशधरकरगौरीत्सपिकर्णूरधूनीपटलजलनिमज्जद्भूमिभूजत्रवाला ।
कलकलमुखराधास्थान-
- 22 वेला सदीया मुरसरिदवातारं नाटयन्ति(न्तो)व भाति ॥[२७*] परमवैष्णवी
मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधि-
- 23 राजपरमेश्वरो श्रोत्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी ॥ उत्तरतोसलायां म्ब(व)र्तमान-
भविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराज-
- 24 राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यौ उपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपासि(शि)कस्थानान्तरिकानन्या-
नपि राजप्र-
- 25 सादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान् ॥ दण्डभुक्तिमण्डले तमालखण्डविषयेपि महामह-
त्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपा-
- 26 लकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाह्निमा(हं मा)नयति वो(वो)धयति सम(मा)ज्ञापयति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवताम्(ताम्) एतद्विधयस-
- 27 म्ब(म्ब)ड॥[२८] चतुःसीमापर्यन्तः[२८] नाक्षेत्रवरतलपाटकसहितः कोट्टपुराग्रामः[२८*]
सोपरिकरः सोद्वेशः सत-
- 28 शुवायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडावर्ज्जिताञ्जले-

Reverse

- 29 खनोप्रवेस(श)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधान्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं महामण्डलाधिपति
श्रीमङ्गलकलशस्य म-
- 30 हृदेव्याः ।¹ विराटवड्डशो(वंशो)द्वुववागडिकुलकुमुदशशिलेखायाः श्रीशशिलेखाया
विज्ञात्या स्वर्गीभूतनिजतात-
- 31 स्य श्रीनाम्नाभिधानस्य धर्माय स्वकारितश्रीनाम्नेस्वरनामायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य
भगवत उमामहेश्वरभट्टा-
- 32 रकस्य सततस्तपनगन्धपू(पु)ण्यदोषधूपनिवेशव(व)लिचरूपूजादिप्रवर्तनार्थं क्षण्डस्फुटित-
संस्करणार्थं महाव्रतधारि-
- 33 णां तपस्विनां सदाकौपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानर्भषज्यार्थं पाटकसहितस्य ग्रामस्यैको भागः ।
एवं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां प्रासा-
- 34 छा(च्छा)दनार्थं द्वितीयो भागः । पादमू(मू)लादीनां जीवनभूक्तिपरिधानार्थं
तृतीयो भागः । तथेतरश्चतुर्थो भागो दा-
- 35 तपतिस्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्तनार्थञ्चऽ(ञ्चा)स्माभिस्तां(स्ता)अशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्म्मणाक-
रत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेवाऽस्म-
- 36 दति(दतिः) धर्म्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया ॥ सम्बत् १०० १० = कार्तिक-
शुदि ७ । उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशो(शा)न्वे [1*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राज-
- 37 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
[१८*] मा भु(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पार्थिवाः । स्वदानात्फ-
- 38 लमातुल्यं परदत्ता(त्ता)नुपालने ॥[१९*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा(त्ता वा) यो हरेत
वसुधरा(राम्) । स विष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
- 39 च्यते ॥[२०*] व(व)हुनाद्य किमुक्तेन स(सं)क्षेपादिदमूच्यते । स्वल्पमायुश्चता
भोगा धर्म्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः ॥[२१*] इति कमल-
- 40 दलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)नुलोला शि(शि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । अखिलमिद-
मुदाहृतञ्च वु(वु)द्वा [न] हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो वि-
- 41 लोप्याः ॥[२२*] यावन्मौलीन्दुलेखोज्ज्वलितनुरसरिद्वौचिहारावलीभिर्भस्मस्मेरां स्मरा-
रेद्वल्यतितरामंशुभिः का-
- 42 यकान्ति(न्तिम्) । आसा(शा)चक्रैकचूडामणिरपि तरणिर्द्योतते यावदुच्चैर्देव्याः
श्रीसिन्दूरार्थाः प्रभवतु भू(भू)वने आसनं ताव-

¹ The design is superficial.

- 43 देतत् (॥२३*) इतकोत्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृतराणकश्रीमन्तोका । लेखको
महाक्षपटलिकभोगी स(श)क्यो(से)नः । ता-
- 44 पितम्पे(म्पे)टकपालदेवदेवेने(न) । उत्कीर्णं तट्टकार(रेण) वमृतवट्टेनेन इ(ई)श्वर-
वट्टेनपुत्रेणेति ॥ ग्रामस्य सीमा
- 45 लिख्यते । पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं साखोटकविटपेन स्तोकं
गत्वा किञ्चित्पश्चिमाभि-
- 46 मुखं मृगजानुना बलित्वा गोद्वेर्षा स्तोकं गत्वा पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां
यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि प-
- 47 श्चिमाभिमुखं प्रगुणेन पूरं गत्वा वक्रेण दक्षिणाभिमुखं बलित्वा पुनः
पश्चिमाभिमुखं न्यग्रोधवृक्षेण गत्वा शिला-
- 48 कुण्डजोटाईस्रोतसा सर्पगत्या गत्वा कोटपुरावारं प्रविश्य तज्जलाद्वेन गत्वा
दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे प्रोप्त-
- 49 शिलां यावत् । ततः पश्चिमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं शिलाखानिकाप्रगुणेन शरक्षेपमानं
गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रो-
- 50 प्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं नरकाधारेण स्तोकं गत्वा
वि(वि)ल्ववृक्षेण वक्रातिवक्रेण गत्वा प्रथम-
- 51 समुचितसीमां यावत् ॥

PLATE B

Obverse

1-24

- 25 सि(शि)कस्वान्तारिकानन्वानपि राजप्रसादितश्चाटभट्ट(ट)बालभजातीयान् ॥ दण्ड-
भुक्तिमण्डले दक्षिणस्त-
- 26 ण्डविषयेषि महामहत्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिमुस्तकपालकुटकोलसायधिकरणं यथाह्नि(हं)म्मानयति
वो(वो)-

Reverse

- 27 भयति समाजापयति च । विदितमस्तु भवताम् एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)ज्ज।
(जम्) उत्तवाकावाण्डक्षेत्रं सोपरिकर(रं) सोद्वेस(णं)
- 28-44
- 45 देवदेवेन । उत्कीर्णं तट्टकारहरिवट्टेनेन ।¹ रहसवट्टेनपुत्रेणेति ॥ खण्डकोटस्य सीमा
लिख्यते । पु(पु)र्वदिश्युत्तर-

¹ The text of these lines is the same as in lines 1-25 of plate A with negligible variations.

² The text of these lines is the same as in lines 27-44 of plate A.

³ The *dayda* is superfluous.

- 46 पूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्वा गत्वा गणेशवरखातकपश्चिमात्वा गत्वा
वक्रातिवक्रेण दृ(ह)रं गत्वा पू-
47 श्वंदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि पश्चिमाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्वा
स्तोकं गत्वा मृगजानुना शा-
48 खोटकावटपेन गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे गोहेरिकां यावत् । ततः पश्चिम-
दिश्युत्तराभिमुखं गोहेर्या
49 प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि
पूर्वाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्वा प्रगुणे-
50 न दूरं गत्वा प्रथमसमु(सू)चित्सीमां यावत् - ॥¹

No. 31—NOTE ON TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Mr. S. C. De's paper on the inscriptions in question has been published above.² We find it rather difficult to agree with some of Mr. De's suggestions. In the following lines, some comments are offered especially on the most important of them, namely, the one concerning the identity and age of the Bhauma-Kara queen who issued the Dhenkanal plate.³

In the Hindol⁴ and Dharakota⁵ plates of Śubhākara III, both dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era, the said king is described as the son of Śāntikara I from Mahādēvi Tribhuvanamahādēvi who was *śrīman-Nāg-śāhuvā-kula-lalāma-bhuvā*, i.e., 'born in the eminent family sprung from the illustrious Nāga.' All the three Talcher plates⁶ of the great-grandsons of this queen, viz., Śubhākara IV (one grant dated in the year 145, usually read as 141) and Śivakara III (two grants both dated in the year 149), clearly state that Tribhuvanamahādēvi ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Kusumahāra or Simhakeśu, i.e., Śubhākara III. The Talcher plate of Śubhākara IV further says that, when Tribhuvanamahādēvi's *naptā* or grand-son, named Lōgabhāra *alias* Śāntikara II, became sufficiently aged, she abdicated the throne in his favour. The corresponding portion of the Talcher plates of Śivakara III, which seems to be corrupt in the original and more so in the published transcript, does not specify the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvi and her successor Gayāda II, i.e., Śāntikara II.

The Dhenkanal plate, issued by Tribhuvanamahādēvi as a ruling queen, bears a date which looks like 100 but may also be read as 120.⁷ The queen, whose other name is given in her record as Sindagauri and who was the queen of Lalitahāra, is stated to have been the daughter of Rājā-malladēya described as the ornament of the southern quarter (*dakṣiṇ-āśī-mukha-tīlaka*). It is further stated in the record that the queen ascended the Kara (i.e., Bhauma-Kara) throne after the circle of the *Mahāśāmantas* (feudatories) had pointed out to her the case of an ancient queen

¹ I acknowledge with thanks the help I received from Pandit Banamalar Acharya in editing the inscriptions.

² See pp. 216 ff.

³ *Minor Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 23 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff., 40 ff., 51.

⁷ See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 21, note 3.

named Gōsvāminī and requested her to assume the reins of Government in the manner of that old ruling queen.¹ Mr. Misra identifies queen Tribhuvanamahādevī who issued the Dhenkanal plate with the Bhauma-Kara queen of the same name mentioned in the inscriptions of the years 103, 145 and 149, referred to above. Mr. De on the other hand thinks that Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate ruled in the year 100 immediately after Prithvimahādevī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādevī who issued the Band plates in the year 158. We are inclined to favour Mr. Misra's identification as Mr. De's suggestion appears to be doubtful in view of the following facts.

In the first place, the fact that the feudatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Gōsvāminī to induce Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Had there been two other queens previously ruling in the family within less than half a century before her age and had one of them ruled immediately before herself, the reference to an earlier queen's rule by way of illustration was certainly uncalled for and meaningless. Even if such an illustration was necessary at all to induce a third queen of the family to the throne, it is no doubt strange that the ruling queen who flourished immediately before should have been passed over in silence and the case of another reigning more than quarter of a century earlier would have been cited.

Secondly, according to Mr. De, Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was the wife of Śivakara III who issued his grants in the year 149. If she was thus the mother of Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V, it is only natural to expect a prominent mention of her name in the grants of queen Dandimahādevī who was the daughter of Śubhākara V. But her name is conspicuous by its absence in the later records of the family. This difficulty has been explained away by Mr. De who thinks that Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate was a step-mother of Dandimahādevī's father and that she, like Prithvimahādevī, did not recognise her step-sons' title to the Bhauma-Kara throne. If such was the case, Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Dhenkanal plate is expected to have been a partisan of Prithvimahādevī in her struggle with the lawful claimants of the throne and the non-mention of the latter's name in her record becomes doubly inexplicable.

Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Tribhuvanamahādevī, mother of Śubhākara III of the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated 103), was born in the Nāga family and (2) that Tribhuvanamahādevī *alias* Sindagaurī of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country appear to suggest that the two were one and the same person. The name Sindagaurī (i.e., Sinda-Gaurī or Gaurī of the Sindas) shows that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was born in the Sinda family while it is well known that the Sindas who originally belonged to Karaṇṭaka claimed Nāga origin.² We are inclined to believe that Tribhuvanamahādevī, who was the mother of Śubhākara III and has to be identified with the ruling queen of the Dhenkanal plate, was the daughter of a Sinda king bearing the name or *biruda* Rājamalla.³ It has to be noticed that Prithvi-

¹ *Dēvi purāṇi dēvyā śrī Gōsvāminī... chiram dhāritā-mā-cēṣaṁ rasam dhārī tat-saṁhara-ṇi prakāśa tat-saṁhara su-chiram dhāray-sinām kṛiyatām lōk-āṅgrahab-ve-kṛiyatām-vā(tām cā) prakṛam-āgata-Kara-rājya-śrī*—*śrī* *sa-rabhasam-śubhākara-maṅgala-pratīpād-śumakheṇa mahatā mahāśimanta-chakrōḥa myōtyamānā... sin-* *hā* *sa-rabhasam-śrīdēhī* (Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, text lines 17-21). An alternative interpretation of this passage may be that the queen's other name was Gōsvāminī and that she had ruled the kingdom for sometime on a previous occasion before the accession of her son (or step-son) Śubhākara III, although there is no indication in favour of such a possibility in the inscriptions of the family.

² Cf. *Baudh. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 573 ff.

³ We have no knowledge of a Sinda-Nāga ruler named Rājamalla who flourished in the tenth century. But the said name is known to have been popular in the Sinda family. An inscription of 1148-49 A.C. mentions a chief the said name is known to have been popular in the Sinda family. An inscription of 1148-49 A.C. mentions a chief named Imaḍi-Rājamalla (i.e., Rājamalla the Second, showing probably that there was a Rājamalla I among his predecessors) who claimed the Nāga lineage and enjoyed the *biruda* Sinda-Gōvinda that reminds us of Sinda-Gaurī. See *ARSIK* for 1904, p. 9 (cf. Nos. 58 and 60 of 1904); Kishore's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 253.

mahādēvi in her Baul plates not only assumes both the names as well as the epithet *Parammahā-*
pati enjoyed by the earlier queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi alias Sindagaurī but refers to the latter
 not as Tribhuvanamahādēvi (as in the Talehar plates of her husband and the latter's younger
 brother) but as Gōsvāminī. The foot of the stanza applying the name Sindagaurī to the issuer
 of the Dhenkanal plate has been actually appropriated by Prithvimahādēvi in the similar verse
 quoted in her Baul plates. This attempt on the part of Prithvimahādēvi to pass herself as the
 shadow of and at the same time to distinguish herself clearly from the earlier ruling queen Tribhu-
 vanamahādēvi, whom she represents as Gōsvāminī, is not entirely unintelligible. This may have
 been partly due to her eagerness for strengthening her position against the lawful claim of the
 son of her husband's younger brother to the Bhauma-Kara throne. Apparently, she claimed
 her position on the Bhauma-Kara throne to be exactly similar to that of her earlier namesake
 although she felt the necessity of avoiding any confusion between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis.
 It is interesting to note that Prithvimahādēvi is silent in regard to Gōsvāminī's relation with her
 predecessor. The facts that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was induced by her
 feudatories to assume the burden of government by citing the instance of Gōsvāminī and that
 Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Baul plates applies the name Gōsvāminī to
 her earlier namesake (apparently to make a distinction between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis
 to avoid confusion) appear to suggest that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was called Gōsvāminī
 II after an ancient or legendary female ruler of Orissa probably having nothing to do with the
 Bhauma-Karas. It may be pointed out that the assumption of the name Sindagaurī, pointing
 to an association with the Sinda Nāgas, by Prithvimahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi, who is
 known to have been born in a royal family other than that of the Sindas, seems to be explainable
 only by the suggestion that she adopted it rather arbitrarily just to pass herself as the shadow of
 an earlier ruling queen of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. It seems therefore that the issuer of the
 Dhenkanal plate was the real and original Sinda-Gaurī and that she flourished before the imitation
 Sinda-Gaurī who issued the Baul plates.

Fourthly, Mr. De thinks that the real names of the mother of Śubhākara III and the wife of
 Śubhākara IV were respectively Gōsvāminī and Prithvimahādēvi and that they both assumed the
 name Tribhuvanamahādēvi, although he cannot say what the original name of Tribhuvanamahā-
 dēvi of the Dhenkanal plate, whom he regards as the third ruling queen of that assumed
 name, was. We find at least two difficulties in accepting this suggestion. The first is that, if the
 mother of Śubhākara III assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi when she ascended the throne
 after her son's death, she could not have possibly been mentioned by that name, as she really is,
 in the records of her son who preceded herself on the throne. In the second place, if Tribhuvana-
 mahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhauma-Kara ruling queen of that name, it is
 rather strange that she, unlike Prithvimahādēvi, did not feel the necessity of distinguishing herself
 to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes. This no doubt looks
 especially dubious when she is supposed to have been immediately preceded by another ruling
 queen of the same name, because the possibility of confusion in such a case was greater. If her real
 name was Tribhuvanamahādēvi, it must be regarded as a strange coincidence that she succeeded
 another Tribhuvanamahādēvi. But if her real name was different, she would have hardly chosen
 Tribhuvanamahādēvi as her coronation name, because that would lead to a confusion between
 herself and her predecessor on the throne. That the female rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family had
 no special liking for the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi is shown by the fact that none of the four later
 ruling queens of the dynasty (viz., Gaumamahādēvi, Dandimamahādēvi, Vakulamahādēvi and Dharme-
 mahādēvi) assumed that name. If the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate flourished immediately after
 Prithvimahādēvi, she could have hardly called herself only by the name assumed by her predecessor
 without any attempt to distinguish herself.

Fifthly, the Band plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi give the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara family in which the long line of rulers from Unmattasimha (the second king of the dynasty) down to the ruling queen herself are named and, in the description of the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi *alias* Gōsvāminī, they actually quote one stanza and a half from the Talcher plate of her husband Śubhākara IV. The Dhenkanal plate on the other hand mentions only Unmattakēśarin and Gayāḍa I (the second and fifth rulers of the family) in the reference to the past monarchs of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and gives the impression quite clearly that the issuer of the charter has to be placed in the earlier part of the genealogical tree. This no doubt goes in favour of the identification of the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate with the mother and successor of Śubhākara III who was the great-grandson of Unmattakēśarin (=simha) and the son and successor of Gayāḍa *alias* Śāntikara I. If the Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 160, that is to say, shortly after the reign of Prithvīmahādēvi of the Band plates, it is difficult to explain why the description of the Bhauma-Kara genealogy quoted in it does not resemble in any way the same as found in the Band plates of the year 158 as well as the Talcher plates of the years 145 and 149. As already indicated above, the fact that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate does not mention Prithvīmahādēvi, who was her immediate predecessor according to Mr. De, but states that the queen was induced to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an earlier female ruler named Gōsvāminī is inexplicable and renders Mr. De's suggestion unconvincing.

One of Mr. De's arguments in favour of assigning the Dhenkanal plate to the year 160 seems to be that it was engraved by the brahmin Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana, while the two Talcher plates of the year 149 were engraved by the brahmin Rahasavardhana, son of Rāmasavardhana, and one of the Band plates of the year 158 by Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. His identification of Harivardhana, engraver of the Band plates of the year 158, with Harivardhana who engraved the Dhenkanal plate appears to support his contention assigning the latter record to the year 160. But considering the difficulties in ascribing the Dhenkanal plate to such a late date, which have been detailed above, as well as the fact that several records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty mention the Vardhana family of brahmins and the very name Harivardhana occurring in the Chaurasi plate assigned to the year 73,¹ it does not appear improbable that the engraver of the Dhenkanal plate was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved one set of the Band plates.²

It may be noted here that the circumstances leading to the accession of Tribhuvanamahādēvi I, surnamed Sindagaurī and Gōsvāminī (II), as given in the records of the years 145, 149 and 158, which have been discussed above, are not clearly described in the Dhenkanal plate. The Talcher plate of the year 145, as we have seen, says that Tribhuvanamahādēvi ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Śubhākara III but abdicated in favour of her grandson as soon as the latter passed over his minority. This gives the impression that the queen ruled for a short period during the minority of her grandson, although, in ancient India, minority was never a bar to one's accession to the throne.³ On this point the Band plates, which are silent on the relation between Gōsvāminī (Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) and her predecessor Kusumahāra (Śubhākara III), add that Śubhākara III died without leaving any heir. It seems therefore that Śāntikara II, sur-

¹ *Miers, op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

² The two may also be one and the same person. The case is similar to that of Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuachandra, who engraved some, but not all, of the Eastern Ganga charters bearing dates between the Ganga years 28 and 91. See *IIQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 235; *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 53, etc.

³ See *JBASRI*, Vol. XII, pp. 71 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

named Lōṇabhāra and Gayāḍa II, may have been adopted as the son of Śubhākara III by the latter's chief queen sometime after his death and his mother's accession to the throne. Mr. De's speculation in regard to the relation between Tribhuvanamahādēvi I and her successor does not appeal to me.

In our opinion therefore the known inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara family reveal the existence of two and not three ruling queens named Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi I was the mother of Śubhākara III and ruled for some years after her son's death when her Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 120. She was the daughter of a Śinda king enjoying the name or *biruda* Rājamalla. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was the daughter of the Sōmayadhī king Svabhāvatnaga of Kosala (South Kosala) who, as we have seen elsewhere,¹ seems to be no other than Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (circa 970-1000 A.C.²). It has also been noticed how Prithvimahādēvi secured the Bhauma-Kara throne in a temporarily successful contest against the lawful claims of the sons of her husband's younger brother with the active help of her father sometime before the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and how this fact helps us in locating the commencement of the said era about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.³ We have also shown how the Dasapalla plates of Śatrubhaṅja of Vañjulvaka, who was a descendant of Raṇabhaṅja of Dhṛitipura (about the third quarter of the tenth century⁴) and probably flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century, bear the date : year 198 (apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era). Vishnu-saṅkrānti, Pañchami, Sunday and Mṛgaśīrṣ-nakṣatra, suggesting March 23, 1029 A.C., and how this fact helps us in tracing the initial year of the era in 831 A.C.⁵ The date of the Baud plates of the year 158 thus appears to be 988 A.C.

The epithet *Firdjavahāśādhava-Vrāgaśikṣakamulakāśīlā*, applied to the lady Śaśīlākhā at whose request the grants recorded in the Baud plates were made, seems to suggest that she was born in the Virāṭa dynasty but was married into the Vrāgaśi family. Her husband Maṅgalakalasa therefore does not appear to have been a Bhaṅja prince of the Mayurbhaṅj region as suggested by Mr. De. The identification of Maṅgalakalasa, taken to be a Bhaṅja prince of Mayurbhaṅj, with Śatrubhaṅja Maṅgalarāja of the Jangalpāḍa plates is unlikely as the findspot and style of this record show that the chief ruled in the Ganjam region and belonged to the house of the Bhaṅjas of Vañjulvaka.⁶ In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to connect him with the Bhaṅjas of Mayurbhaṅj. The facts that the temple built by Śaśīlākhā was called Nānāvarāyatana after her deceased father Nānna and that a village granted in its favour included a locality called Nānnāvaratalapātaka appear to suggest that both the temple and the gift village were situated in the same area of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* (modern Danton region of the Midnapur District, West Bengal). As Śaśīlākhā may have built the temple and arranged for the gift of land in its favour in the area under the jurisdiction of her husband who enjoyed the gubernatorial status of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati* under the Bhauma-Karas, it is not improbable to think that Maṅgalakalasa was the ruler of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala*.

¹ *JASL*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1963, pp. 119 ff.

² *CE IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

³ See above, . . . : *JASL*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 46; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. . . . : *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

⁶ *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 223-26.

No. 32—NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA : SAKA 1091

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDRY

These plates were found in the village of **Nandūru** in Bapatla *taluk*, Guntur District, about fifty years ago and were forwarded by the Tahsildar of Bapatla to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, early in 1917. They were examined and numbered as C. P. No. 23 of 1916-17, and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1917*, pages 118-119. The following description of the plates appears in the *Annual Report*:¹

"The plates are 5 in number and are hung on a big ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a *seal* which bears the legend 'Śrī-Trībhuvanādikūśa' between two lines with the symbols of the sun, the moon and star, two parasols, the Chōla Tiger, *aśoka*, lotus and the *śaśvata* (?) above, and the Chālukyan boat, the disc (*chakra*), sandals, drum, double-couch, lamp stands and a few other unintelligible symbols below."

It is said that the ring was not cut when the plates reached the Epigraphist's office. The Epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, observed, therefore, "it is curious how despite this the set is incomplete commencing as it does with No. 3, marked on the second side of the existing plate and stopping abruptly with the mention of the dunes, omitting the usual imprecations, etc." He, therefore, assumed that the plates had been examined sometime before that and that the now missing plates were lost on that occasion. I am, however, of a different opinion. The two outer plates must have been completely worn out and corroded on account of their extremely bad preservation. They would have crumbled down to pieces and powder at the first touch when they were discovered. The worn out condition of the writing on the inner plates must be due to the bad preservation of the plates. Whatever that might be, it is true as Krishna Sastri observed, "the information conveyed by the existing plates is very interesting, giving us, as they do, an account of the later Chālukya sovereigns who held sway over the Vēṅgi country down to the time of Rājārāja (II) and of their subordinates the Velanāṅḍu chiefs down to Rājendra-Chōḍa". The importance of the plates is further enhanced by the fact that it is the only copper-plate grant of the kings of the Velanāṅḍi family who controlled and guided the destinies of the Chōla-Chālukya Empire and the fortunes of the country of Vēṅgi for nearly a century and half, from about 1070 to about 1210 A.C.

I undertook the editing of these plates several years ago but continued preoccupation with other matters from time to time had prevented me from carrying out the work entrusted to me in 1927 by the then Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri. I now edit the inscription from the ink impressions supplied to me by him. As the ink-impressions are not clear in some places and as the original plates were not available to me for examination, the reading of the inscription in some portions had to be supplemented with the help of some lithic records² of the family found at Drāṅḥārāma and other places.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of the five plates which are roughly 9½" long and 5" wide, and rectangular in shape. The writing on the plates is very clumsy. Often the letters are found crammed into one another; they are also irregular and much worn out on account of the bad preservation of the plates. The number of lines on each plate is not uniform: the number varies from twelve to fourteen and even to seventeen lines. The available text of the inscription runs into 137 lines; out of them, however, the last two lines on plate F-5 (lines 136-9) are wholly unintelligible.

¹ The *Annual Report* states that the original plates were returned to the owner through the Tahsildar. I have tried in vain to trace them.

² *ILL*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed partly in prose and partly in poetry. The poetry is fairly good, though the language contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. Thus for instance: line 4 has *pañcha-Pāṇḍav-ābhaya-āpamāḥ*; line 9 has *prasaṅga-sarubh*; lines 14-15 have *collabhaṇ-nirbhara-garbha-bhāraṇ*; and line 27, *subhāṣā*. The inscription is written in **characters** which are regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 12th century A.C. According to Dr. Burnell, such characters belong to what he called the "transitional period". The following **orthographical** peculiarities may, however, be noticed. Vowels *a* and long *ā*, short *i* and *u* and long *ī* occur in the inscription. The long *ā* is distinguished by a vertical stroke at the right side. Vowels *e* and *o* have reached their final forms, and are fully developed. No distinction is yet drawn between *e* and *ē* long. Both are written alike. There is no vertical stroke on the head of *e* to denote the long *ē* as we find at the present day. There is not much distinction between *ḍ* and *ḍh*; and final forms of *sa*, *na*, and *ta* are used in the inscription. The *vargamūlaka* is substituted by the *annakāra* which is denoted by a *bindu* throughout. Sometimes words like *caṇḍa* and *dayitā* are written as *raṇḍa* and *dayitā*, which is apparently in accordance with the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words in the Krishna and Guntur Districts, where the sibilant *ṣ* is always joined with *y*. The scribe has not followed any principle in doubling the consonants.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Innagarra** as an *agrahāra* to a learned *Brāhmaṇa*, on an auspicious occasion by king Rājendra-Chōḍa II, who is stated to be ruling over Andhra-maṇḍala as commissioned by Rājārāja, i.e., Rājārāja II of the Chālukya-Chōḍa family (lines 133-4). The name of the donee and the district in which the village was situated have been unfortunately lost on the missing last plate. The village Innagarra granted in the record may be identified with Inugartipāḍu¹, a village in the vicinity of Nandūru, the findspot of the present plates, in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur District. At the time of making the grant, Rājendra-Chōḍa is stated to be staying in his capital, **Dhanadapurī**, i.e., Chanda-volu in Bapatla taluk, Guntur District. The **date** of the grant is given as Śaka 1094 (*indananda-vijaya-chandra-gaṇitā*) and as the 23rd year of Rājārāja, i.e., Rājārāja II (lines 133-134). The Śaka year which is an expired year corresponds to 1169-70 A.C.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part (lines 1-67) contains the historical genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas, treating of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I and his successors down to Rājārāja II as Chālukyas and not as Chōḍas. The second part (lines 68 ff.) describes the history of the Chiefs of Velanāḍu or, members of the Velanāḍi family, who enjoyed the position of subordinate kings under the Chōḍa-Chālukyas. There are many new statements in the account relating to the Eastern Chālukyas, which differ from what we know hitherto. Some of them may be explained as errors committed by the scribe who engraved the inscription on the plates. Thus, for example, Narēndra, i.e., Narēndramiṇḍarāja-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya II is called the son of Vijayāditya I, or Vijayāditya-Bhūttāraka (line 38), while in fact he was the son of Viṣṇu-varḍhana IV. In a similar manner a Viṣṇuvarḍhana is stated to be the son of Vijayāditya II, and is given a reign of thirty-six years (lines 39-40). This king must be Viṣṇuvarḍhana IV, the father of Narēndramiṇḍarāja, and not his son as wrongly described here. Apparently the order in the narration is confused. Again the son of Viṣṇuvarḍhana IV is said to be Kali-Viṣṇuvarḍhana or Viṣṇuvarḍhana V, and is given a reign of half a year (line 41) while it is known from other records of the dynasty that he reigned for one and a half years, or twenty months according to some, and that

¹ Usually when a village is deserted and disappears for a period, the site is denoted by the term *pāḍu*; and when a new village springs up on the spot after an interval, it is called with the suffix *pāḍu* super added to the old name. So it must be with Inugartipāḍu, (i.e. the *pāḍu* of Innagarra, or Inugarra).

he was the son of Narendramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II and not of Vishnuvardhana V. It would seem that the engraver, while copying the grant on copper-plates, got confused and changed the order or sequence of the verses on the plate. He should have written verse 19 after verse 17; in other words, the proper order of the verses should be, first, verse 17, then verse 19 and lastly verse 18. If the inscription is read in this order the apparent confusion disappears. Krishna Sastri's observation,¹ viz., that "The reign of Vishnuvardhana IV is altogether omitted and a new Vishnuvardhana, a son of Vijayāditya (II), is mentioned with a rule of 50 years, followed by Kali-Vishnuvardhana", need no longer be held as complicating the genealogical position. Another discrepancy is in respect of the reign of Dānārjaya who is said to have ruled for 30 years (line 50), instead of 3 years. The reign of Vira-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya VIII,² younger brother of Rājārāja I is altogether omitted. Yet another erroneous statement is that Kulōttunga-Chōla I is said to have ruled for twenty-five years (line 58) instead of fifty as known hitherto. Except for these errors the genealogical account is accurate. It is noteworthy that the historical account contains some new information about a few kings. Chālukya-Bhima I is said to have destroyed his enemies on numerous battlefields, and to have built several temples of Mahādēva (Śiva) at sacred spots (lines 42-43). His son Vijayāditya IV who is well known by his surname Kollabhiṇḍa from the records of the family, is stated to have obtained a decisive victory in the battle of Virajāpuri, captured the city and went to heaven (line 44), a statement which may be taken to indicate that he died shortly after the battle, a fact not known hitherto. Virajāpuri may be properly identified with Jajpur (which is apparently a variant of Virajāpuri) the chief town of the Jajpur *taluk* of the Cuttack District, Orissa. It lies on the Vaitarani, a tributary of the Mahānadi situated about fifty miles due north-west of Cuttack. During the ancient period, it was a great and renowned *tirtha*, "a place of pilgrimage," according to the *Mahābhārata*.³ Virajā or Virajāpuri was for a long time a provincial capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Utkala and the Sōmavamsi kings of Dakṣiṇa-Kōṣala who bore the epithet, *Trikalāgādhipati*.⁴ Kollabhiṇḍa's son was Amma I who is said to have performed many *Tulāparusha-dānas* (gifts) year after year during his brief rule of seven years (line 44). Vikrama-Chōla, son and successor of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, is given the correct period of rule, viz., seventeen years (lines 60-61), which is in conformity with the regnal years recorded in some of the inscriptions of the Andhra country and in Tamil inscriptions as well. His son Kulōttunga-Chōla II is said to have reigned for fifteen years in succession (lines 64-65). Lastly, the relationship between Kulōttunga-Chōla II and Rājārāja II, which has not been hitherto correctly known, is clearly stated in the present record as that of father and son (lines 65-66).

The second part of the inscription contains a brief account of the Velanāṇṭi family. It gives a complete genealogy which in some respects supplements the account given in the Pithāpuram inscription of Velanāṇṭi Prithivīvara.⁵ The following genealogical table represents the information that is contained in the present inscription.

¹ *ARSIN*, 1917, p. 118.

² Dr. Fleet was not aware of Bādapa the usurper, who was also a Vijayāditya and therefore would be Vijayāditya VII. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 276.

³ *Arango-Purana*, 83, v. 6.

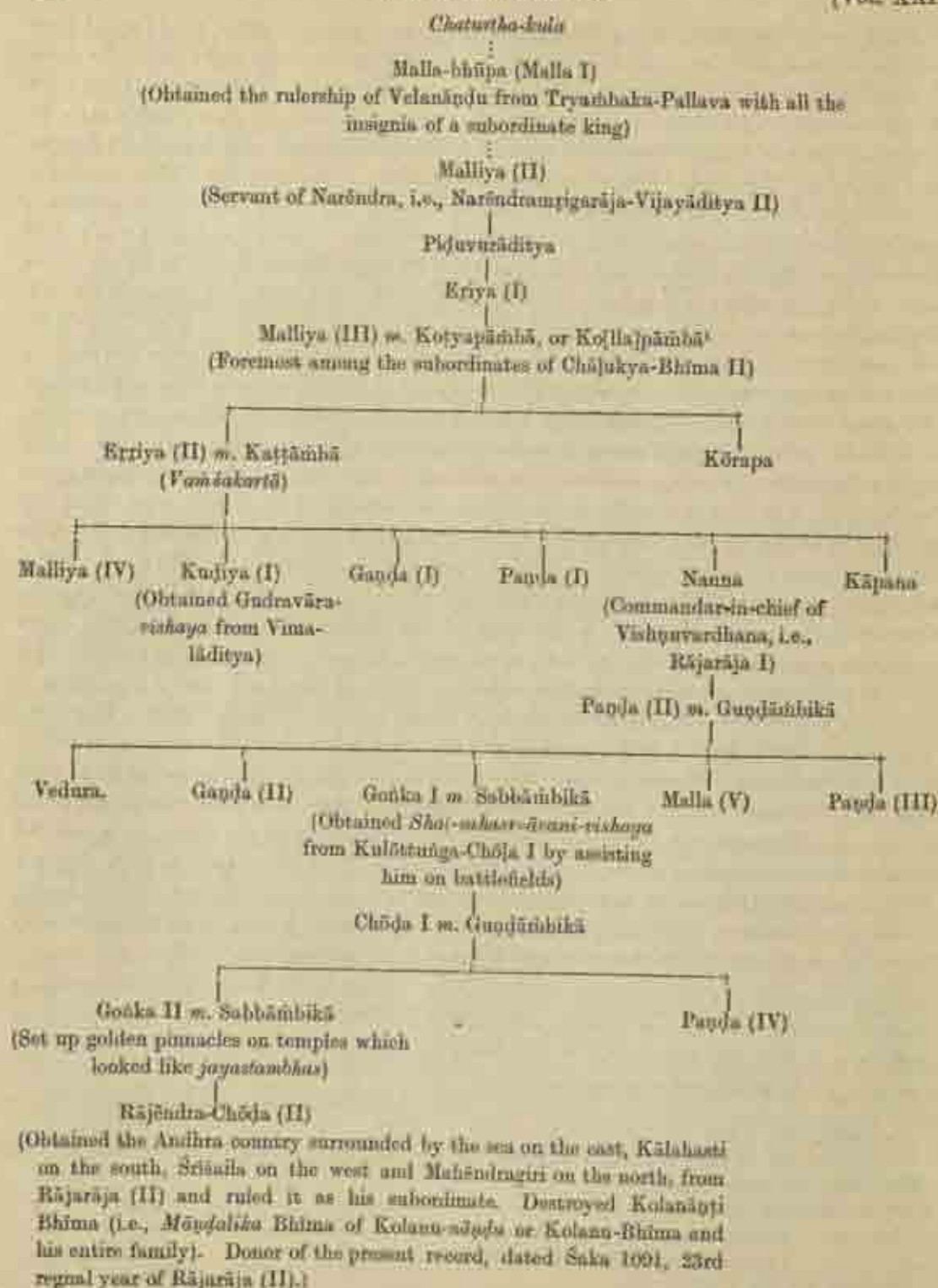
Talli Vairamāṇḍa gaurā malla pāṇi-pramādaśaḥ !

Virajāṇi Vithamāṇḍaḥ virajāṇi gaurā malla !

⁴ *Ābhya*, Vol. III, p. 327.

⁵ *Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 121, text-line 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 22.



¹ The present inscription is damaged at the place where the name is expected to occur. The name, therefore, is restored from other records of the family which give the genealogy.

The account given in the Pithāpūram inscription differs slightly from the pedigree given above. The differences are discussed below. Besides the Pithāpūram inscription there are numerous other inscriptions on stone found particularly at Drākshārāma¹ in East Godavari District, at Siripuram² and Chābrūla in Guntur District and other places³ which give additional historical information about the family. A stone inscription at Drākshārāma⁴ gives a genealogical account which not only completely agrees with the present record but gives additional information. The historical details found in these inscriptions have not been arranged so far in their proper perspective which I now propose to do.

The first known historical person in the Velanānti family, who may be regarded as the founder of the line in the rulership of Velanāpdu is Malla-bhūpa or Malla I. Velanāpdu or Velanādu is the name of the region now covered by the Repalle and Tenali *taluk*s of the Guntur District. The region acquired the name probably because it lay on the sea coast (*vēḍa*), the Sanskrit word being pronounced as *vēḍa* with short vowels by the inhabitants of that region during the early period.⁵ The term *Velanāpdi* is the genitive form of Velanāpdu (nominative form) and means "of Velanāpdu" in Telugu. Malla I, it is stated, received as a reward the rulership of Velanāpdu with the insignia of a vassal king from Tryambaka-Pallava who was pleased with him for military services rendered for a long time on battlefields. Malla I was probably a soldier of fortune, who came from the north in search of a kingdom, and thus acquired a small kingdom for himself. Several Durjaya chieftains, too, similarly claimed to have obtained from king Tryambaka-Pallava, military fiefs on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river as rewards for their military services. King Tryambaka-Pallava, Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkanti-Kāḍuvetti may not, therefore, be a doubtful historical person as some scholars opine; he need not be regarded as a mere fictitious person, brushing aside a large volume of historical tradition embodied in numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates and scattered all over the country. Elsewhere⁶ Tryambaka-Pallava has been identified with the powerful king Vijaya-Skulavarman IV, and allotted a reign period of thirty-five years (c. 690-725 A.C.). Malla I, therefore, would appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Nothing is known about the immediate successors of Malla-bhūpa I, until we come to Malliya II who is described as a renowned soldier. It is said that he was a follower of Narēndra, who may be identified with Narēndranigārāja-Vijayāditya II. Malliya II, it is stated, rendered great assistance to king Narēndra (on the battlefields) with the sharp edge of his fierce sword which was like a thunderbolt (v. 36; lines 72-75). According to Dr. Fleet,⁷ Narēndranigārāja-Vijayāditya II reigned from 798 to 843 A.C. for forty-four years, while according to my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chāḷukyas*,⁸ the king's period is only forty years, from 808 to 847 A.C. Malliya II would thus appear to have flourished about the first half of the ninth century. In the lineage of Malliya II was born Piḍuvurāditya, or Piḍuvulāditya as the Drākshārāma stone inscription⁹ calls him. The son of Piḍuvurāditya was Eriya (I), and his son was Malliya III. In the Drākshārāma inscription the name of Malla or Malliya is lost in the lacuna. It is stated in that inscription that Malla III (Malliya III) was foremost among the followers of Chāḷukya-Bhīma who may be identified with Chāḷukya-Bhīma II (933-945 A.C.). Malla III married Kollapāmbā according to

¹ *SI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1041, 1094, 1113, 1147, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1153, 1164; 1182, etc.

² *SI*, Vol. X, Nos. 177, etc.

³ *SI*, Vol. VI, Nos. 109, 123, 124, 144, 181, 224, 239, 1200, etc.

⁴ See *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

⁵ [This derivation is doubtful.—Ed.]

⁶ *A History of The Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 231.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

⁸ *Journal of the Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 27-32.

⁹ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

the present plates but the Drākshārāma inscription gives her name as Kotyapāmbā. The reading of her name as Kollapāmbā (line 77) in the present charter seems to be rather doubtful, for the second letter in the name is indistinct on the plate. It is probable, therefore, that her name as written there is Kōṭṭiyapāmbā. There is a marked divergence in the genealogical portion between the account of the Pithāpuram inscription and the information given in the present plates. According to the Pithāpuram inscription,² the founder of the family was No. (1) Malla I, his son was No. (2) Eṭiyavarman and his son was No. (3) Kuṭiyavarman. The son of No. (3) was No. (4) Malla II surnamed Piduvarāditya and the latter's son was No. (5) Kuṭiyavarman or Kuṭiyavarman II, who was a vassal of the emperor, Vimalāditya (1011-1019 A.C.).³ The Pithāpuram inscription thus omits three or four generations, and mentions all the princes from No. 1 to No. 7 Nannirāja in the relationship of father to son. Its information is thus rendered comparatively less probable and not so trustworthy. Its evidence may, therefore, be rejected in preference to the information furnished by the present inscription which agrees in full with the accounts given in the Drākshārāma record that belongs to a period much earlier than the Pithāpuram inscription. Malla III, who was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhīma II is altogether omitted in the Pithāpuram inscription. The Drākshārāma inscription is contemporaneous with the present record.

To return to Malla III of the present record. He married Kotyamāmbā (Kotyapāmbā) and had two sons by her, Eṭṭiya II who is described as *yēshītha* 'the elder' and *varāśakūṭā*, 'the progenitor of the family', and Kōrupa. Eṭṭiya II married Kattāmbā and had six sons by her, Malla IV, Kuṭiya, Gaṇḍa, Paṇḍa I, Nanna and Kāpana, every one of whom resembled Shapmukha, the six-faced war-god. Kuṭiya, it is said, was a vassal of the emperor Vimalāditya, and received from him the rulership of the province, *Gudravāra-nishaya*. This prince is evidently the same as No. 5 Kuṭiyavarman II or Kuṭiyavarman, of the Pithāpuram inscription in which he is stated to have rendered assistance for a long time on battlefields to Vimalāditya who then having been pleased bestowed on him the territory, *Gudravāra-dvaya*, 'the two provinces of Gudravāra' (vv. 16-18). The two Gudravāras may be identified with the Gudravāra⁴ corresponding to the *Gudivāra taluk* and with the Pallapa-Gudravāra⁵, 'low lying Gudravāra', corresponding to the *Kaikalūru taluk*, of the Krishna District. Nanna, the younger brother of Kuṭiyavarman, is described as a great hero and as a prince of praiseworthy character. It is said that he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Vishnuevardhana, i.e., Rājārāja-Narēndra or Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.). Nanna's son was Paṇḍa I whose wife Guṇḍāmbikā resembled Kuntī of epic fame. While in the present record Paṇḍa I and Guṇḍāmbikā are stated to have had five sons, Vedura, Gaṇḍa II, Goṅka I, Malla V and Paṇḍa II who were like the five Pāṇḍavas, the Pithāpuram inscription, on the other hand, makes these five princes the children of Nanna. There is another discrepancy between the Pithāpuram inscription and the present record. Kuṭiyavarman II, it is stated in the former (v. 25), had a son named Eṭṭiya to whom he transferred his kingdom after having ruled the earth for a long time; and the latter, however, does not mention any son of Kuṭiya, vassal of Vimalāditya. It is, therefore, probable that Kuṭiyavarman II or Kuṭiya was succeeded by his younger brother Nannarāja in the rulership of his vassal kingdom. The Drākshārāma record, too, does not mention that Kuṭiyavarman II transferred his kingdom to his son Eṭṭiya, a fact mentioned only in the Pithāpuram inscription. Nanna, the Pithāpuram inscription states, had destroyed a crowd of

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 33.

³ All the records of the family beginning with the reign of Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.) state that Vimalāditya reigned for only seven years. The date of his coronation is known to us from his Rajastipāṇḍi grant (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 341-361). Hence it is assumed that his seven year's rule came to an end in 1019 A.C.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, pp. 125-39, 377, Vol. V, No. 211.

⁵ C. P. No. 5 of 1937-38: Kalidūḍi grant of Rājārāja-Narēndra. See above, p. 69 text-line 75.

enemies, and ruled a kingdom which he acquired by the strength of his arm. There is no agreement, however, between the Drākshārāma inscription and the present record with regard to the order of the five sons of Parāja I. The former record mentions Mallā V as the second and Gaṇḍa II as the fourth son, while the latter makes their position vice versa. This small discrepancy may be ignored. Of the five sons of Parāja I, Goṅka I was the most distinguished and is also described as the *śrī-sakartā*. The Drākshārāma inscription calls him a great hero. He was a trusted vassal of the emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. The Pithāpuram inscription (v. 27) states of prince Goṅka I that he was the most distinguished of his brothers and that he ruled the Andhra-maṇḍala as a vassal of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I. The present record, too, corroborates that account by stating that Goṅka I having pleased that emperor by his services on the battlefields and by destroying hosts of his enemies, obtained as a reward from him, the rulership of the provinces known as *Ṣaṭśahasra-dēvāni*, 'the Six Thousand District' on the southern bank of the river Kṛishṇā (v. 46). Goṅka I was appointed *Samasta-sānādhipati* by Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I according to a stone inscription at Chābrōlu¹ in Guntur District, dated Friday, the 12th February, 1077 A.C.

Rājendra-Chōla I called merely Chōla in the present record, son of Velanāyṭi (Goṅkarāja I and Saḥsārābhikā, was the next illustrious prince of the family. Though the present plates do not mention much about him the Pithāpuram inscription on the other hand states that he was adopted as his own son by the Chājukya-Chōla emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, who furnished him with emblems befitting his own sons and made him the ruler of the kingdom of Vēṅḡmaṇḍala-sixteen-thousand (vv. 35-36). The reason for the Chōla king's adoption of a prince of the *Chaturthakula*, apparently a well grown up person, himself being a full-blooded *Lakshmiya* emperor, would seem to be imbedded in the history of that troublous period. Perhaps Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I had no grown up son at that juncture to take up the burden of ruling the disturbed kingdom of Vēṅḡ, apparently in succession to Vira-Chōla. This event would seem to have taken place in 1094 A.C., immediately before the expedition against Kālīṅga was undertaken. And it would appear that within a short time Rājendra-Chōla had brought the Kālīṅga war to a successful close. In the words of the Pithāpuram inscription prince Chōla "resembled the terrible Bhīma in uprooting crowds of hostile kings (v. 36)." While the *Kālīgattapparaṇi* makes the Pallava chief, Karuṇākara Tondaimān, the sole hero of the Kālīṅga war, the inscriptions of the Andhra country on the other hand reveal altogether a different story. There are reasons to believe that the supreme command of the imperial forces was assumed by Rājendra-Chōla himself. All the inscriptions of the Andhra country which refer to the war with Kālīṅga unmistakably bear testimony to this fact.² The stone inscription at Drākshārāma³ of the vassal chief Pallavarāja surnamed Tiruvaramba, gives a vivid account of the Kālīṅga war. It states that Pallavarāja who bore the secondary name Paṇḍavarāja had obtained prosperity by his devotion to the feet of king Rājendra-Chōla who rewarded him with the insignia of royalty and made him a vassal king. The inscription states that Pallavarāja⁴ who is also called Chōḷachandra, having reduced to ashes the whole of Kālīṅga, subdued the Gaṅḡa king in battle, and having destroyed Dēvāndrayarman and others together with their vast armies

¹ *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 109. There seems to be a slight error in the date. There was no eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Māgha, Śaka 988, when Goṅka I is stated to have made a grant to the temple of Mālakshadēvā at Chābrōlu. If, however, we assume that Phālguna was intended and that the scribe by mistake engraved Māgha for Phālguna, the date would be regular.

² *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 602 (vs. 8-9), Vol. X, No. 107, Vol. IV, No. 1153, Vol. X, No. 51.

³ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1230. This has been published with notes and translation. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 128 ff. In my opinion Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has not properly interpreted the inscription. He has made many doubtful identifications.

⁴ Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer thinks that this Pallavarāja was the same as the hero of Jayamgondar's *Kūṭigut-tapani*. The identification is improper. There might have been several Pallavarājas in the Chōla army. Moreover Jayamgondar's hero does not bear any of the names, Tiruvaramba, Paṇḍavarāja or Chōḷachandra.

from Kōsala, planted a pillar of victory (*jayastambha*¹) at the meeting place of the boundaries of Ojra and Andhra countries in order to proclaim the glory and fame of his overlord, Rājendra-Chōḍa. Dēvēndravarmān may be identified with Dēvēndravarmān the usurper who, taking advantage of the infancy of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga on the death of Rājārāja-Dēvēndravarmān in 1077 A.C., occupied Kālīṅga; he was the donor of the Kaṭhakiya plates, dated Śaka 1003 expired,² and he was the same as king Dēvēndravarmān mentioned in the Gāra stone record.³

It is not known when Rājendra-Chōḍa I died; he was certainly living on the date of the Drākṣhārāma inscription of Pallavarāja, wherein he is referred to as living at that time. His death may have occurred, therefore, about 1104 A.C. Rājendra-Chōḍa ruled over Vēṅḡgamāḍala from about 1091 to 1104 A.C. He was a devotee of Mokunda or Viṣṇu according to the present record (v. 49) and the Pithāpuram inscription (v. 36), unlike his natural father Goṅka I and his adoptive parent, the emperor, who were both *parama-mūlārtas*, i.e., staunch worshippers of Śiva. Rājendra-Chōḍa I married Guḍāntakā and had two sons by her, Goṅkarāja II, who resembled Guha or Kuṇḍaravāmin, and Paṇḍa IV.⁴ On the death of Velanāṭṭi Rājendra Chōḍa I the emperor was once more confronted with the problem of finding a successor to administer Vēṅḡ. Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḍa I did not, however, nominate Goṅkarāja II but appointed another trusted and powerful vassal, Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa,⁵ the Hāṁṣya ruler of Kōṇamāḍala, the territory that lay between the two branches of the lower Gōdāvarī, the Vāṁṣhī and the Gautami.

The next important member of the family, perhaps the most illustrious of all, mentioned in the present plates is Velanāṭṭi Goṅka II, or Goṅkarāja II, Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅkarāja or Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Śāṅḡya-Goṅkarāja as he is also called in some inscriptions. He appears as the foremost soldier and powerful vassal in the kingdom during the viceroyalty of prince Parāntaka. A stone record from Triparāntakam⁶ dated Śaka 1028 in the cyclic year Sarvajit, of Mahāmasādātāvara Velanāṭṭi Goṅka II, registers the gift of the village of Cēṭṭapāṇḍu in Kaṁmanāḍa on the banks of the river Guḍḍera, to the god Triparāntakā-īvara-Śiva, on the occasion of the full-moon day of Kārtika. The record is interesting: it gives Goṅka II the title *Chālukyaśāṅḡya-bhavarāma-mūlārtambha*, "the chief pillar supporting the edifice which is the kingdom of the Chālukyas", and the epithet, *Samādhigata-pāñcha-mūlārtabha*, "one who has attained (the status of having) the five great sounds", and speaks of him as the ruler of the *Tribhūṭ-ottara-śat-sahasra-dvāni-vishaya*, i.e., "the six-thousand and three hundred country". The date is irregular; the cyclic year Sarvajit did not coincide with the Śaka 1028 expired, but with the following year 1029 expired, corresponding to 1107-48 A.C. Be that as it may, from this date roughly till the day of his death half a century later, Goṅkarāja II remained the most important person in the kingdom. He was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom which extended from the Mahāndragiri on the north to Kālābasti on the south, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Chōḍa-Chālukya emperor. The kingdom of Vēṅḡ which almost slipped out of the hands of the Chālukya-Chōḍas after the death of Kuḷōttuṅga-Chōḍa I would appear to have been re-conquered by Velanāṭṭi Goṅkarāja II from the commanders of the Western Chālukya emperor Tribhuvana-malla Vikramāditya VI who had earlier occupied the country, after a protracted struggle, towards the close of the reign of Vikrama-Chōḍa.

¹ Perhaps it is the same as the one mentioned in *SII*, Vol. V, Nos. 1351 and 1352.

² *Bhārati*, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 115 ff., where Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma edits the record, C.P. No. 9 of 1927-28. The chronogram recorded in the inscription has to be interpreted as yielding the Śaka 1003 and not 1103 as Mr. Sarma believes.

³ No. 391 of 1932-33; *ARSI*, 1932-3, p. 56, para. 9. See also *ARSI*, 1936 p. 64.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 text lines 3 and 16, and the present plates.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 83, text line 44.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 63.

It would appear that during the last years of Kulōttunga-Chōla I almost every one of the vassals of Vēngi became hostile to the Chōla-Chālukyas, opposed the policy of the emperor and only eagerly waited for a favourable opportunity to overthrow the Chōla-Chālukya suzerainty. On the other hand, the Durjaya and other clans of the *Chaturtha-kula* holding fiefdoms and military holdings in the region lying to the south of the Krishna river would appear to have remained loyal to the imperial throne of the Chālukya-Chōlas and proudly called themselves, *Chālukya-rājya-dharmamūla-stambhāyanāndu*,¹ *Vēngi-Chālukya-anakāra*,² "the champion warriors of the Chālukyas (of Vēngi)," and lastly *Chālukya-rājya-samadhāruṇa*,³ "the upholders of the sovereignty of the Chālukyas." Those who proved refractory and sought opportunity to put an end to the Chālukya-Chōla domination, were the Telugu (Tenuḡu) Chōla clans of the Southern Andhra country, the Hathaya feudatories and other Kshatriya vassals including the descendants of the junior branches of the Imperial Chālukyas who held principalities all over the country.

Shortly before the death of the aged emperor Kulōttunga-Chōla I, it would appear, Parāntaka, his surviving eldest son, returned to the Chōla country. The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva⁴ states that when Vikrama-Chōla, whose other name was Tyāgasamedra, had gone to protect the Chōla-maṇḍala, the country of Vēngi became devoid of a ruler. At that juncture, the kingdom of Vēngi, it would appear, was divided against itself. The Chālukya emperor, Tribhuvanamalla, who was evidently watching the turn of events in Vēngi despatched armies to invade and occupy the country. There are reasons to believe that some of the powerful Kshatriya vassals in Vēngi openly joined the invading armies, now led by *Mahāśaṇṭādhīpati Mahāprachanda-dupṣanāyaka Anantapāla*,⁵ and welcomed them. Foremost among the rebels who welcomed the invaders was probably *Mahāmaṇḍaliśa Kolann-Bhīma* or *Bhīmanāyaka*, the Hathaya ruler of the *Kolann viśaya*, or *Saguna viśaya* which was the other name for the region round the Kollāru lake. He and his confederates particularly the Hathayas of *Palnāḍi* and *Kōṇa-maṇḍala* acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas and quoted the Chālukya-Vikrama year in their records. But Velanānti Gaṅkaraśa II, as the commander-in-chief (*samasta-sāsthīpati*) of the king of Vēngi, soon assumed the authority of the ruler of Vēngi and stoutly opposed the invading armies. The Western Chālukya invasion resulted in the temporary occupation of the kingdom, from about 1117 to 1135 A.C., roughly for a period of two decades.⁶

During the period of confusion and anarchy an Eastern Chālukya prince, Viśhṇuvadhāna, probably lord of *Niravadyapatta* (modern Nijalavolu), or *Rājamahēndravaram*, crowned himself king of Vēngi and assumed imperial titles.⁷ His coronation would seem to have taken place about Saka 1046 corresponding to 1124 or 1125 A.C.⁸ It would appear that he was soon brought to subjection and pardoned.⁹ Yet another prince, Vijayāditya, lord of Pithāpuram and a descen-

¹ *SI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 985, 79018; 946, 1127, 1128 and 1128.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 717, 762.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV Nos. 1167, 1177 and 1242.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. verso 24, text lines 60-62.

⁵ *SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 103 and 106.

⁶ *SI*, Vol. III, Part II, No. 79, text line 8; *JBE*, No. 40 of 1909, *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 32, verso 45.

⁷ There are numerous records on stone dated in the C.V. era scattered all over the Eastern Andhra country which prove the Western Chālukya occupation of Vēngi. Notable among them are those found at *Tripurāntakam* (*SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 213), *Kuṣṭūra* (*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 193 and 196), *Garikala* (*Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 27) and *Drākṣharima* (*Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1255 (1126 A.C.), 1268 and 1310 (1121 A.C.), Nos. 1216, 1256, 1311 (1122 A.C.), No. 1357 (1123 A.C.) No. 1255 (1124 A.C.) No. 1264 (1125 A.C.), and 1229 (1126 A.C.) and again, *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1156, 1156, 1082 and 1090 dated in the years C.V. era, corresponding to 1123-24 and 1125 A.C., and lastly at *Chālukya-Bhīmavaram* (*SI*, Vol. V, No. 68).

⁸ *Annual Report on S.I. Epigraphy*, 1912, para. 66, page 79.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ The (Rajamahendray) stone inscription in question is dated the 21st year of his rule, Saka 1067.

dant of Kanthukā-Bēta crowned himself king of Vāṅgi and assumed the Imperial Chālukya title Sarvaśōkārāja-Śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja.¹ His coronation took place on the 14th February 1128.² He was the son of Maṭṭapadōva II, and his mother Chandallādōvi was the daughter of Kolana Brāhmarāja³ and probably, therefore, a sister of Mahāmāṇḍalika Kolana-Bhīmarāja, the lord of Sagara *vishaya*, whom the Tamil inscriptions call Teluṅga-Bhīman.⁴ It would appear that Vijayāditya was defeated and reduced to submission after a short time, but restored to his principality by Velanāṅgi Goṅkarāja II.

It would appear that at this period the operations against Mahāmāṇḍalika Kolana-Bhīma or Kolanāṅgi Bhīma⁵ as the present record calls him (v. 55: lines 111-14.), who was the most formidable opponent of the Chōḷa-Chāḷukyas, were directed by prince Rājendra-Chōḷa, afterwards Rājendra-Chōḷa II, son and successor of Goṅkarāja II. Unable to oppose Rājendra-Chōḷa in the open field, Kolana-Bhīma would seem to have taken up his position inside the famous *jala-durga* 'fortress in the water', of Kolanapura or Kollēra-kōṭa as it is called even to-day, in the middle of the lake, Kollēra.⁶ Rājendra-Chōḷa II invested the impregnable fortress, captured Kolana-Bhīma alive and put him to death instantaneously together with all his sons and other near relations (vv. 55-56). The Pichāpattin inscription of Pūṭhuvāra⁷ gives a graphic description of the storming of Kolanapura. It is stated that Rājendra-Chōḷa II dried up the water of the lake Kollēra and presumably, by constructing a causeway across the water, reached the impregnable fortress, captured Bhīma and killed him just as Rāvaṇa killed Rāma who terrified the world. The present record speaks of Kolana-Bhīma as haughty and cruel, full of pride, as a thorn to the gods and Brāhmanas, a man of massive strength, of great prowess and force frame of body and as resembling Rāvaṇa. The slaying of Kolana-Bhīma would seem to have taken place about the beginning of Śaka 1053 corresponding to about April, 1131 A. C., which was the thirteenth year of Vikrama-Chōḷa's reign.⁸ This event paved the way for the final victory of Goṅkarāja II. It enabled the Velanāṅgi chief to crush the enemies of Vikrama-Chōḷa completely, put an end to the Western Chāḷukya occupation and restore the sovereignty of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas in Vāṅgi (c. 1135 A.C.)

Mahāmāṇḍalika Velanāṅgi Goṅkarāja was a great soldier, perhaps the greatest military genius of his day. He is said to have defeated and slain a certain Siddhi-Bēta and acquired the title *Siddhi-Bēta-Chirpuli-kuriṇa-mṛṇḍendragṇa*, "a lion to the deer Siddhi-Bēta of Chirpuli."⁹ Siddhi-Bēta would appear to be a Telugu Chōḷa prince of Chirpuli in Rēnāṇa and a subordinate of Tribuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. Chirpuli (now called Uppili) is an obscure village in Chittoor

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff., verses 33-36.

² Ibid., verses 32-34. The date is expressed as *nidhi-jaladhi-vigraha-chandrayā*. Dr. Hultzsch shows his preference for 7 to 8 instead of as the intended meaning of the numeral *jalandhi*, on the ground that 'if he (Vijayāditya) had been crowned in 1049 his reign would have lasted for the unusually long period of 75 years. Dr. Hultzsch's view need not be taken as conclusive. For the word *jalandhi* is more often used to denote number 4 in preference to 7. Moreover two inscriptions found at Deḷḷichūrma (*SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1261 and 1261) dated the 2nd and 6th regnal years respectively of his son Rājendrarāja-Vishṇuvardhana, show that Vijayāditya ruled for about 50 years and that his death took place in or about 1178 A.C. Vijayāditya was perhaps 20 or 25 years old at the time of his coronation in 1128 A.C.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff., verse 32.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68 and *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 79.

⁵ *Kolanāṅgi* is a Telugu expression meaning *Kolanāditya*, 'of the *nidhi* (subdivision) of Kolana. To meet the exigencies of metre the poet distorted the word into *Kolanāṅgi* dropping the intermediate syllable.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 1, v. 28. Here the poet distorted the word *Kolana* into *Kanada*.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 32, v. 45.

⁸ *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68.

⁹ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 676; *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 52.

District, lying within a distance of two miles from Madanapalli. In the numerous inscriptions found at Nijubhōla, Drākshārāma and other places, Velanāyti Goṅkarāja II is stated to have vanquished the lords of Marāṣa, Lāṣa, Karnāṣa, Kuntala, Andhra, Kāṣaka and Trikālīṅga, and acquired the rulership of the Andhra country with the insignia of a paramount sovereign (*vāmrājya-chāhnaṣi*) and enjoyed it.¹ A Drākshārāma inscription² states that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa II raised Goṅkarāja II, who was till then the commander-in-chief and ruler of the *Tri-śat-ottara-śat-saharāṣṭhi-vishaya* on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river, to the rulership of the Andhra country which was bounded by the Mahēndragiri on the north-east and Śrīṣaila on the south-west, with the insignia of a subordinate king. The former statement is also borne out by the Telugu poem, *Kōyūrabāhu-charitraṃ* of Mañchana.³

Goṅkarāja II married several wives but the chief queen was Sabbāmbikā. To them was born Rājendra-Chōḍa who is described as resembling Kumārasvāmin, the leader of the armies of gods.

It would appear that the latter part of the reign of Goṅkarāja II was peaceful and prosperous, i.e., from 1133 to 1161 A.C. Goṅkarāja was a great builder: he founded temples, established *sat-tālāyas* 'charitable feeding houses'; he encouraged learning and granted innumerable *agrashālas* to the learned and the twice-born, i.e., *Brāhmanas*. He placed pinnacles over temples all over the land.⁴ He set up a massive golden pinnacle for the *gopura* of the temple of Bhīmanātha at Drākshārāma which he had built in 1133 A.C., evidently after he became the king of Vēṅgi.⁵ Goṅkarāja II made a rich offering to god Bhīmanātha for a perpetual light of camphor and for five perpetual lights of ghee; for that purpose and for the purpose of *kshirābhishēchana*, or ceremonial bath to the god with milk, every day, he gave away 500 cows to the temple.⁶ Roughly ten years later, in Śaka 1094, corresponding to 1142-43 A.C., he made a pilgrimage to the great shrine at Drākshārāma, accompanied by his wives, younger brother Paṇḍarāja, his son, prince Rājendra-Chōḍa II and other members of the royal family. On that memorable occasion, every one of the royal household placed four perpetual lights in the temple.⁷ And roughly six years later, Goṅkarāja II visited the temple of Bhīmanātha again and made a grant of 25 gold coins to be paid annually from out of the royal treasury to the temple for the celebration of the annual festival *daman-ōtsava* for three consecutive days ending with the full-moon day of Chaitra.⁸ On that occasion, probably he built a *gōlaka* (a globular roof studded with various kinds of gems in the inner shrine of the temple), a *kāśh(h)agāra*, 'store house', and a beautiful *maṇḍapa* 'assembly hall' for the god Bhīmanātha. Further, for burning 25 perpetual lights more, with ghee, Goṅkarāja presented as many as 1000 she-buffaloes to the temple. The occasion for these priceless gifts was the Karkāṣaka-*saṃkrānti*, which occurred on the 25th June 1158 in the sixteenth or the closing year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga II. Goṅkarāja II also placed pinnacles of gold on the temples of Puruṣhōttama at Purī in Orissa and Śrī Mallikārjuna-Mahā-dēva at Śrīṣailam on the south-west, which shone like *jayastambhas* proclaiming his victories. On yet another occasion, Goṅkarāja II gave away unlimited number of golden utensils for daily use in the worship of the god Bhīmanātha, and covered the roof of the temple *cināḍa* with a plate of gold.⁹

¹ *SI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1113, No. 1164 (Drākshārāma); *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 123 (Nijubhōla).

² *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1162, text line 12 (verse 28).

³ *Sarvasaṃ-grantha-mālā*: Kākināḍa, (1902), canto I, (verse 18).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶ *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1138.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 1137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1140.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1164.

The successor of Goṅkarāja II in the rulership of the Andhra country was his son prince Rājendra-Chōḍa II, the donor of the present plates. In the records of the family as well as in the present inscription (lines 102 ff.) it is stated that emperor Rājārāja II was pleased to appoint him ruler of the Andhra country which is said to have extended at this time from Mahēndragiri on the north to Kālahaṣṭi on the south. It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa's accession took place towards the end of Śaka 1082 or the beginning of 1161 A.C. For, the last known date on which Goṅkarāja II is said to be alive was the *Uttarāṣṭra-sukratīti*, Śaka 1082, corresponding to the 25th December, 1160 A.C., according to a stone record of his minister at Bāpatla, Guntur District.¹ It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom from about Śaka 1058 corresponding to 1136-37 A.C.² The subordinates and other vassals of the Chālukya-Chōḍas in the Andhra country would seem to have recognised Rājendra-Chōḍa as their future sovereign even during the rule of Goṅkarāja II and frequently made grants to the temples in the country for his merit as well as for the merit of his father. A stone record from Pamiḍipāḍu-agrahlāra, Narsaraopeta taluk, Guntur District, dated *Jyēṣṭha*, *sa. 5*, Śaka 1077 expired, corresponding to 8th May, 1155 A.C., records the grant of a piece of land for the temple of Chennakēśava at the village for the merit of the kings Goṅkarāja II and his son Rājendra-Chōḍa, and incidentally states that the latter granted the tolls of the village Pamiḍipāḍu (Pamiḍipāḍu) and the tax on marriages for the benefit of the temple.³

Though the reign of Rājendra-Chōḍa II appears to have commenced in peace, within a short time it soon became troubled and engulfed in intestine wars among his feudatories and wanton incursions by hostile neighbours. About the beginning of Śaka 1085, i.e., about March 1163 A.C., it would appear, a civil war broke out in Kōṇa-maṇḍala, between the two rival branches of the ruling family, which soon threatened to assume large proportions. Kōṇa-maṇḍala is the ancient name for the region of the lower branches of the Gōḍāvarī, comprising the *taluk*s of Amalapuram and Razole, in the East Godavari District. At the time of the civil war, Kōṇa-maṇḍala was ruled by a powerful clan of Haihayas of the *Ātrēya-gotra*.⁴ After the death of Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa I which would seem to have occurred shortly after 1137 A.C., his elder brother Kōṇa Mummaḍi-Bhīma II and his younger step-brother Kōṇa Satyārāja I, according to the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallidēva and Maṇṇa-Satya II,⁵ divided the principality among themselves but ruled it conjointly in peace for a long time. Mummaḍi-Bhīma II was succeeded by his son Lōka-Bhūpa, who died apparently without leaving an heir to succeed him. Lōka-Bhūpa's death would seem to have taken place just about the same time as the accession of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. There are reasons to believe that Bhīma (III) the younger son of Kōṇa Satyārāja I occupied the whole of Kōṇa-maṇḍala to the exclusion of his cousins Bhaṭṭa and Mallidēva, sons of Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa I,⁶ who would seem to have succeeded to or claimed the principality held by Lōka-Bhūpa. This led to a civil war which necessitated the intervention of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. A large army was despatched under the command of the *Brāhmaṇa* general Dēvana-preggaḍa of Amṛtalūru, early in Śaka 1085 corresponding to 1163 A.C., with instructions to put down the insurrection and

¹ *SIH*, Vol. VI, No. 181. The earliest known date for Goṅka II is Śaka 1029 according to a record at Tri-perintakam. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 63.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 169. See also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C., and *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 109 (Śaka 1063 or 1141-42 A.C.), No. 112 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C.), No. 118 (Śaka 1068 or 1146-47 A.C.) and No. 135 (Śaka 1077 or 1155-56 A.C.)

³ *ASIE*, 1916, para 49, page 124.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 82 ff. The inscription contains a detailed account of the Haihaya chiefs of Kōṇa-maṇḍala.

⁵ *SIH*, Vol. IV, No. 1145 dated Śaka 1059 (1137 A.C.) seems to be the last known date of the prince.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 83, verse 18 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 85 (for the pedigree).

restore peace.¹ The military operations in Kōna-maṇḍala lasted about two years. The fragmentary record at Drākshārāma² dated Śaka 1087, i.e., 1165-66 A. C., reveals that, "having been commanded by his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra-Chōda II, general Dēvana-praggaḍa burnt down the disdainful country (Kōna-maṇḍala) of the enemy with the flames of the fire that was his valour". It would appear that he defeated and killed Bhīma (III) and once more restored peace in the region by settling the country between the lawful claimants. The poem *Kēyurabāhucharithram* which has been already referred to and a number of inscriptions reveal the fact that an army of the Sāmantas of the Kārṇāṭa king, apparently taking advantage of the political unrest in Kuntala and the rise of Kāḷaki Prōḍa II, in the western Andhra Country, made incursions into the kingdom of Vēṅgi, and that the invaders were completely defeated and forced to retire in a sanguinary battle that was fought at a place called Krottacheruvulakōṭa, Cheruvulakōṭa or simply Kochcherlakōṭa, a village in Vinukonda taluk, Guntur District. These events may be placed about 1164-65 A. C. The king of Kārṇāṭa was doubtless Kalachuri Bijjala who usurped the Western Chālūkyā sovereignty overthrowing his overlord, Nārmaṇi Taliapa III (1142-1161 A. C.). Stone inscriptions refer to Chandraśāya, a feudatory of the king of Kārṇāṭa who was slain in the battle of Krottacheruvulakōṭa, who may be identified as the Sinda chief of Yellurga, who was the husband of Siriyādāvi, a daughter of Bijjala.³

The Telugu poem, *Kēyurabāhucharithram* gives a vivid account of the reigns of Goṅkarāja II and his illustrious son Kulōttuṅga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōda II, and of the greatness of their successive ministers Nandūri Gōvinda and his son Nandūri Kōmmana, and the prosperity of the Andhra country. According to a stone record at Bāpatla, and the present plates (v. 56) the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōda II extended from Nagaram, i.e., Kaliṅganagara on the north to Kālakasti on the south and to Śrīlailam on the west and was bounded by the sea on the east.⁴ It appears that the province of Kaliṅga was governed by the *Brāhmaṇa* general, Meṇḍana-praggaḍa under the orders of the king, Rājendra-Chōda II. The general is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōda in Kaliṅga.⁵ It would appear that on the death of Anantavarman *śma* Chōḍa-gaḍga, c. 1142 A. C., the kingdom or at any rate the southern portion of Kaliṅga extending as far as the Mahāndrajūṭi was annexed to Vēṅgi. It is stated in the poem that the king's treasury always contained nine stores of gold (*coins*), that ninety-nine elephants which looked like huge black clouds roamed about the city of Chandavōḷi, that a cavalry force of forty-thousand was always ready for service on the field and that seventy-five candies of rice⁶ were cooked every day for the army and king's household. Such was the prosperity of Rājendra-Chōda II. The poem gives an account of the king's chief *Brāhmaṇa* minister Kōmmana-mantṛin of the *Kauṭika gātra*, who was a great soldier. Kōmmana was a worshipper of Viṣṇu: he built thirty-two temples of Viṣṇu, at the beautiful towns of Śrīkūṛman, Guruhūṭi, Krottacharā, Triparāntalam, Kotyadana, Roggāram, Yalamāṇchili and other places. Every day he fed a thousand *Brāhmaṇa* guests with *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk and sugar) at his house, throughout his life, with a religious zeal and devotion. He governed in addition to his office, the province of Pāṇa-nāḍa twenty-one-thousand. On the battlefield at Krottacherlakōṭa, it is said, he displayed marvellous strength and heroism.

¹ *SHI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1086 and 1082.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1083.

³ *Kēyurabāhucharithram*, Introduction, verses 22-23. *SHI*, Vol. X, No. 151, textlines 31-41. *Ibid.*, No. 171: *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1053.

⁴ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 259; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kamareṣu Districts*, p. 477.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. VI, Nos. 181.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1200. The inscription is dated Śaka 1097 (1175-76 A. C.).

⁷ One candy or *baras* is equal to 500 lbs. in weight but as a measure of capacity, roughly 14,000 cubic inches.

Like his illustrious father Goṅkarāja II, Kulottunga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva. He made liberal grants to temples of Śiva all over his vast kingdom. He made even richer gifts than his father to the god Būmanāthēśvara at Drākshārāma. He presented golden utensils for the daily worship of the god in commemoration of his victories over his enemies.¹ He gave away on one occasion a *prabhā* (aureole) made of solid gold to god Bhīmanātha and covered the huge *līṅga* with a splendid armour of massive gold. On another occasion he presented a *makara-tōraṇa* of gold, studded with priceless gems.² He built a temple for Śiva under the name of Rūmāśvara-Mahādēva at Siripuram in Śaka 1093, i.e., 1171 A. C., and granted the village of Siripuram together with its twelve hamlets and some more land as *dēvabhōga* for the worship of the deity.³ On the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, a small stream flowing by the side of Appikaṭṭa, a village in Tenali *taluk*, Guntur District, he built another temple for Śiva under the name Viāvēśvara-Mahādēva and made large grants of land in Appikaṭṭa, Maṭṭipūṇḍi and other villages in the sub-division known as Ōṅgērumārga, for the worship of the god.⁴

Rājendra-Chōḍa II would seem to have reigned till a very ripe old age and died about the beginning of 1182 A. C. The last known inscription which mentions the king as still living on that date but indicating his impending death is a record of his *Brāhmaṇa* officer Mādhyama-mantrin of the Śrīvāṭsa *gōtra* at Drākshārāma.⁵ It is slightly damaged; it registers the gift of a perpetual light to god Bhīmanātha on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the fullmoon day of Pushya in Śaka 1093, which corresponds to Monday, the 22nd December, 1181 A. C., when there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Rājendra-Chōḍa's death may, therefore, be placed sometime in January or February, 1182 A. C.

Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also called Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ According to the family records found at Drākshārāma and Palacole (Pālakolanu) Rājendra-Chōḍa had at least four queens, Gaṇḍāmbikā, Kuppamā, Paṇḍamā (daughter of the chief of Kōṇa-Kaṇḍavāḍi) and Akkamahādēvī or Aṅkamahādēvī; the first would appear to have been the consort during the early part of Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa's life.⁷ Akkamahādēvī was the daughter of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Manina-Maṇḍa or Maṇḍarāja II⁸ who took a heroic part⁹ in the war against Kālīṅga as a follower of Velanāṭṭi Rājendra-Chōḍa I, and the younger sister of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddharāja III.¹⁰ To King Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa and Akkambikā was born Goṅkarāja III. His son was Prithvīēśvara of the Pūṭhāpuram inscription.

TEXT¹¹Second Plate : First Side¹²

1 विजयतिस्त्रिपुरास्तुल्यः सद्गोविन्दीयमवाहुसंगान्वरादि-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 37, versus 47-48.² Ibid.³ No. 49 of 1903, (same as *SHI*, Vol. X, No. 177).⁴ *SHI*, Vol. VI Nos. 124 and 125. Ōṅgērumārga appears to be the ancient name for the region lying between Tenali, Guntur and Bapatla *taluk*s extending towards south as far as Ongole, Guntur District.⁵ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 1266, *Ind.*, No. 1037. The last digit in the date of the record is lost but may be read as 3. The details of the date then would yield the equivalent, viz., 22nd December, 1181 A. C.⁶ No. 181 of 1897.⁷ *SHI*, Vol. V, No. 161, Vol. IV, No. 1137.⁸ Above, Vol. VI, p. 268 (274).⁹ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 662, *Ev.*, 7-8.¹⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 274.¹¹ From the ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirnanda Sastri.¹² The first plate of this set is lost.¹³ Meter : *Śpeṇḍak*. The first pāda is lost on the first plate.

- 2 तो यो वसुमभ्युपैति । [॥१॥*] ¹ततो विवित्रवीर्योभूतस्मात्पादुर-
 3 जायत । येनेयं पृथिवी सर्वा पालिता धर्म्मतः पुरा [॥२॥*] पृथिष्ठि-
 4 रादयः पंच पांडवा² खंडलोपमाः [॥३॥*] अभूवन्विनयोपेताः
 5 खंडितारातिमंडलाः [॥४॥*] तेषु वंशस्य कर्तासीदज्जुनस्सज्जनप्रियः ।
 6 सुमूर्तिः पुण्यचारिजः कीर्तिव्याप्तजगत्त्रयः [॥५॥*] ³तुष्टो य-
 7 स्य पराक्रमेण भगवान्युद्धे पुराणा रिपुस्त्रैलोक्यैकगुरु-
 8 र्गुरुस्समभवत् चालेदुच्छ्रुतामणिः [॥६॥*] सारव्यधरकारिरादिपुरुष-
 9 इत्तके च विष्णुः स्वयं । को वा तस्य धनंजयस्य विभुतां शक्तः ⁴प्रवक्तुनरः
 [॥७॥*] त-
 10 स्मादभिमन्युः [॥८॥*] अभिमन्योः परीक्षित् [॥९॥*] ततो जनमेजयः । अथ चतुर्द-
 11 धिपय्यंतवसुधराधुरधरेषु दिशाहस्तिमस्तकविन्यस्तजयस्तभे-
 12 षु एकोनषष्टिवसुधाधिपेषु तद्वश्येषु गतेषु तत्कुलजो विजिगीषु-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 13 विजयादित्यो नाम महीपतिश्चिनयनपल्लवेन युद्धा विधिनि-
 14 योगात्त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥ ⁵आनीतवतस्तदनु प्रधानां तद्वल्लभानि⁶
 15 [॥१॥*] रगर्वभाराम् [॥२॥*] तन्महिमुक्या मुहुर्वेमुनाम भूदेवजुष्ट
 16 वरमग्रहारम् [॥३॥*] तद्ग्राममुख्यः खलु विष्णुभट्टः पुष्टस्समृद्ध्या निज-
 17 विद्यया च [॥४॥*] ज्ञात्वा याधा(यथा)वृत्तमतिप्रयत्नात्सम्यग्रक्ष क्षितिपालपत्नीम् [॥५॥*]
 18 ⁷रक्षिता तेन विप्रेण कुमारं लक्षणान्वितम् [॥६॥*] सुषुवे वासवप्ररूपं
 19 द्यातं वंशकरं वरम् । [॥७॥*] जातकर्मादिकं सर्व्वनिर्म्ममे कर्म्मकर्मठः ।

¹ This and the two following verses are in *Anushtup* metre.

² Rule of sandhi is sacrificed here for the sake of the metre.

³ Metre : *Sardulavikridita*.

⁴ Read "प्रवक्तुं नरः".

⁵ Metre : *Upaniti*.

⁶ Read "तद्वल्लभो निर्वर्भर".

⁷ This verse and the next two are in *Anushtup* metre.

- 20 विप्रो नृपकुमारस्य कुमारसदृशवृत्तेः [॥६॥*] अथ जननीमुत्तारज्जतकस्य वृ-
 21 त्तानि विदित्वा तपःकृतनिश्चयस्त कुमारवत्तानुत्पथधरित्रीधरमारुरो-
 22 ह । तत्र देवशारायणं कुमारं दिवाकरम्(रं) भगवतीश्रद्धां गीरीं चारा-
 23 [ध्य*] वराहसिन्धुतपिच्छकुंतपंचमहाशब्द^१ इष्कामकरतीरणश्चेत-
 24 [च्छ*] त्रसितचामरपालिकैकशंखसिंहासनादीनि चक्रवर्तिचिह्नान्ववाप्य

Third Plate : First Side

- 25 विध्यसेतुमध्यं दक्षिणापधम्(धं) परिपालयामास । अथ पल्लववंश-
 26 सभवा या गुणरत्नाकरविष्णुवर्द्धनस्य महिषी । सुपूवे सुत^२ मु-
 27 नेषा विजयादित्यमद्राभगुभ्रकीर्तिम् । [॥१०॥*] ततः पुलकेशी तस्मात्को-
 तिवम्मा^३
 28 ततस्सत्याश्रयो विष्णुवर्द्धनश्च बभूवतु । सत्याश्रयः कुंतविमिश्रवैरि-
 29 मत्तेभकुंभो युधि कुंतलानाम् [१*] साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमधिगम्य सम्बक् प-
 30 र्ध्वीं शशास प्रधि(धि)तप्रतापः [॥११॥*] तयोखरजो वेंगीमंडलं चंडवि-
 31 क्रमः [१*] ररक्षाष्टादश समा विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [॥१२॥*] जयसिंहश्च-
 32 यस्त्रिंशदब्दान्सम्यक्तदात्मजः [१*] अनुजस्तस्य सप्तार्हमिदि(द्व)राजो विधेव्वंशा-
 33 त् [॥१३॥*] नववर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [१*] [तत्पुत्रो*] मंगियुवराट् प-
 चविश-
 34 ति वत्सरान् । [॥१४॥*] त्रयोदशाब्दान्तत्सूनुरपालयदितो बली [१*] सिंहविक्रमस-
 35 पन्नो जयसिंहो महाभुजः । [॥१५॥*] तत्कनोद्यान् क्षिति वीरो ररक्ष
 क्षत्रियाग्रणी-
 36 [१*] षण्मासान्कोविकलिः पृथ्वीमत्तमातंगविक्रमः । [॥१६॥*] ज्येष्ठोत्था(स्य)
 कोविकलेः पृथ्वीं विष्णु-

* Read "इष्का".

* Metre : Anupubchhandasika.

* Read सुनेवा.

* Metre : Uppajiti.

* This and the next six verses are in Anupubchhandasika metre.

* Read "ज्येष्ठोत्था".

37 वद्वेनभूति । षट्त्रिंशदब्दान्वुभुवे भुववीर्यान्वहाभुवः [॥१३॥^१] 'तत्पुत्रो
[वि^२]-

Third Plate : Second Side

38 जवादिद्विनामाष्टादशवत्सरान् [१^३] तत्तनयो [नरेंद्रो] नृपतिरष्टा चत्वारिं-
शद्वत्सरानि (णि)

39 समरशिरसि [वैरिनिकरं विजित्य] तावति गौरीपतेरायतनानि यच्चक्रे । [॥१८॥^३]
तत्सूनुरेतामयं विष्णुवर्द्ध-^४

40 नः षट्त्रिंशदब्दाभिजवंशवर्द्धनः [१^३] संग्रामरते रिपुभीतिवर्द्धनः क्षोणीमरश्चक्षितपि
[यशोधनः] । [॥१९॥^५] [त]-

41 पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोऽध्यर्द्धवर्षम् तत्तनयो^६पुण्यं कविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि
। तद्भ्रातुक-

42 नीयसी विक्रमादित्यनाम्नः पुत्रश्चालुक्यभीमास्त्रिंशदब्दान्
. संग्रामशिरसि रिपुगणं जित्वा-

43 नेकपुष्पस्थानेषु भगवतो महादेवस्यालयाभिर्ममे । तत्सूनु^७विक्रमादित्यो नाम
मास[षट्कमथ]

44 परिपाल्य विरजान्नामपुरी विजित्य त्रिदिवमगमत् [१^३] तदात्मजोऽम्मराजः प्रति-
संवत्सरं मुक्तापूरुषान्

45 कुर्वन्सतहायनमवनीमपालयत् [१^३] तदायादस्ताड्यो मासमेकम्मही [३^८] शास
[१^३] चालुक्यभी-

46 ममुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तु स्ता(ता)ड्यं जित्वा एकादशमासान् शिति ररक्ष [१^३]
ताड्यस्यात्मजो युद्धम-

47 ल्लस्तान्संवत्सरान् । अम्मराजानुजो राजभीमस्समरशिरसि युद्धमल्लं परितजित्य
द्वादश

48 नृमा वसुमती वशास [१^३] तस्यात्मजो दीर्घ^८भुजावभूतां दानाण्णवाम्मक्षितिपो
गुरुपो [१^३] पंचो-

^१ Metre : Anushtubh, only case pida.

^२ Metre : Indravajrah.

^३ Read 'भुमगांक' or 'भुमग'.

^४ Metre : Upajati.

^५ Read दीर्घ.

- 49 त्तरान्विंशतिमत्र सोब्धान् क्षोणी शशासाम्मनूपः कवीयान् । [112011] ¹द्वैमातुरीम्म-
राजस्य ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठो) दानाण्णवो नूपः [1^{*}] २-
- 50 रक्ष क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठस्त्रिशत्संवत्सरान् क्षितिम् । [२१11^{*}] ²तस्यान् दानाण्णवभूमिपस्य वैग्युर्वरेय
रहितेव भ-
- 51 र्ग्री [1^{*}] रिपूक्षमापालकुलाविलानीतदा समास्सप्त च विशतिद्व । [112२11^{*}] ततस्सुतो
दाननूपस्य पृथ्वी श्रीशक्तिवर्मा
- 52 श्रितराज्यलक्ष्मीः [1^{*}] संग्रामरंगे स विजित्य शत्रून्संवत्सरान् द्वादश सशशाम । [112३11^{*}] ³अनुजस्तस्य वर्षाणि सप्त सप्ता-
- 53 स्वसन्निभः । विमलादित्यभूपालोपालयत्सकलामिलाम् । [112४11^{*}] ⁴तस्मादासीद्वाज-
राजस्तनूजो राजीवाक्षो
- 54 निज्जितं तारातिराजः [1^{*}] कीर्तिं शुभ्रा दिक्षु सम्यक्प्रसाय्यं लक्ष्म्या युक्तः ⁵कांच[णः]
कल्पवृक्षः [112५11^{*}]

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 55 ⁶एकादशाधिकत्रिंशद्वर्षाणि ⁷सन्निपाशणीः [1^{*}] पालयामास बलवानिला-
- 56 मुदधिमेखलाम् [112६11^{*}] ⁸तस्मादासीदचिचिताड्डेदुवुड पादाक्रांतदेविभूपाल-
- 57 वूडः [1^{*}] नानारत्नश्रेणिनद्धात्मवूडः श्रीमान्वी[रः] श्रीकुलोत्तंगचोडः [112७11^{*}] ⁹हि-
- 58 मवत्सेनुपर्य्यतो पञ्चविंशद्व(ति व)त्सरान् [1^{*}] ¹⁰वमुधां वमुधानायः शशाम
- 59 रिपुशसतः [112८11^{*}] ¹¹तदात्मजो विक्रम¹²चोडदेवः पराक्रमे शक्तमस्समानी-
- 60 त्वा[¹³] विनम्रभूपालविलोलमौलिमणिप्रभामामितपादपीठः [112९11^{*}] ¹⁴स सप्त-
- 61 दश वर्षाणि दधे भारम् भुवः प्रभुः [1^{*}] उवाह बाहुवीर्य्येण निहृत्ताराति-
- 62 महलः [11३०11^{*}] ¹⁵तदनु शशिवदुर्चर्व्वत्समेतः कलावानुदयमगमदस्मा-
- 63 दस्तदोषांधकारः [1^{*}] अधिकमखिललोकघ्नन्दयन्वर्णनीयस्सहजनिजय-

¹ Metre : Anushtubh.

² This and the next verse are in Uṇyāṭi metre.

³ Metre : Anushtubh.

⁴ Metre : Sālini.

⁵ Read "कांचनः".

⁶ Read "सन्निपाशणीः".

⁷ One letter was written and erased before us.

⁸ Metre : Uṇyāṭi.

⁹ Metre : Sālini.

- 64 श्री¹ श्रीकुलोत्तुगचोडः [॥३१॥*] ²संतप्यं वसुधाराभिर्व्वं³[सु]धां वसुधाधिपः⁴[॥] स प-
 65 चदश वर्षाणि शशास ⁵शिवकिंकरः [॥३२॥*] ⁶तस्मादभूदबुधिमैत्रलाया वसुन्धरायाः
 66 पतिरप्रकोप्यः⁷[॥] श्रीराजराजो रजनीशवव्रस्संराजराजोवसमाननेत्रः [॥३३॥*]
 67 ⁸लक्ष्मीपति(ते)र्भूवतपावनपादपयाद्गंगाप्रवाह इव कीर्तिकरः [५*]वित्रः⁹[॥] धा-
 68 सीत्त्रिलोकजनकस्य चतुर्थवंशः (१) पादारविदयुगलात्कमला-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 69 सतस्य [॥३४॥*] ¹⁰वर्गैस्मिन्नजनीशानिम्मेलमणिस्स¹¹द्वयजुडामणिः....
 70 [स]पराक्रमो जितरिपुः श्रीमल्लभूपोभवत्¹²[॥] धेनेवं वेला¹³नाहुना]-
 71 मविषयस्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह [प्रा*]स्तस्त्र्यंबकपल्लवाद्रणशिरस्त(स्ता)-
 72 हास्यसंज्ञतोयितात् [॥३५॥*] गतेषु तद्वंशेष्वनेकेषु जितारिषु
 73 मंडलेशेषु पृथिवीमंडनेषु यशोद्विषु । ¹⁴नरेद्रानुचरः पुर-
 74 स्तद्वंशे मल्लयोभवत् । चंडासिनाशनिर्व्योताखंडि खडित-
 75 वैरिणा [॥३६॥*] तस्मात्पिडुवुरादित्यनामास्य¹⁵ गुणतोभवत् [॥*] एण्णियस्त-
 76 त्सुतो जजे ततोभून्मल्लियो नृपः [॥३७॥*] ¹⁶चात्तुक्कभीमानुचरेषु
 77 मुख्यो यः कोल्ल¹⁷पांवा* विधिनोपयमे [॥*] ताभ्यामभूतां वितयो[प]-
 78 [पन्नो] वीरो सुता[वे]स्सियकोरपौ तु [॥३८॥*] ¹⁸एण्णियोभूतयोज्येष्ठो वंश-
 79 कर्त्ता मुकीर्त्तनः [॥*] पत्नी प्रिया¹⁹ तस्य कट्टांवासीन्मनोहरा [॥३९॥*] ²⁰ताभ्यामभूवन् प-
 80 द्दुत्ताः पण्णुत्तप्रतिमा भुवि [॥*] मल्लियो कुडियो रंडः पन्नो मन्वद्व
 81 कापनः [॥४०॥*] ²¹कुडियाय ददौ तेषु विमलादित्यभूपतिः [॥*] मल्ल गु-

* Read 'श्रीः'

² Metre : Anashtupā.

³ These two letters शिव are written beneath the line.

⁴ Metre : Dīpajāti.

⁵ Metre : Vessāntījakā.

⁶ Metre : Sārdūloṣakīḍāta.

⁷ Read 'सुगुणतो'. Here the letter ण is written below the line after the letter गु.

⁸ This name may also be read as कोयपांवा.

⁹ This and the next four verses are in Anashtupā metre.

¹⁰ Two letters are wanting in this plate.

82 द्वारारक्ष्यक्षिति मंडलमंडनम् [114811*] नमोऽपि नृत्तचारित्र्यः

Fifth Plate ; First Side

- 83 मंडलः [1*] विष्णुवर्द्धन[भू]पालसेनापतिरभूद्वि [114211*] पंडयोः . . .
 84 [. . . पाषिप]स्तस्य गृडाविक्रमवत् [1*] दयिता ।¹ पांडुराजस्य कुंतोवात्यं-
 85 तसुदरा² । [114311*] तयोरथा(वा)सन्तमरेकत्रीडादश्वंडप्रतापा इव पांडु-
 86 पुत्रा[1*] पनेंद्रकला वेदुरश्च गंडो गोकश्च मल्लश्च तथैव पंडः [114411*]
 निज-

- 87 वंशकरस्त तेष् शूर क्षपितारातिकुलः कुलाणर्षवेदुरक-
 88 लंकमृगांकतुल्यकोतित्समभूद्गोकमहीपतिम्(र्मु)णांकः [114511*] पट्स-
 89 ह्वावतीशत्वं श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडतः[1*] येन संग्रामसा-
 90 हाय्यनुगुटालाप्राप्तं जितारिणा [114611*] तस्य गोकशितीशस्य मृगां-
 91 कवदना वरा [1*] सव्वात्रिकाभूद्वित्या सव्वलक्षणलक्षिता [114711*] पु-
 92 ष्णस्तयोरप्रतिमप्रतापः श्रीचोडभूपः कुलरत्नदीपः [1*] जातस्सतां
 93 रक्षणदशदक्षि(?)वाहुर्मृकुदाणितचित्तवृत्तिः [114811*] तस्य चंडप्रता-
 94 पस्य मंडलेशविश्रामणैः [1*] गृडाविक्रमभूद्वित्या³ चारित्र्यगुण-
 95 मयिता [114911*] अजनि गतकलंकशंकरश्रीपदाब्जद्वितयाभजन-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side

- 96 ⁴[भ्रित्य]स्तस्मृतो गोकभूतः [1*] [विभव]जितघनेशः पालिताशेषादेवः
 97 समरसमयाशौडो [दंडिता]रातिराज . . . [115011*]
 98 विमानशिखरेषु यः[1*]शातकुंभमयान्कुभान् जगत्यं(स्तं)भानि-

¹ *Dogda unnecessary.*

² Read ° सुंदरी °.

³ Metre : *Uṣṣṭi*.

⁴ Metre : *Ṣaṣṭiśākhāṇḍa*.

⁵ This and the next verse are in *Ṣaṣṭiśākhā* metre.

⁶ Metre : *Ṣaṣṭiśākhā*.

⁷ Metre : *Ṣaṣṭiśākhā*.

⁸ Read ° दयिता °.

⁹ Metre : *Maṭi*.

¹⁰ Read ° भूत °.

- 99 वाकरोत् [1211^{*}] तद्वल्लभा सकलसद्गुणपात्रगोत्रा सखात्रिका विकसद-
 100 वृषपन्ननेवा [1^{*}] लक्ष्मीरिव प्राणतलोकसमप्रदक्षा — — — — [वि]-
 101 मलचंद्रसमातवक्त्रा [122^{*}] ताभ्यामुमाशंकरसन्निभाभ्यां कुमारतुल्य-
 102 प्रभुशक्तियुक्तः [1^{*}] जातो महासैन्धवतिर्महोपा राजेद्रचोद्विद्र⁸]-
 103 तचंद्रवृद्धः [123^{*}] यशस्वचक्रकलनाकुशकल्पदक्षवज्राब्जमत्स्याम⁹]-
 104 करार्कितपाणिपादः [1^{*}] यद्वचकवर्त्तिसद्रि(दु)शशतपत्रपत्रनेत्रसुपूर्णं(णं)[श]-
 105 रदिंदुसमानवक्त्रः [12411^{*}] यस्मिन्वाते सुखी जातो लोकी वृद्धिमुपा-
 [धर्म]-
 106 एव वृद्धिमगमत्प्रविक्रमपराक्रमे । [12511^{*}] ⁵.....⁶सदृशो को-
 107 दंडशिखा.....श्रितितलप्राणोन्मुखे यत्करे[1^{*}] सेतोवर्भात.....
 108चोरस्तदा.....[126^{*}].....
 109

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 110 त्यादपि यज्ञसाध्वम् [1^{*}] संभाधिगंभोरमनंतसत्वम्⁷संप्राप्य तोय-
 111 न बलाद्रसाहंम् । [127^{*}] देवब्राह्मणकटकः पृथुतर[शौ]ष्येण मानी ख-
 112 लो दुर्गातज्जितयो भयंकरवपुः श्रौरामतुल्योजसो¹⁰[1^{*}] येनाजी-
 113 कोलनाटिभीमनृपतिः^{*} पुत्रैश्च मित्रैस्सह भ्रुद्धो रावणसन्निभो भुज-
 114 बलात्रिभूमंतमुन्मीलितः [12811^{*}] ⁹पूर्वाभोतिधिकालहृस्तिशिखरिस्थिमम्]-

¹ Metre : Pāṇḍitilaka.

² Metre : Upajati.

³ Metre : Anuakṣh.

⁴ The missing letters may be read as गमत्.

⁵ This may be a zero. Metre cannot be distinguished.

⁶ The reading is doubtful.

⁷ Metre : Indrampr.

⁸ Read सख्यं सखा.

⁹ Metre : Śāntilāṅkṛtaka.

¹⁰ Read स्थीजसः.

- 115 हेंद्राचलश्रीशैली^१ अवलंकृताध्रविषय श्रीराजराजस्व^२
 116 यं [१^{*}] यस्मै विक्रमविस्मितस्समदिशत्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह श्रीम-
 117 च्चामरयुग्मसुंदर^३वियच्चद्रोदयाद्यैर्भुम्दा [॥१५॥^{*}] 'अत्युत्तमोत्तु'गु-
 118 रंगपूष(ध)वुरायसम्मुच्छित्तरेणुजालं [१^{*}] आमतमातंगमदां-
 119 बुद^४[सेकैः] प्रशाम्यते यस्य जयप्रयाणे [॥१५६॥^{*}] 'काठिन्यं कुचकुमयो-
 120 स्तरलता हा]रे भ्रवोर्वकता मंदत्वं गमने वरांग्रितलयोर्निर्भ-
 121 त्यंत क्षामता [१^{*}] वाण्या तैक्ष्णमपांगयोश्च समभूत्संगम — —
 122 क्षितिः श्रीबोद्धक्षितितालकीर्तिरशता यस्मिंश्चिरं शासति [॥६०॥^{*}]
 'लक्ष्मीव-

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 123 क्षसि दक्षिणे भुजतटे वीर^५श्रिय यः परो [१^{*}] वामे चैव [भुजोत्त]-
 124 मे [जव]रमां वाग्देवतामातुने [१] शत्रुध्वंसनकारिणीं — —
 125 शिरस्सत्यंत — — विभ्रन्माधवपंकजासन-
 126 पुरप्रत्यश्चिरं राजते [॥६१॥^{*}] 'प्रादाद्यश्च महाप्रहारनिकरं संवर्द्धिभि]-
 127 स्समृतं विप्रेभ्यः कविपुंडरीकनिकरप्रद्योतनशशुहा [१^{*}] भद्रा]
 128 राजशिलामणिः क्षितिमिमां शश्वत्समृद्धां जनैर्म्मांघाता नृप-
 129 तिर्य्यधा(धा) च 'सकरश्रीधर्मगुजो यथा(धा) [॥६२॥^{*}] 'दानं यस्य समाग-
 130 [सावि]जान]तादारिद्र्यविद्रावन(ण) शी^६र्य्य यस्य विरोधराजवनि-
 131 तावैत्रव्यदीक्षागुह[॥] कीर्तिर्दिव्यनदीव यस्य विमला व्याप्तत्रिलोकी-

^१ Read 'श्रीशैल्यवलंयो'.

^२ Read 'राजराजस्व'.

^३ Read 'सुंदर'.

^४ Metre : Upajhiti.

^५ Read 'मदांसेकैः'.

^६ Metre : Śāradāślokaśrīṭī.

^७ Metre : Śāradāślokaśrīṭī, Read 'लक्ष्मी व'.

^८ Read 'सगरः'.

132 [स्थिता] श्रीचोडक्षितिपस्य तस्य महिमा नस्याद्वचोच्चरम् [॥६३॥*] ^१राजेंद्रचोडभूपा-

133 लसोयं परपुरजयः [१*] नियोगाद्वाजराजस्य पालयप्रभ्रमंडलम् [॥६४॥*]

इदुनंद(३)-

134 विषरुचंद्रगणिते शकवत्सरे [१*] श्रीमतो राजराजस्य त्रयोविंशकवत्सरे [॥६५॥*] कदानित्यु-

135 न्ये(ष्ये)[हनि] घनदुय्या [स्थितः] इनुगर्ह्येनामधामं वेदवेदांगपासुगा-

136 य मोमांसा निजमानसाय धत्तकं .

137 [Damaged. The rest is lost.]

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By A. N. LAHIRI, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages and n. after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.* = author ; *ca.* = capital ; *ch.* = chief ; *ci.* = city ; *co.* = country ; *di.* = district or division ; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *E.* = Eastern ; *engr.* = engraver ; *ep.* = epithet ; *f.* = family ; *fe.* = female ; *fund.* = fundatory ; *gen.* = general ; *ins.* = inscription ; *k.* = king ; *l.* = locality ; *l.m.* = linear measure or land measure ; *m.* = male ; *min.* = minister ; *mo.* = mountain ; *myth.* = mythological ; *n.* = name ; *N.* = Northern ; *off.* = office or officer ; *peo.* = people ; *pr.* = prince or princess ; *q.* = queen ; *rel.* = religious ; *ri.* = river ; *S.* = Southern ; *s.a.* = same as ; *sur.* = surname ; *ta.* = temple ; *Tel.* = Telugu ; *t.d.* = territorial division ; *tit.* = title ; *tk.* = taluk ; *ta.* = town ; *vi.* = village ; *W.* = Western ; *wk.* = work.]

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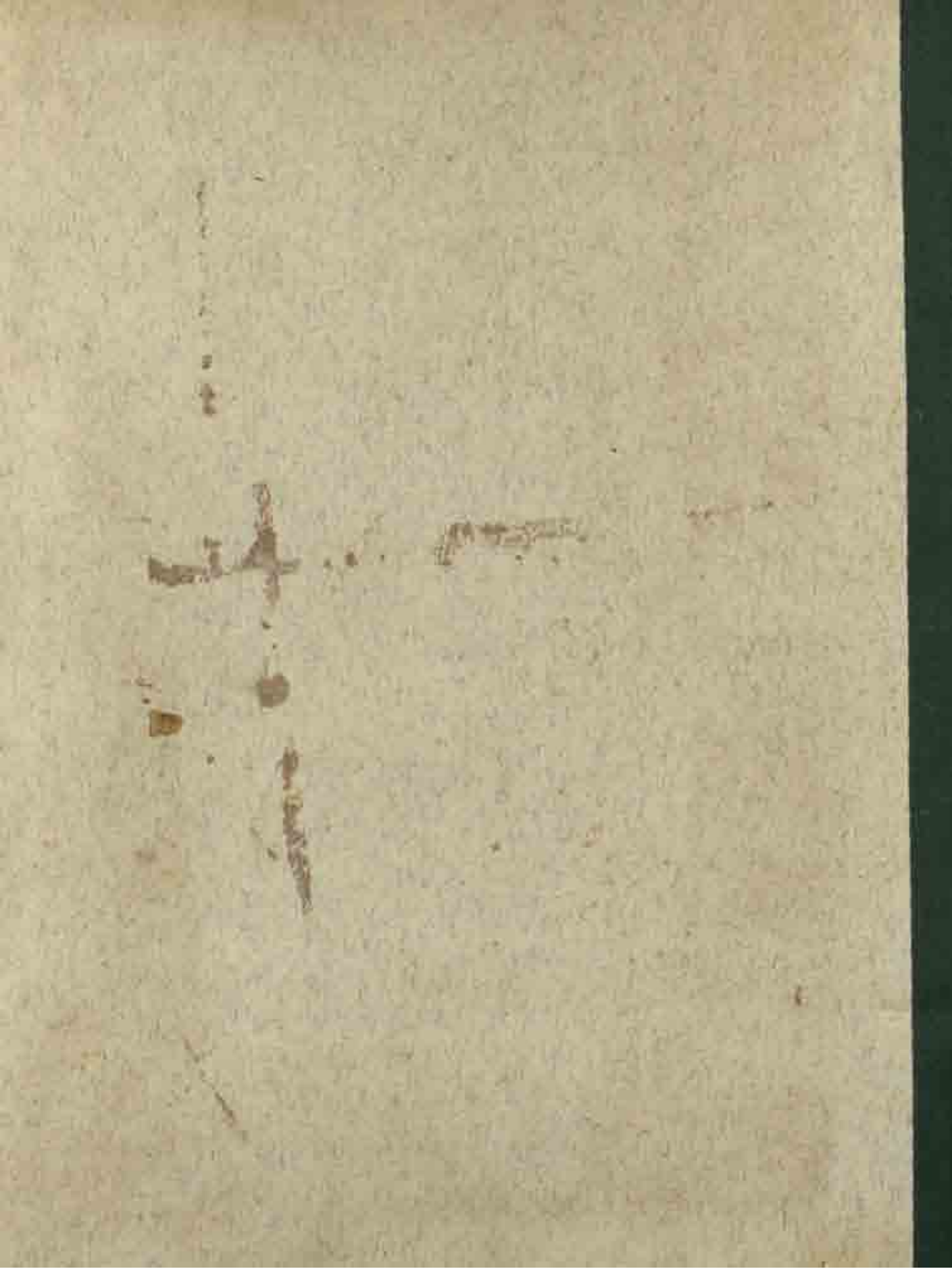
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